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JANUARY 30TH, 1894 (EXTRA MEETING).

Prof. A. MACALISTER, F.R.S., *President, in the Chair.*

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*The MOROCCO BERBERS.*

By J. E. BUDGETT MEAKIN.

PROBABLY no nation has played a more important, yet withal unseen, part in the European historical drama than that very little known people the Berbers, of North Africa. A hardy race, dwelling in mountain strongholds, they have preferred their bracing hill-top breezes to all the soft allurements of the plains, and they remain there, masters. Holding intact the highlands along the whole southern coast of the Mediterranean, many a nation have they seen rise and fall, many a one has laid hold upon their coastline, but none has penetrated far their cherished home. Egyptians, Phœnicians, Grecians, Romans, and lastly, Arabians, all who have come in contact with them, have been the better for it. Powerless to conquer those warrior tribes, the strangers have each one in their turn gained from the infusion of their busy blood, and have returned from Africa with gathered force. The settlers on those fertile plains were suckled by the mountain wolf, a beast they could never tame. So years rolled by, and centuries, but the Berbers changed not. They are little to-day that they were not in the days of Jugurtha—we might almost go back to the Ptolemies—save in one most vital

point. They have all embraced Islám. What every invader from the north had failed to do, one earnest hungry band of desert wanderers did. Their Arabian cousins had an influence which no outsider could obtain, and by at once assimilating with their conquered converts, reaped new life and vigour to push on the cause. Then was it that the crescent progressed, but it was not till nearly three hundred years after Mohammed had fled from Mekkah, that the Morocco Berbers had all accepted Islám. By the time that they were ready to swarm over into Spain, the Muslimeen were no longer a handful of nomad adventurers, they were a horde of sturdy hill-men, the Arab and the Berber blended in the Moor, with the latter element predominating. These were the people who over-ran Spain, and whose northward march was the terror of Europe, among whom science flourished and art reigned supreme. Had it not been for this potent factor the Peninsula had never known the Moor.

The greater part of the Atlas mountains, and right away across North Africa, that back-ground belt of snow-capped mountains, is the Berbers' dwelling place, and though many of the hill tribes are of mixed origin, so that it is to-day sometimes extremely difficult to assert off-hand the nationality of this one or that; by their language, by their customs, they are linked together as one race; so utterly distinct from their neighbours there is no confounding the vast majority of tribes. Yet what do we know about them? Just next to nothing! Let me therefore attempt in a few words to epitomize the leading features of that section which dwells in Morocco.

In all my dealings with this people, extending over a period of some nine years, I have found them a fine, open race, extremely suspicious of foreigners, but ever ready to become good friends when they have proved the stranger to be true. I consider them in every way superior to the Arabs, in physique and in moral character.

From the first the conquering Easterns inter-married with them, accepting those who "resigned themselves" as brothers, and appropriating the women of those who did not. Those nomad Arabs who still dwell on the plains are not descended from the original invaders, but from immigrants of several centuries later.

The Berbers pay but little respect to the authority of the Sultan, whose chief power and influence is religious, for on them the religion of Arabia sits lightly.

Every summer the Sultan undertakes an expedition against them for the extension of his rule, or the collection of tithes. United, these wiry mountaineers could easily overcome him, but their inter-tribal rivalry has ever been their weakness. This

alone enabled the wanderers from Asia to master them one by one, and it is the experience gained by the Moorish government of to-day, in pitting one against another, which gives it so much success in employing the same tactics towards European nations.

### *Race.*

As yet no decision has been arrived at as to the family to which the Berbers and their language belong. Some hold them to be Hamitic, but I am inclined to believe that while certain portions, notably towards the south-west, have largely intermingled with, and become modified by, the sons of Ham, they are themselves of another stock. Why should they have no Aryan blood? There may be something after all in the well worn theory that these people were descended, in part, at all events, from the tribes expelled from Palestine by Joshua. The name by which these Berbers know themselves, Amazeergh, and in some places Amashek (language Tha Tamashek), gives colour to the supposition, based on traditions of old writers, that their forefather was Meshech, the son of Japheth. The name Philistine (Pilistin) is recorded by several original authors as used in different districts, both as denoting Jews and Berbers. Some Berber tribes are doubtless partially of Jewish blood. There is a strong supposition that the mysterious Iberians of the Peninsula were of this stock, and I am inclined to believe, from internal evidence, a theory which at first struck me as very far fetched, that they were closely allied to the "little black Celts," the genuine Celts being a tall, red-haired people. If so, they were ancestors to a portion of the population of the western parts of Cornwall, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, to say nothing of Biscay and Finisterre, and the builders of those rude stone monuments which exist as well in Barbary as in Britain. Dr. Brenton makes out the old Etruscans to have been Berbers. Whoever in Europe may or may not have claimed kindred with them, the fact remains, as stated by Latham, that the Berbers, or more strictly speaking, the Amazeergh, occupy yet the largest area of any race in Africa.

### *Language.*

Though the Berber tongue has a strong affinity to the Semitic in the construction, both of words and sentences, and especially in its verbs,<sup>1</sup> its vocabulary is so entirely different that it can

<sup>1</sup> De Slane, in the notes to his translation of the Berber historian, Ibn Khaldoun, points out the following features of similarity to the Semitic class: its trilateral roots, the inflexions of the verb, the formation of derived verbs, the genders of the second and third persons, the pronominal affixes, the aoristic style of tense, the whole and broken plurals, and the construction of the phrase,



hardly belong there. It has been suggested with some show of reason that the present form is an older and less perfect language, moulded grammatically on the Arab model.

The vast number of *Arabic* words which have been incorporated into the modern Berber, by some writers estimated as *a third*, which I do not think excessive—have all been more or less modified to bring them into harmony with the original rhythm, but I believe that from one dialect or another, all the real Berber words might be collected. This task would, however, be a useless, though interesting one, as in no part would all of it be intelligible. The proportion of negro words in use towards the south, though large, is not so great as that of Arabic in the north. Some have imagined that the ancient Punic bore some relation to this tongue, but this has been disproved, though it is almost certain that Jugurtha and his people spoke it, and it must have been well known to the Carthaginians. M. de Rochemonteix has pointed out that the same pronominal roots, the same methods of inflecting them and the substantives, and of forming derivatives, existed in the ancient Egyptian, as is met with in the Berber of to-day. There is a strong belief that the Guanches of the Canaries were Berbers, and evidence of at least an intimate connection is afforded by the similarity of many of their words and grammatical forms, as shown by a study of the language of Teneriffe. It is indeed strange that a language spoken so near at hand by such a numerous race, occupying so extensive a territory, should still be practically unknown to our scholars. Several authors of note have from time to time occupied themselves with it, mostly treading on one another's heels, instead of faring afield. Among those who have done real service, mention must not be omitted of Prof. F. W. Newman (publications on it from 1836 to 1887) and Venture de Paradis, who have studied at great disadvantages, of Delaporte and Hanoteau, with their Algerian Berber grammars, Brosselard and René Basset with their dictionaries, nor De Slane with his able translations. Prof. Basset has been at work on the subject for some fifteen years, and has produced a comparative vocabulary of several dialects, and a collection of fables in those of no less than twenty-three tribes. A few years ago M. Louis Rinn issued a pains-proving work, in which he makes the Berber language and character parent to Greek, Latin, French and family! My own feeling about his work, however, is that it is more ingenious by far than conclusive.

whereas it differs from it in the dative of the third personal pronoun, and in the mobilization of the pronominal affixes. It differs essentially from the Coptic and Hausa languages in conjugations, declensions, and vocabulary.

*Literature.*

The great difficulty with Berber is that it is a language without a literature, only one or two dialects possessing any writings at all, these being chiefly of small account, and in adapted Arabic characters. Traces of an ancient alphabet are to be found in some districts of southern Algeria, and these have been collated, showing that there were thirty-two letters. In addition to the twenty-eight of Arabic, it boasts tsheem, ت ج jain ج (like the Persian) shád, ش, and gáf, غ. The Tooareg possesses no âin, ع. It is full of the gutturals, ghâin غ and khá خ.

Doubtless a careful search among the female ornaments would discover something akin to this character in Morocco. As a rule the women speak less Arabic than the men, and among the Tooaregs, more of them, it is said, read than men. The writings discovered have usually been but inscriptions of various sorts.

The many dialects into which the language has in process of time become subdivided are attributable to this lack of a literary standard. The difference is indeed so great between distant parts, as to have led many to suppose that they were different tongues. It may yet be proved that some are as distinct as Spanish and Italian. St. Augustine, however, recognised their fundamental unity, for he wrote ("De Civitate," xvi. 6), "In Barbary, Africa, we know many people with one tongue." Such comparisons as I have been able to make between the styles used in Morocco have satisfied me that they are essentially one. The only dialect I have attempted to learn is that of the province of Reef, but I can lay claim to no deep acquaintance with even that. To give an idea of its sound, I quote the Lord's prayer in Reefian Berber.

‘Bábáth-nakh wunni dhí ‘ijnathin, ‘ádheetawakaddas ‘isim innish, addías  
 Abá-ná álladhí fi es-samawát, leeatakaddas ‘ism-ák, leecáti  
 ir-hakamth innish, steeri ir-khardir innish mammish goojinna hamís  
 malakoot-ak, litakun mashefat-ák kamá fi es-samá’ kadálík  
 kha-tha-moorth : ághrom idhakhsirizimin ooksha-nath áldhá ; ‘thaghsfer-  
 Alá el árđ : khubza-ná kafáfa-ná ááti-ná el yóm ; wa ághfir  
 thanakh dhanoob innakh mammish ‘ghánaghfer nishshin thanar ir-mudni-  
 laná dhunooba-ná kamá naghsfir nahán áidán lil-mudni-  
 been in-nakh ; wa-ra-khsidif dhí ‘tajrib, ‘lakin sinjmanakh izg-Ibris ;  
 been ilá-ná ; wa lá tadháil-ná fi tajribat, lakin najji-ná min esh-shirreer ;  
 ‘liánna gharik ir-murk. d hir-koowith d hir-majd ghar dáir. Amen.  
 lián lak el-mulk wa el-koowat wa el-majd ilá el-ábad. Amen.

In the above specimen the Arabic version as pronounced in Morocco is placed under the Reefian, word for word. To simplify comparison, hyphens are used to separate words from particles, though not so separated in writing, to make it more distinct. A point (·) before or after a portion of a word, shows that that portion is corrupted Arabic. This has not been done in the case of particles.<sup>1</sup>

This is from the translation now being prepared for the Bible Society by Mr. Mackintosh of Tangier. The only other volume of any importance in either of the Morocco dialects of which I am aware, is the Toowāhhid (the Unity of God), a very rare and highly prized treatise believed to be the oldest African work in existence, except in Egyptian or Æthiopic—written by an early Moorish Sultan, Ben Toomert the Mehdi, also the author of a work called “Morsheedah,”—to convince the Berbers of the truth of his creed, in which he was successful.

This volume still exists in rare copies. It is divided into sections, chapters and verses, for facility of study, and was held in greater reverence, if possible, than the Kor’án itself, among the Berbers, who think a great deal of it to this day. As the Masmoodah tribe, the first to support this Mehdi, could not speak Arabic, Ben Toomert counted the words in the first chapter of the Kor’án—which is an excellent prayer used in all Moham-medan devotions—and calling as many men, seated them in a row and named each one with a word. Then, each pronouncing his name in order, they repeated the chapter.

When Arabic is spoken of as the language of Morocco, it is seldom realised how small a proportion of its inhabitants use it naturally. Berber is the real language of Morocco, Arabic that of its creed and government. Some centuries ago a Mowahadi Sultan (Almohade) dismissed the officials of the great Karueein mosque at Fez because they could not speak Berber as well as Arabic.

The word Berber itself, from which we have formed the word Barbary, is of very doubtful origin. Equivalents, denoting indistinct sounds, seem to exist in Latin, Greek and Arabic, while it is not probably a genuine Berber word. It serves, nevertheless, as a convenient and widely accepted name for the whole race, which is known to the people themselves by a different title in each district. Only certain portions acknowledge the name of Berber, *pl.* Beráber.

### *Physique.*

As might well be expected of such a race of mountaineers, the physique of the Berbers is splendid, and among them are to

<sup>1</sup> A peculiarity of the Reef dialect is the change of the Arabic “l” to “r,” as will have been observed in this quotation, a fact which lends support to the theory that the word Reefian or Reefi is identical with Lybian or Leebl, “b” and “f” being of course interchangeable, *via* “v.” I have no opinion to offer on this point.

be seen a good proportion of fine-featured men. They are of a fair height, often tall, strong and wiry, capable of sustaining exertion. They are well-knit, spare in flesh, and though as a nation fair of skin, often tanned by the sun. Those who inhabit the Soos province—the Slooh—are as a rule shorter by far than those of the north, and those of the Draa and the anti-Atlas—the Dráwis—whose mingled origin has before been alluded to, are considerably darker, more thickly set, and shorter, though none the less jovial—perhaps even more so—and certainly no whit less enduring than their brethren of colder regions. The darker families are known as Harateen (*s.* Hartáni). Some of their countenances are most striking, being of very pronounced type, keen eyes, jovial mouth and white teeth. Their brain-power, to judge from the outward appearance of their craniums, should be in no way deficient, and I do not fancy that the thickness of their skulls in any way equals that of the negroes, though I believe I have seen lads of this race also play at “billy-goat,” and butt at one another’s pates with an astounding crash. Following the custom of the country, all the males shave their heads, except one tribe only that I know of, the Ida-oo-Blal, believed to be of Arab origin; but many tribes leave a patch on one side to grow into a pig-tail, the exact reason for which I have never been able to ascertain, though in this they would seem to maintain an ancient Egyptian custom, judging from ancient sculptures of that country. Other tribes are known by a tuft called a “sheaf” on either temple, but it is noteworthy that in this case the hair is always curly. The Oodáà, the hereditary body-guard of the sultans, follow this custom, but they bear few traces of the Berber now beyond their splendid physique. Perhaps it is intermarriage with negroes which accounts for the “woolliness.” Debauchery being less common among the Berbers than among the town dwellers, they have a better chance, and succeed in living longer. Their callousness to extremes of heat and cold is astounding, and their powers of endurance noteworthy. They have in some districts been noted for their acrobats as far as history extends. Herodotus speaks of them, and the Egyptian monuments are said also to record their visits from the West in those days. Of recent years companies from Soos have played in Europe and America.

#### *Characteristics.*

I have already mentioned some of the characteristics of this people, but there are other points which should not pass unnoticed. Like hardy mountaineers all the world over, the Berbers are essentially an independent and a warlike race. One of the greatest insults to be offered to one of them is to say

"Your father died in his bed." In some districts the coward is paraded in a Jew's cap till he has retrieved his character by some brave deed. The petty warfare which is incessant among them, renders their tenure of life very uncertain, and there is a saying that the Arab fears hunger and is starved; the townsman fears death from too fast living, and kills himself thereby, while the Berber fears murder and is assassinated. Two gunshots are a common summons to an armed affray, where everyone goes armed, ready to defend or to attack as occasion offers. The quiet plain-dwellers have a wholesome dread of these highlanders, and nothing could be more comical than the awe of one of our servants at the sight of an Aberdonian, after having been duly instructed that he belonged to one of the Berber-clans of Great Britain!

Leo Africanus says of them, quaintly translated by Pory, "No people under heaven are more addicted unto courtesie than this nation. Mindful they have always been of injuries, but most forgetful of benefits. . . . The greater part of these people are neither Mohammedans, Jews, nor Christians, and hardly shall you find so much as a sparke of pietie in any of them." They certainly display untamed cupidity, and are delightfully ignorant of truthfulness and honesty to a degree most truly Oriental.

In most other points almost every tribe differs from its neighbour. For instance, one will be found extremely religious, with saints, shrines, and teachers in abundance, and next to it will be a tribe in which Islám is a mere form and even the rite of circumcision is but scantily practised. In one spot the grossest ignorance prevails, while hard by is a tribe of which many women even can read. I remember the mother of one Berber Káid (Governor), who not only spoke Arabic as fluently as her own tongue, but also read it with ease, and could discourse most intelligently. One general custom, or rather absence of it, is to allow the women to go unveiled, except where more Arabicised, while on the borders of the desert the men wear veils as a protection from the sand and glare. A pall of gross superstition, however, casts its gloom over all alike.

#### *Government.*

The methods of self-rule followed by the Berber tribes vary considerably. In some cases the governing body is a gathering of representatives of the various sections, veritable little republics, as near the democratic ideal as possible. The more original custom, however, seems to have been to entrust supreme power to a chief called an *amghar*, of a hereditary stock. These are feudal lords who, as a rule, realise that the less they oppress

their people the more secure their position will be. There is still a third style, in which the assembly nominates a sort of governor. It is strange that so vast and so distinct a people should own no leader round whose standard to rally in the face of a common foe. It would seem as though, rightly or wrongly, the curse of Ishmaël had descended upon them. Among themselves there is always warfare. No traveller is safe from pillage unless accompanied by a member of the tribe through which he may be passing, of sufficient importance to protect him from injury, for fear of retribution.

*Laws, &c.*

As a Mohammedan nation, the Berbers are nominally ruled by the Kor'an, but it is only natural that a number of ancient usages belonging to an earlier faith should have survived among such a conservative folk. Genuine Berber civil laws, called *inserf*, are, like the customs, entirely traditional, and are upheld by an assembly called the *infaliz*. A verbal summons before witnesses on the part of the plaintiff is all that is necessary to secure a trial. The defendant may refuse to appear before any particular judge whom he may deem to be partial, or he may demand a fresh trial by another judge if dissatisfied with the first, but bribery is alone successful in practice. Criers go round to offer rewards in the case of theft, and houses may be searched, but if in vain, compensation has to be paid, which is prohibitive of extension of the practice. Their punishments are not as a rule severe, though much suffering is often inflicted by the great people of a tribe by the imprisonment of offenders or enemies in underground granaries unfit for a human being to live in. The bastinado is also employed, but not so much as further East. Criminals are subject to the *lex talionis*, of which the vendetta is a natural consequence; this continues till either put an end to by some superior civil or religious authority, or by the practical extermination or expatriation of one side. Capital punishment is rare, with the exception of cases in which the culprit is handed over to the avenger of blood to do what he will with him. The blood feuds which result from the operation of this law are among the chief sources of the continual fighting among the tribes, though often it is a simple raid or highway robbery which gives rise to a quarrel in which eventually some thousands become involved. Plunder of passers-by is looked upon as quite a respectable method of subsistence, and excursions are often made to the lowlands or to the outskirts of some city for this purpose, or to carry off the droves of steeds and oxen which have been sent out to graze. Another fertile source of quarrels is the right to the use of streams for irrigation purposes.

*Social Customs.*

The hospitality of these people, if not so profuse as that attributed to the Arabs, is sufficiently extensive when fear or prejudice is removed. Were it not for their lack of a staple government, and the tempting ease with which crime of all sorts may be committed among them, even the present system of escorts would doubtless be unnecessary. Travellers must always pay "zetât" to be provided with "mezrag," or protection, the latter word meaning literally a lance, as the sending with them of a chief's weapon used to be their guarantee. Space will not permit of my going into the methods adopted for the protection of the weak by the strong, or the offering up of a sacrifice to secure such protection, the fact being attested by a notarial document, and the subsequent payment of tribute; suffice it to say that the confidence reposed is rarely abused.

In some districts all the visitors make for the mosque, whence the chief sends any number up to ten who may come on the same day to be the guests of a certain resident. Each "householder" takes his turn, which alone counts, not the number entertained.

Monogamy is far more common than polygamy, and there is less vice than in the towns, even though a good deal of drunkenness has to be included in some parts. Syphilis, the national disease of Morocco, is said to be unknown across the Atlas, and to be cured by going there. The marriage customs are peculiar, in one case the women being practically sold on the market once a year. The ladies promenade unveiled, and the intending suitor, when fancying one of them, goes with her to seek her father or other guardian to ask her in marriage. The only engagement entered into is to bring her back to the same place on a market day if tired of her, that she may better her lot. This is sworn to in a saint's shrine, and the present of a pair of slippers or some garment to the father seals the bargain. Certain tribes expect no more virtue among the fair sex than among the men. Several are noted for their beautiful women, and others for their love of ornaments, usually silver bracelets, anklets, brooches, and amber, bead or coral necklets. I have also seen stone bracelets.

When a marriage is celebrated in more orthodox style, it is made the occasion of a great deal of innocent rejoicing, and a large quantity of powder is "made to speak." The spears with which, in a more primitive condition, these people were wont to arm themselves, and in exercises with which the Arabs taught great proficiency, have been replaced by long-barrelled flint-lock guns of native manufacture, often beautifully ornamented

These are brandished, pointed, and finally fired, while at full gallop on horseback, in much the same way as the earlier spears were manipulated in their day. The bride is borne under cover in state to the bridegroom's dwelling after certain jollifications have been indulged in, and this is a signal for great exhibitions of this powder-play, performed, however, among the Berbers very much on foot. When the bride is a widow but little fuss is made, if any. Intermarriage between the tribes is not so common as it might be, owing to their constant jealousies. The same bars of relationship obtain, of course, as throughout the Mohammedan world. Circumcision is often postponed till the age of twelve or thirteen, and the operation is performed with a pair of scissors in the shrine of some saint. No kindred rite is inflicted on the females, who have very much more liberty than on the plains.

### *Festivals.*

The Berber festivals are mainly those of Islám, though a few traces of their predecessors are observable. Of these the most noteworthy is midsummer, or St. John's day, still celebrated in a special manner, and styled "el ânserah." It is worthy of note that the old style European calendar is maintained among them, and it would be very interesting to know whence they obtained it.<sup>1</sup> Some opine that once, as a nation, they were Christians, but this I believe to be quite a mistake. The influence of the various bishoprics established along the North African coast was never very far-reaching, and in many cases they were little more than nominal. The special estimation in which the Virgin Mary is held in some parts, and certain ceremonies maintained here and there, are often adduced as proofs of a former profession of Christianity, but I am inclined to doubt the whole thing. Space will not permit of any description of these relics, of whatever they may be, which differ so in various parts of the country, and I have not yet had the opportunity to give either them or the folk-lore of the people the attention which they deserve.

### *Dress.*

The dress varies as much in different localities as anything else. Far in the interior it is almost entirely of wool, needles and thread being unknown. A piece of oblong white blanket or dark blue cotton with a longitudinal slit in the centre for the head—like the Mexican "poncho"—is thrown over the

<sup>1</sup> A curious custom for recording time has been noted among them, the standard measure being the time a certain basin with a hole in it takes to fill and sink.



shoulders, simply knotted at the lower corners round the waist, over which a skirt cloth is tied on the left hip. The women often secure the former in their places by massive silver brooches of a peculiar pattern on the shoulder, and wear a waist cord. Cotton of cheaper European manufacture is steadily finding its way to supersede these more primitive garments. Brooches of precisely the same peculiar pattern are found in parts of Ireland and Scotland. I have seen them in Dublin Museum.

A toga-like arrangement of a light blanket serves as overall, with another small piece of flannel or dark blue cotton or camel-hair cord twisted round the shaven crown. The most distinctive garment, however, is the *khaneef*, a thick, black, goat-hair waterproof hooded cloak, with no arm-holes. Across the back is a striking yellow embroidered assegai-shaped patch, the variations in which denote, I believe, different clans. Sandals are worn towards the desert, but only by cavaliers. No description of the Berber wardrobe will serve for two districts, so I had best intrude no further.

#### *Manufactures.*

Cooking utensils, saddlery, arms, musical instruments, and other articles of native manufacture, if rude in some parts, in others have attained what may be considered a high state of perfection, with due regard to their resources. In their decorative art considerable talent is displayed, and in the more remote districts, where Arab influence is less felt, the affinity of design and colour to those of Central Africa is very marked. This is especially the case with the black and blue-green leather work. To the south-west the comparative proximity to Guinea makes itself felt in the same way. As compared with more refined Oriental productions, however, everything is extremely rude.

It is a striking fact that far away on the other side of the great Atlas is to be found a decorative taste in building, which is quite remarkable among a people usually setting so little store by the beauty or otherwise of their dwellings. Ornamentation is to be seen upon every hand, and instinctively the question is asked how far these people we call Barbarians are accountable for the prosperity of the arts under Moorish rule in Spain. While the Arab or Moor of the plains is content to dwell in the meanest of huts, or a tent, and the strongholds of the Governors are of rough rammed earth, outside a shapeless mass worn by the wind and rain, these Berbers dwell in comfortable houses with projecting eaves to their flat roofs, and the citadels which dot the Atlas are crenellated like some mediæval fortress, wearing quite an imposing appearance. In some districts strong store-towers are observable on every hand, which in time of war

serve as forts. The people dwell in homes as various as their dress. It is believed that, like the Arabs, they were originally nomads, and many live still in huts which they are nothing loth to quit and rebuild elsewhere. Sallust's comparison of their thatched homesteads to the upturned keels of boats is well known, but is not a very good one. Sometimes they are oblong with square ends, but they are sometimes round like bee-hives, and pointed on the plains. On ascending the northern slopes of the Atlas this class of dwellings entirely disappears, and is replaced by the erections of stone and mud, roofed with sticks spread over with trodden earth, already alluded to. For protection, as the villages are seldom walled unless of some size, all the doors of a group are turned to the centre, and the walls are windowless. One district I know of is peculiar in having its dwellings each in the centre of its owner's plot of ground.

Built mosques are infrequent, though saints' shrines are common enough—sometimes the only white-washed structures to be met with—and often an ordinary hut or room has to do duty for both school and church. For ovens they build a sort of dome with a hole in the top, which is first well-heated by lighting a fire in it, and the bread is put in while it is still hot. Adjoining almost every village, or not far from it is another one, occupied solely by Jews. These live as slaves to their respective Berber protectors, and are subjected to all sorts of indignities. These they lose no opportunity of repaying with the proportion of interest they endeavour to obtain for their loans of cash, by their superior subtlety and cunning.

### *Food.*

The food of these people is of the simplest, and very nearly vegetarian. Barley porridge—âseedah—eaten with oil or butter, is esteemed a great delicacy, and as the national dish, takes the place of the excellent granulated maccaroni—kesksoo—of the plains. Meat is the portion only of great men, except on market days or festive occasions. Agriculture is much neglected. Fruits and vegetables become exceedingly scarce in the country. Towards the desert dates are a staple article of diet, and walnuts are plentiful in the mountains. As a specimen of the daily round of meals I may give one: on waking a bowl of vegetable broth, at eleven o'clock a dip in the family dish of porridge, at sunset a similar share of kesksoo, made, perchance, as I have tasted it, of barley with fresh broad beans or turnips on the top. A favourite breakfast for those who have cows is sour milk and dates. Making a virtue of necessity, it seems to

me that most of these dirty people like their milk sour. Honey is much used, but the wax chiefly wasted. Salt is found in abundance in certain regions, while further south it becomes extremely valuable. Soap—always soft—is unknown far inland, cinders and herbs replacing it, though where it is made—solely by the Jews—it has a good sale. In many parts even cows are scarce, as well as horses, &c. Those steeds still found there, as well as the mules, are very small and wonderfully agile. Had not they possessed the latter quality, I doubt whether I would be here to-day, for sometimes in those roadless mountain wastes one has to ride as the Moors say, “liver in mouth.” The sheep, too, are small, and many of them black. The men use the black wool, and the women the white in some districts.

Several of the tribes are very fond of smoking, using pipe bowls of hard black wood from the Soodan, or hollow bones. Their tobacco is sold by the leaf. Snuffing is more common, the preparation employed consisting of equal parts of pounded tobacco, walnut shells, and wood ashes. I do not think that hemp is so much patronized further south as it is on the northern plains. Intoxicating drinks—usually thick syrups—are prepared from dates, figs and raisins, but inebriety is not general anywhere.

So much have I ventured to set down about the Berbers, not because I desire to pose as an authority, but to attract the attention of capable scholars to this interesting people. Had I a less ingrained fancy for restricting myself to either what I knew from personal observation, or on the best of authority, I could have no doubt made my paper much more entertaining. I am glad to say that of late years several Berber and other North African historians have been translated from the Arabic—such as that of Ibn Khaldoon by the Baron de Slane—and that several scientists, most of them French, have been paying considerable attention to this nation, of which we yet know so little.

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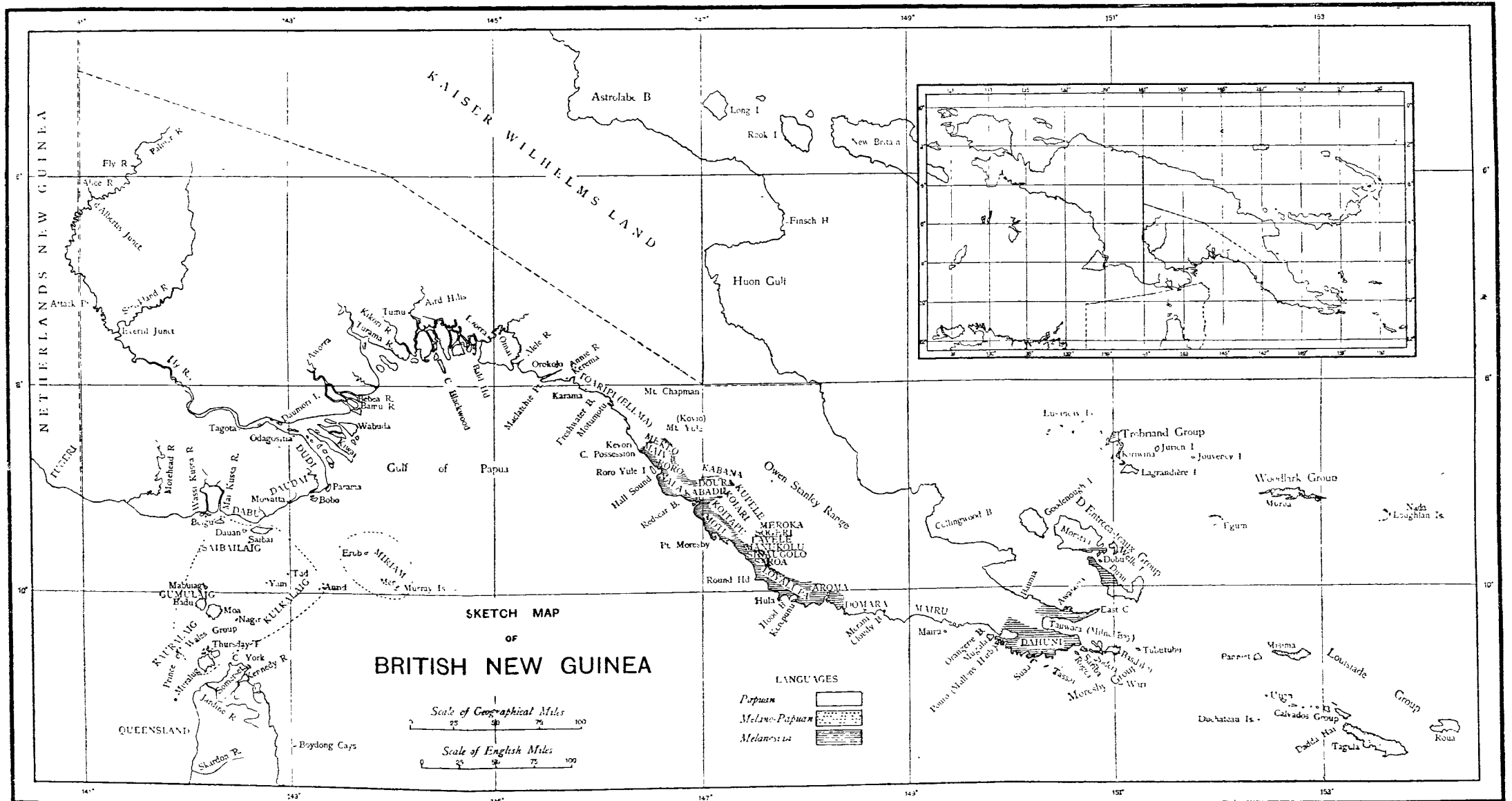
FEBRUARY 13TH, 1894.

Prof. A. MACALISTER, F.R.S., *President, in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and signed.

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*The LANGUAGES of BRITISH NEW GUINEA.* By SIDNEY H. RAY.

[WITH MAP. PLATE I.]

I.—*Introduction.*

IN the investigation of problems concerning Oceanic anthropology the nature and relations of the New Guinea languages ought to occupy an important place. It is in the neighbourhood of that island that the chief types of the Oceanic races—Malay, Papuan, Melanesian, Australian—meet, and it is there that we may most conveniently study the connection of the various sections of the races with each other. In New Guinea the relationship of the Australians to the other peoples of Oceania may most satisfactorily be investigated, and there only does it seem possible to obtain data which may be of use in determining the existence or non-existence of an earlier race in Melanesia or Polynesia than that now found.

Yet nothing is more perplexing or more indefinite than the present state of New Guinea anthropology. Hardly any two accounts of the physical characteristics of the people agree, the nomenclature of the races is uncertain, and travellers' descriptions of customs and habits are extremely vague. Recent advances, however, in our knowledge of British New Guinea have rendered it possible to use the languages as a basis of classification, and in this paper I propose to discuss the position of the New Guinea languages with regard to one another and also with regard to those of other portions of Oceania.<sup>1</sup> The conclusions arrived at may not be found decisive by every anthropologist, but in future investigations they must necessarily form an important factor and ought not to be overlooked.

An endeavour will be here made to prove by linguistic evidence alone that the southern shores of British New Guinea, with the adjacent islands, form the meeting place of tribes speaking two widely different types of language, one of which is aboriginal and the other intrusive.

To distinguish the languages it will be convenient to use in a somewhat restricted sense the terms Melanesian and Papuan. These are not new to Oceanic Philology, but have been so loosely applied as to have become misleading, and hence require definition. They are here used in the most literal and special sense, and the term *Melanesian* is limited to the inhabitants and languages of

<sup>1</sup> The relationship of the Torres Straits languages (Miriam, Saibai, and Daudai) which are usually included among the New Guinea languages, have been fully discussed by Prof. Haddon and myself in our "Study of the Languages of Torres Straits," part 1, "Proceedings of Roy. Irish Academy," 3rd ser., vol. ii, No. 4.

the great *island* chain which extends from the eastern extremity of New Guinea to New Caledonia. With a similar limitation the term *Papuan* is used to name the darker and more *frizzly-haired* natives of the mainland of New Guinea. If this distinction be borne in mind, the designation of any language spoken in New Guinea as Melanesian will at once mark it as akin to the island tongues, and of intrusive origin, whilst the description of any language as Papuan will show that its nearest allies are among the languages characteristic of the true aborigines of New Guinea.

The languages here called *Melanesian* are not found in New Guinea further west than Cape Possession, and even on the south-eastern shores appear only in detached settlements which rarely extend far into the interior, unless along a river bank. In native tradition the tribes using these languages are said to have come across the sea at some remote period and to have occupied the villages and plantations on the coast.<sup>1</sup> The name given by one section of these tribes to themselves is "*Motu*," a word which is commonly used in the Melanesian and Polynesian dialects for "island."<sup>2</sup>

The speech of these intruders is in every essential a branch of the same linguistic family as that found in the southern portion of the Solomon Group, in Banks' Islands, Fiji, and the New Hebrides. In relation to one another the various dialects are homogeneous, and all apparently belong to the same stock. They have the same grammatical structure as the languages of the islands, and have similar variations in phonology. Their vocabularies are full of the same common words.

The *Papuan* languages of British New Guinea are spoken west of Cape Possession, on the islands of Torres Straits,<sup>3</sup> in a few districts on the south-eastern shores, and in the inland districts so far as they have yet been explored. They present in nearly every respect the widest possible contrast to the Melanesian. Instead of the comparatively simple forms of the Melanesian grammar we have elaborate expressions built up after the Australian manner by suffixes. Entirely strange features of grammar are found, and there is hardly any agreement between

<sup>1</sup> "The inhabitants of the inland villages are probably the aborigines, who have been driven back to the hills by the robust race now occupying their plantations on the coast." Rev. J. Chalmers, "Work and Adventure in New Guinea," p. 84. In another place Mr. Chalmers notices the native contention that the Koitapu (or Koita, Papuans) are the real owners of the soil, whilst the sea belongs to the conquering (Melanesian) Motu.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Samoan, Tongan, Marquesan *motu*, islet, Hawaiian *moku*, Efate *vanua motu*, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Since the languages of these islands show decided Australian affinities, it would be, perhaps, better to describe them as *Papuo-Australian*. In this notice, however, they are classed with the Papuan tongues.

one language and another in vocabulary or constructive particles. The appearance is presented of various linguistic stocks. The tribes speaking these tongues are represented as different in customs, frizzly-haired, and darker than the invaders from across the sea. There seems little doubt but that they are the true aborigines of New Guinea. Unfortunately, the difficulty of understanding the structure of the languages, and their diversity in vocabulary, have militated against the acquisition of accurate knowledge, but quite enough has been ascertained to show their complete separation from the Melanesian both in structure and vocabulary.

Besides these two types—Melanesian and Papuan—there are to be found at the Eastern end of the Possession, in the Louisiade Archipelago, other languages which are remarkably different from the Melanesian languages generally and yet have in many cases Melanesian words and grammatical forms. Though imperfectly known, it seems possible to regard these as languages belonging to originally Papuan stocks, upon which have been grafted in course of time words and idioms from the Melanesian tongues. Their Papuan origin will account for their diversity, and the Melanesian element, which is common to all, will account for partial agreements and show the amount of contact with the island languages. If this supposition be correct we may expect languages of a similar character in the Northern Solomon Islands, and such are indeed found. The languages of Alu<sup>1</sup> (Treasury Island), Buka (Bougainville Island),<sup>2</sup> New Georgia,<sup>3</sup> and Savo<sup>4</sup> show that there are in parts of the Solomon Islands some forms of speech which differ more or less from the typical Melanesian and probably contain some Papuan elements. For these mixed languages is proposed and here used the term *Melano-Papuan*.

## II. Classification.

In the following table the known languages of British New Guinea are arranged, as far as their mutual connection will allow, in geographical order commencing from the West. No languages are inserted in the table unless actual specimens have been examined, and in all cases the district where spoken and the authority for the specimen is stated.

<sup>1</sup> Vocabulary by Dr. H. B. Guppy in "The Solomon Islands and their natives," London, 1887, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Vocabularies by H. Zöller, "Untersuchungen über 24 sprachen aus dem Schutzgebiet der Neuguinea Compagnie," Petermann's Mitteilungen, 36 Band, 1890, v. p. 127; and by C. M. Woodford, "A Naturalist among the Head Hunters," London, 1890, p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> Vocabularies by Rev. Dr. Codrington, "The Melanesian Languages," Oxford, 1885, p. 39; and by C. M. Woodford, "Naturalist among the Head Hunters," p. 225.

<sup>4</sup> Vocabulary and Grammar by Rev. Dr. Codrington, "Melanesian Languages," p. 39 and p. 559.



## A.—MELANESIAN LANGUAGES.

| Language.      | Dialect.           | Locality.  | Authority.  |
|----------------|--------------------|--|---|
| 1. Maiva..     | Mekco ..           | Upper S. Joseph River ..                                 | Macgregor, Ann. Report on Brit. New Guinea, 1890.   |
|                | Maiva-Kivori ..    | Mainland opposite Yule Is. ..                            | { Lawes, Motu Gram., 2nd edit.<br>Brit. New Guin. Vocabs., S.P.O.K.<br>Texts, Bp. Verjus. |
|                | Laval ..           | Yule Is. ..  | { D'Alberty, New Guinea.<br>Stone, Few Months in New Guinea.                              |
|                | Nala ..            | Neighbourhood of Cape Suckling                           | Macgregor, Ann. Report, 1891.   |
| 2. Motu ..     | Kabadi ..          | Redscar Bay ..   | Lawes, Motu Gram., 2nd edit.  |
|                | Doura ..           | Do. ..   | Brit. New Guin. Vocabs.   |
|                | Motu ..            | Port Moresby ..  | Lawes, Motu Gram.   |
|                | Hula ..            | Hood Point ..  | Text.   |
|                | Bula'a ..          | Do. ..   | Macgregor, Ann. Report, 1891.   |
|                | Keapara ..         | Do. ..   | Text.   |
| 3. Loyalupa .. | Kerepunu ..        | Hood Bay ..  | { Lawes, Motu Gram., 2nd edit.<br>Stone, Few Months.                                      |
|                | Aroma ..           | East of Hood Bay ..                                      | Lawes, Motu Gram., 2nd edit.  |
|                | Sinaugolo ..       | { Central portion of South-East Coast ..                 | Macgregor, Ann. Report, 1891.   |
|                | Tarova or Saroa .. | Do. ..   | Brit. New Guin. Vocabs.   |
|                | Sariba ..          | Hayter Is. ..  | Macgregor, Ann. Report, 1890.   |
| 4. Sariba..    | Mugula ..          | Dufaure Is. ..   | Macgillivray, Voy. Rattlesnake.   |
|                | — Suau ..          | South Cape ..  | { Lawes, Motu Gram., 2nd edit.<br>Text.   |
|                | — Wari ..          | Bruner Is. ..  | Macgillivray, Voy. Rattlesnake.   |
| 5. Awaiana ..  | — Awaiama ..       | Teste Is. ..   | Brit. New Guin. Vocabs.   |
|                | —                  | Chads Bay ..   | Macgregor, Ann. Report, 1890.   |
| 6. Dobu ..     | —                  | East Cape ..   | Brit. New Guin. Vocabs.   |
|                | —                  | { Goulvain Is., between Normanby Is. and Ferguson Is. .. | Macgregor, Ann. Report, 1892.   |

| Language.          | Dialect.   | Locality.  | Authority.   |
|--------------------|--|--|--|
| 1. Saibai          | { Kauralaig<br>Gumulaig<br>Saibailaig<br>Kulalaig                    | Prince of Wales Is., Mon.<br>Badu and Mabuag<br>Boigu, Dauan, Saibai<br>Nagir, Tud, Masig, &c.   | { MSS., Rev. Dr. Macfarlane and Prof.<br>Haddon.<br>Texts.<br>Macgregor, Ann. Report, 1890.  |
| 2. Dabu            | { Danu<br>Toga<br>Mowat<br>Peren                                     | { Mainland Districts opposite Saibai<br>and Boigu<br>Mouth of Katau Riv.<br>Bampton Is.  | { Macgregor, Ann. Report, 1891.<br>MS., Beardmore and Haddon.<br>MS., Rev. E. B. Savage.   |
| 3. Daudai or Kivai | { Kiwai  | Della of Fly River   | { Macgregor, Ann. Report, 1890.<br>MS., Rev. E. B. Savage.   |
| 4. Miriam          | { Erub<br>Mer..  | Darnley and Stephens Is.   | { Texts.<br>MS., Rev. S. Macfarlane.   |
| 5. Tumu            | —  | Murray Is.   | { Bevan, Toil and Travel.  |
| 6. Evorra          | —  | { On Douglas River, 25 miles N.W.<br>of Aird Hills   | { Macgregor, Ann. Report, 1891.<br>Lawes, Motu Gram., 2nd edit.<br>Text.<br>Stone, Few Months.   |
| 7. Eloma           | { Toaripi<br>Motumotu<br>Eloma                                       | { On Queen's Jubilee River, 15<br>miles N. of Bald Head.<br>Village at Cape Possession (native<br>name, <i>Toaripi</i> ; Motu name,<br><i>Motumotu</i> ) | { Macgregor, Ann. Report, 1890.<br>MS., Chalmers.<br>Macgregor, Ann. Report, 1890.<br>MS., Chalmers, Brit. New Guin. Vocabs.<br>Stone, Few Months.<br>MS., Chalmers.<br>Do.<br>Do. |
| 8. Koiari          | { Koiari<br>Eikiri<br>Koita<br>Maiairi<br>Favere<br>Kupele<br>Meroka | { Central district, inland from Port<br>Moresby<br>Do.<br>Do.<br>Do.<br>Do.<br>Do.<br>Do.  |  |

B.—PAPUAN LANGUAGES—*continued.*

| Language.                 | Dialect.                  | Locality.   | Authority.                                   |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|---|--|
| 9. Kabana <sup>1</sup> .. | —                         | { Interior, near Mount Owen Stan-<br>ley .. .. . }          | { MS., Chalmers.<br>Brit. New Guin. Vocab. } |
| 10. Manukoliu ..          | —                         | Interior, east of Port Moresby ..                           | ..   |
| 11. Domara ..             | { Domara ..<br>Mairu .. } | Central portion of South Coast ..<br>Mairu Island .. .. . } | { Macgregor, Ann. Report, 1891.<br>.. .. . } |

<sup>1</sup> *Kabana* in Motu means waist; *orooro kabanaai*, waist of mountain, *i.e.*, part of the way up. The Kabana district is on the slope of Mt. Owen Stanley.

## C.—MELANO-PAPUAN LANGUAGES.

| Language.      | Dialect. | Locality.                   | Authority.                    |
|----------------|----------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Kiriwina .. | .. ..    | Trobriand Is., Louisiades.. | Macgregor, Ann. Report, 1892. |
| 2. Murua ..    | .. ..    | Woodlark Is., do. ..        | Do. do. 1890.                 |
| 3. Nada ..     | .. ..    | Laughlan Is., do. ..        | Do. do. 1861.                 |
| 4. Misima ..   | .. ..    | St. Aignan Is., do. ..      | Do. do. 1890.                 |
| 5. Tagula ..   | .. ..    | Sud Est Is., do. ..         | Do. do. 1890.                 |
| 6. Rona ..     | .. ..    | Rossel Is., do. ..          | Do. do. 1890.                 |

### III. *A comparison of the Melanesian and Papuan Languages of British New Guinea.*

In comparing the Melanesian and Papuan languages of British New Guinea it is necessary to note that only one grammar has been published, that of the Motu of Port Moresby. Texts have been printed in several of the other languages (Maiva, Hula, Keapara, Kerepunu, Suau, Saibai, Miriam, and Motumotu), and some sentences are in most cases given with the vocabularies in the Annual Reports. In what follows the Motu grammar of the Rev. W. G. Lawes is used as the standard of comparison, but notes and illustrations from the vocabularies and texts are combined with it. The examples of Miriam, Daudai, and Saibai grammar are from the MS. notes of Professor A. C. Haddon and the writer.<sup>1</sup> For examples of the typical Melanesian reference is made to the Rev. Dr. Codrington's work on "The Melanesian Languages."

To exhibit the agreement of the Melanesian languages of New Guinea with those of the islands, and also the difference between the two types, it will be sufficient here to offer a few remarks on Phonology, Pronouns, Adjectives, and Verbal particles.

1. *Phonology*.—The phonology of the Melanesian languages of New Guinea is very similar to that of the Solomon Islands, and the character of the sound-changes are exactly described by Dr. Codrington when speaking of the island languages, he says: "Sounds which differ one from the other correspond one to the other in different languages; and, interesting as the phonetic changes are, it is apparently impossible to show a law prevailing between one language and another. The reason for this probably is that the various languages and dialects have been brought irregularly into their present seats, not in successive and considerable migrations from one quarter or another, but by chance and petty movements of people whose language, though belonging to one family, was already much broken up and diversified."<sup>2</sup> To take only one example from the New Guinea languages, we find that generally the Kerepunu and Aroma *g* is dropped in Motu, e.g. Kerepunu *aigo*, Aroma *gaigo*, neck, Kerepunu, Aroma *gena*, his, Kerepunu *legi*, Aroma *regi*, grass, become *aio*, *ena*, *rei* in Motu. But in Motu *bagu* forehead, *digu* bathe, *gado* speech, Kerepunu *bagu*, *rigu*, *garo*, Aroma *pagu*, *riku*, *karo*, we find the guttural retained in each language. Moreover in the possessive pronoun "mine" we find the omission and retention in the same word, Motu *egu*, Kerepunu *gegu*, Aroma *geku*.

<sup>1</sup> A grammar and vocabulary of the Miriam will be found in part 1 of the "Study of the Languages of Torres Straits." Grammars and vocabularies of the Saibai and Daudai (or Kiwai) will appear in part 2.

<sup>2</sup> "Melanesian Languages," p. 202.

A fact worthy of notice is the loss in New Guinea of the gutturals *ng* as in sing, and *ngg* as in finger. These do not occur in any of the languages of the mainland except in Mekeo, where however *ng* seems to be a change from *r*. The omission of *ng* is compensated for by the lengthening of the vowel or substitution of *g* or *n*. Thus the common Melanesian words *langi* wind, *tangi* cry, appear in New Guinea as *lāi*, *agi*, and *tāi*, *hāi*, *agi*, *tani*.<sup>1</sup>

The compound consonant called the Melanesian *q* is found in New Guinea, but seems never to have its full sound *kpw*. It is not found in the Western Melanesian tongues Kabadi and Maiva, but is elsewhere represented by *bw*, *pw*, *kw*, and *gw*. In Tagula it is often nasalized as *mbw* and *ngw*.

2. *Pronouns*.—The Melanesian Pronouns of New Guinea are as follows.

|              | I.             | Thou.         | He.             | We<br>(inclusive). | We<br>exclusive). | You.           | They.              |
|--------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| Mekeo ..     | <i>lau</i> ..  | <i>oi</i> ..  | <i>ia</i> ..    | <i>naika</i> ..    | <i>lai</i> ..     | <i>aumi</i> .. | <i>iamo.</i>       |
| Maiva ..     | <i>au</i> ..   | <i>oi</i> ..  | <i>ia</i> ..    | <i>aika</i> ..     | <i>ai</i> ..      | <i>aii</i> ..  | <i>ia.</i>         |
| Laval ..     | <i>au</i> ..   | <i>oi</i> ..  | —               | —                  | —                 | —              | —                  |
| Nala..       | <i>lau</i> ..  | <i>oni</i> .. | <i>ia</i> ..    | <i>ita</i> ..      | <i>lai</i> ..     | <i>oi</i> ..   | <i>ia.</i>         |
| Kabadi ..    | <i>nana</i> .. | <i>onina</i>  | —               | <i>isada</i> ..    | <i>naida</i> ..   | <i>uida</i> .. | <i>iada.</i>       |
| Doura ..     | <i>nau</i> ..  | <i>oi</i> ..  | <i>ia</i> ..    | <i>namai</i> ..    | —                 | <i>umui</i> .. | <i>isia.</i>       |
| Mota ..      | <i>lau</i> ..  | <i>oi</i> ..  | <i>ia</i> ..    | <i>ita</i> ..      | <i>ai</i> ..      | <i>umui</i> .. | <i>idia.</i>       |
| Hula ..      | <i>au</i> ..   | <i>oi</i> ..  | <i>ia</i> ..    | ..                 | <i>ai</i> ..      | <i>omi</i> ..  | <i>ila.</i>        |
| Bula'a ..    | <i>au</i> ..   | <i>oi</i> ..  | <i>ia</i> ..    | <i>ia</i> ..       | <i>ai</i> ..      | <i>omi</i> ..  | <i>ila.</i>        |
| Keapara ..   | <i>au</i> ..   | <i>oi</i> ..  | <i>ia</i> ..    | <i>ia</i> ..       | <i>ai</i> ..      | <i>omi</i> ..  | <i>ila.</i>        |
| Kerepunu ..  | <i>au</i> ..   | <i>oi</i> ..  | <i>ia</i> ..    | <i>ia</i> ..       | <i>ai</i> ..      | <i>omi</i> ..  | <i>ila.</i>        |
| Aroma ..     | <i>lau</i> ..  | <i>goi</i> .. | <i>ia</i> ..    | <i>ia</i> ..       | <i>ai</i> ..      | <i>mui</i> ..  | <i>ira.</i>        |
| Sinaugolo .. | <i>au</i> ..   | <i>goi</i> .. | <i>gia</i> ..   | <i>ita</i> ..      | <i>gai</i> ..     | <i>gomi</i> .. | <i>gia.</i>        |
| Tarova ..    | <i>au</i> ..   | <i>goi</i> .. | <i>gia</i> ..   | —                  | —                 | <i>gomi</i> .. | <i>gia.</i>        |
| Sariba ..    | <i>yau</i> ..  | <i>koa</i> .. | <i>tenem</i> .. | <i>kita</i> ..     | <i>kai</i> ..     | <i>komi</i> .. | <i>sia.</i>        |
| Soua ..      | <i>eau</i> ..  | <i>oa</i> ..  | <i>ia</i> ..    | <i>ita</i> ..      | <i>ai</i> ..      | <i>omi</i> ..  | <i>isi.</i>        |
| Wari ..      | <i>iau</i> ..  | <i>kowa</i>   | <i>ia</i> ..    | —                  | <i>kai</i> ..     | <i>komin</i>   | <i>sia.</i>        |
| Awaiama ..   | <i>tau yai</i> | —             | —               | —                  | —                 | —              | —                  |
| East Cape .. | <i>tau</i> ..  | <i>tam</i>    | <i>iai</i> ..   | <i>tanta</i> ..    | —                 | <i>tamiai</i>  | <i>inugoneina.</i> |
| Dobu ..      | <i>ea</i> ..   | <i>u</i> ..   | <i>i</i> ..     | <i>ta</i> ..       | —                 | <i>omi</i> ..  | <i>si.</i>         |

<sup>1</sup> It may be noted here that words of identical origin often take in New Guinea, strangely different forms. Thus *hitolo*, hungry (New Hebrides *pitolo*) appears as *vio*; *ulu*, louse (the common *kutu*) is found as *gutu*, *uhu*, *gu*, *u*; *tabodiko*, west, in Motu, is *aurigo* in Kerepunu. These changes may be traced from one dialect to another (*hitolo*, *vitolo*, *violo*, *vioo*; *kutu*, *gutu*, *guku*, *gu*, *u*), but there is no absolute rule. The vowels are usually permanent.

A comparison of these with the Melanesian forms given in Dr. Codrington's work show a large amount of agreement, especially with the languages of the Solomon Islands, *e.g.* :—

|                              | I.        | Thou.     | He.        | We<br>(inclusive). | We<br>(exclusive). | You.        | They.            |
|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------|------------------|
| San Cristoval,<br>Wango ..   | <i>au</i> | <i>o</i>  | <i>ia</i>  | <i>iga'u</i>       | <i>ame'u</i>       | <i>amo</i>  | <i>ira'u.</i>    |
| Guadalcanar,<br>Vaturanga .. | <i>au</i> | <i>ho</i> | <i>aia</i> | <i>hita</i>        | <i>hami</i>        | <i>hamu</i> | <i>hira, ra.</i> |

A few of the New Guinea forms require notice, especially the plural first person exclusive, and third person. In the former of these there is a remarkable absence of any form of *ma*, *mam*, or *am*, which is commonly found in the islands, neither do the New Guinea words in this person show any resemblance to the exceptions found in Melanesia. In the third person the languages of the central districts alone have the common *la* or *ra*, with the personal prefix *i*. The others have a form of *isi* or *sia*. This word does not appear in the Melanesian lists as a personal pronoun, but it is found as a demonstrative and is the Solomon Is. Wango *esi*, Vanua Lava *es*, Sesake *se*. The Motu *idia* by a regular substitution of *d* for *s* is the same as *isi*.

The Melano-Papuan languages only partly agree with the Melanesian.<sup>1</sup>

|           | I.                              | Thou.                           | He.              | We.                                | You.            | They.                               |
|-----------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------------|
| Kiriwina  | <i>yegu</i>                     | <i>yoku, yokwa</i>              | —                | —                                  | —               | —                                   |
| Murua ..  | <i>yegu</i>                     | <i>yakom</i> ..                 | <i>kanmaneti</i> | <i>kadi</i> ..                     | <i>yakami</i>   | <i>toceaka.</i>                     |
| Nada ..   | <i>togu</i>                     | <i>tom</i> ..                   | <i>tona</i> ..   | <i>toda</i> ..                     | <i>tumis</i> .. | <i>tosi.</i>                        |
| Misima .. | <i>nau</i>                      | <i>owa</i> ..                   | <i>ia</i> ..     | —                                  | —               | <i>eria.</i>                        |
| Tagula .. | { <i>giya</i><br><i>ihini</i> } | { <i>kwenu</i><br><i>renu</i> } | <i>audanka</i>   | { <i>rageru</i><br><i>tagato</i> } | <i>deukuwa</i>  | { <i>degewu.</i><br><i>inena.</i> } |

Of these the Misima agrees with the New Guinea Melanesian, whilst the Nada forms and some of the Murua show the pronouns usual as possessive suffixes *gu*, *m*, *na*, &c.

The Papuan pronouns do not agree with the Melanesian, and show a great variety of forms with very doubtful correspondences.

<sup>1</sup> Only the root forms are here given; in the vocabularies, dual, trial, and plural forms are given, but the difference is mainly in the numeral affixed. The inclusive and exclusive forms are not distinctly made out.

|            | I.                          | Thou.                 | He.                 | We<br>(inclusive).   | We<br>(exclusive).   | You.                | They.               |
|------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Saibai ..  | ngai                        | ngi ..                | noi ..              | ngoi ..              | ngalpa ..            | ngita ..            | tana.               |
| Dabu ..    | { ngana<br>nga ..<br>una .. | { bungu<br>bungo<br>— | { bwainen<br>—<br>— | { ngami ..<br>—<br>— | { ngami ..<br>—<br>— | { bibi ..<br>—<br>— | { ubidag.<br>—<br>— |
| Kiwai ..   | mo ..                       | ro ..                 | nōū ..              | —                    | nimo ..              | nigo ..             | nei.                |
| Miriam ..  | { ka ..<br>kaka             | { ma ..<br>mama       | { e ..              | meriba ..            | keriba ..            | waba ..             | wiaba.              |
| Toaripi .. | arao                        | a'o ..                | areo ..             | erao ..              | erao ..              | eo ..               | ereo.               |
| Motumotu.. | ara ..                      | ao ..                 | areo ..             | leao ..              | ero ..               | eo ..               | ereo.               |
| Koiari ..  | da ..                       | a ..                  | eke ..              | noikoa ..            | noikoa ..            | yane ..             | yabuia.             |
| Koita ..   | da ..                       | ana ..                | au ..               | nokaki ..            | nokaki ..            | yana ..             | eaukaki.            |
| Kabana ..  | nahu                        | sasana                | derudaga            | agego ..             | agego ..             | inavaniga           | apagodago.          |
| Manukolin  | eme ..                      | ra ..                 | oi ..               | eme ..               | eme ..               | ra ..               | —                   |
| Domara ..  | ia ..                       | ga ..                 | adege ..            | gea ..               | gea ..               | gana ..             | oma.                |
| Mairu ..   | ia ..                       | ga ..                 | ateg ..             | kea ..               | kea ..               | aea ..              | oma.                |

It is, however, in expressing the idea of possession that the radical difference between the Melanesian and Papuan languages of New Guinea is most clearly seen. The former follow the common Melanesian rule, and suffix a pronoun to the names of parts of the body, relationships, and a few other words. These suffixed pronouns are *identical* with those used in the islands, and the Melano-Papuan languages show the same forms.

|           | My.     | Thy.  | His.    | Our<br>(inclusive). | Our<br>(exclusive). | Your.  | Their. |
|-----------|---------|-------|---------|---------------------|---------------------|--------|--------|
| Mekeo ..  | u ..    | mu .. | nga (?) | —                   | mai ..              | i ..   | i.     |
| Maiva ..  | u ..    | mu .. | na ..   | —                   | mai ..              | mi ..  | kia.   |
| Nala ..   | u ..    | mu .. | na ..   | ta ..               | mai ..              | mui .. | da.    |
| Kabadi .. | una (?) | mu .. | na ..   | —                   | mai ..              | mui .. | da.    |
| Motu ..   | gu ..   | mu .. | na ..   | da ..               | mai ..              | mui .. | dia.   |
| Hula ..   | gu ..   | mu .. | na ..   | —                   | mai ..              | —      | la.    |
| Bula'a .. | ku ..   | mu .. | na ..   | ra ..               | mai ..              | mi ..  | ra.    |
| Kerepunu  | gu ..   | mu .. | na ..   | —                   | ma ..               | mi ..  | ria.   |
| Aroma ..  | ku ..   | mu .. | na ..   | —                   | mai ..              | mi ..  | ria.   |
| Sinaugolo | gu ..   | mu .. | na ..   | ra ..               | ma ..               | mi ..  | ri.    |
| Tarova .. | gu ..   | —     | na ..   | —                   | —                   | —      | —      |
| Sariba .. | gu ..   | m ..  | na ..   | da ..               | —                   | mei .. | di.    |
| Susu ..   | gu ..   | mu .. | na ..   | da ..               | mai ..              | mi ..  | di.    |
| Awaiama   | u ..    | —     | na ..   | —                   | —                   | —      | —      |
| Dobu ..   | gu ..   | mu .. | na ..   | da ..               | ma ..               | mi ..  | di.    |
| Kiriwina  | gu ..   | m ..  | na ..   | —                   | —                   | —      | —      |
| Murua ..  | gu ..   | mu .. | na ..   | di ..               | —                   | mi ..  | si.    |
| Misima .. | —       | m ..  | na ..   | —                   | —                   | —      | ria.   |
| Nada ..   | gu ..   | mu .. | na ..   | da ..               | —                   | mia    | sa.    |

In the use of these pronouns, the New Guinea Melanesians have adopted a peculiar idiom from the Papuans, and use the ordinary form of the personal pronoun before the name of the object possessed, *e.g.* :—

| New Guinea. |    |                    | Melanesian Islands. <sup>1</sup> |    |                              |
|-------------|----|--------------------|----------------------------------|----|------------------------------|
| Sinaugolo   | .. | <i>au sina-gu.</i> | Espiritu Santo, Tangoa           | .. | <i>tina-gu</i> , my mother.  |
| Mekeo       | .. | <i>oi ima-mu.</i>  | Pentecost Is., Arag.             | .. | <i>lima-mu</i> , thy hand.   |
| Motu..      | .. | <i>ia tama-na.</i> | Solomon Is., Florida             | .. | <i>tama-na</i> , his father. |

That the New Guinea use is probably borrowed from the Papuan may be seen by comparison with the Koiari and Koita.

| Koiari, <i>ada</i> , hand. |    |    |                       | Koita, <i>omo</i> , head. |    |    |                   |
|----------------------------|----|----|-----------------------|---------------------------|----|----|-------------------|
| My hand                    | .. | .. | <i>di-ada-ke-ro.</i>  | My head                   | .. | .. | <i>di-omo-te.</i> |
| Thy hand                   | .. | .. | <i>ai-ada-ke-ro.</i>  | Thy head                  | .. | .. | <i>ai-omo-te.</i> |
| His hand                   | .. | .. | <i>eke-ada-ke-ro.</i> | His head                  | .. | .. | <i>au-omo-te.</i> |

For the general possessive suffixes *ke-ro* and *te* of the Koiari and Koita, the Melanesians have substituted the proper personal suffixes, but the personal pronoun is prefixed as in the Papuan. The Koiari *di-ada-ke-ro* is literally translated, I-hand-of, the Motu *lau-nima-gu*, I-hand-my.<sup>2</sup>

When not used with names of parts of the body and relationships the pronouns are suffixed to certain nouns indicating the nature of the thing possessed, or the degree in which it is related to the possessor. In the Melanesian languages of New Guinea two of these nouns are found. One is used only with property possessed, the other with food. The former is always *ge*, *ke*, or *e*, and corresponds to the Fiji *ne*, Florida *ni*. The second form, used with food is *ga*, *ka*, or *a*, and is identical with the noun used in the same sense throughout Melanesia.<sup>3</sup>

The Melano-Papuan languages of the Louisiades appear to follow the same rule as the Melanesian but the examples are not very clear. In Nada, however, my banana is *toqu bula mūila*, in Murua *ag eusi egū*, and my mat in Kiriwina is *ramoi egū*. In these *bula*, *toqu*, and *egū*, seem to show possessive nouns, in the two latter with suffix.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These three examples chosen from very different parts of Melanesia show how closely the New Guinea Melanesian languages may be compared with those of the islands, and form a strong argument in favour of a common origin.

<sup>2</sup> There is, however, a possibility of the pronoun being used by a native before the noun by way of explanation to one ignorant of the language, *i.e.*, in speaking to a foreigner, he will say, *me*, *my hand*, or *me*, *my banana*, in order to emphasise the person possessing.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Codrington, "Melanesian Languages," p. 128.

<sup>4</sup> *Bula* in the New Hebrides is often used as a possessive word. "Melanesian Languages," p. 131.



In the Papuan languages there are apparently no suffixed pronouns. The personal pronouns are put into the possessive, and other cases by suffixes which are often the same for all persons and numbers. The pronoun is in fact treated as a noun. The following examples of possessives are found in the Annual Reports and the Reading books:—

|             | Saibai.             | Kiwai.             | Miriam.          | Motumotu.       |
|-------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| I .. ..     | <i>nga-i</i> ..     | <i>mo</i> ..       | <i>ka</i> ..     | <i>ara-o</i> .  |
| My .. ..    | <i>nga-u</i> ..     | <i>mo-ro</i> ..    | <i>ka-ra</i> ..  | <i>ara-re</i> . |
| Thou .. ..  | <i>ngi</i> ..       | <i>ro</i> ..       | <i>ma</i> ..     | <i>a-o</i> .    |
| Thy .. ..   | <i>ngi-nu</i> ..    | <i>ro-ro</i> ..    | <i>ma-ra</i> ..  | <i>a-re</i> .   |
| He .. ..    | <i>no-i</i> ..      | <i>nou</i> ..      | <i>e</i> ..      | <i>are-o</i> .  |
| His .. ..   | <i>no-ngo</i> ..    | <i>nou-na</i> ..   | <i>aba-ra</i> .. | <i>are-re</i> . |
| We .. ..    | <i>ngoi</i> ..      | <i>nimo</i> ..     | <i>keriba</i> .. | <i>ero</i> .    |
| Our .. ..   | <i>ngoi-mun</i> ..  | <i>nimo-na</i> ..  | <i>keriba</i> .. | <i>ero-re</i> . |
| You .. ..   | <i>ngita</i> ..     | <i>nigo</i> ..     | <i>waba</i> ..   | <i>e-o</i> .    |
| Your .. ..  | <i>ngita-mun</i> .. | <i>nigo-nai</i> .. | <i>waba</i> ..   | <i>e-re</i> .   |
| They .. ..  | <i>tana</i> ..      | <i>nei</i> ..      | <i>wiaba</i> ..  | <i>ere-o</i> .  |
| Their .. .. | <i>tana-mun</i> ..  | <i>nei-nai</i> ..  | <i>wiaba</i> ..  | <i>ere-re</i> . |

|             | Koiari.             | Koita.              | Domara.             | Mairu.             |
|-------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| I .. ..     | <i>da</i> ..        | <i>da</i> ..        | <i>ia</i> ..        | <i>ia</i> .        |
| My .. ..    | <i>da-iero</i> ..   | <i>da-iraki</i> ..  | <i>ia-ina</i> ..    | <i>i-na</i> .      |
| Thou .. ..  | <i>a</i> ..         | <i>a-na</i> ..      | <i>ga</i> ..        | <i>ga</i> .        |
| Thy .. ..   | <i>ariero</i> ..    | <i>a-ieraki</i> ..  | <i>ga-na</i> ..     | <i>ga-na</i> .     |
| He .. ..    | <i>eke</i> ..       | <i>au</i> ..        | <i>adege</i> ..     | <i>ateg</i> .      |
| His .. ..   | <i>eke-ero</i> ..   | <i>au-ieraki</i> .. | <i>ategi-ena</i> .. | <i>ategi-ena</i> . |
| We .. ..    | <i>n-oikoa</i> ..   | <i>no-kaki</i> ..   | <i>gea</i> ..       | <i>kea</i> .       |
| Our .. ..   | <i>n-iero</i> ..    | <i>no-iraki</i> ..  | <i>keke-na</i> ..   | <i>keke-na</i> .   |
| You .. ..   | <i>ya-ne</i> ..     | <i>ya-na</i> ..     | <i>gana</i> ..      | <i>aea</i> .       |
| Your .. ..  | <i>ya-iero</i> ..   | <i>ya-iaraki</i> .. | <i>aea-na</i> ..    | <i>aea-na</i> .    |
| They .. ..  | <i>yabu-ia</i> ..   | <i>eau-kaki</i> ..  | <i>oma</i> ..       | <i>oma</i> .       |
| Their .. .. | <i>yabu-iero</i> .. | <i>eau-araki</i> .. | <i>oma-na</i> ..    | <i>oma-na</i> .    |

The full declension of the pronoun (and the noun) by means of suffixed particles is certainly found in the Saibai, Kiwai, and Miriam. It has probably not been expected in the other Papuan vocabularies and therefore does not appear in the examples given. As it exists in those better known it probably exists in all.

In the singular number the Saibai, Miriam, and Kiwai cases are found as follows:—

|                 | Saibai.            | Kiwai.              | Miriam.          |
|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| I .. ..         | <i>ngai</i> ..     | <i>mo</i> ...       | <i>ka.</i>       |
| of me .. ..     | <i>ngau</i> ..     | <i>moro</i> ..      | <i>kara.</i>     |
| to me .. ..     | <i>ngaeapa</i> ..  | <i>morogido</i> ..  | <i>karim.</i>    |
| me .. ..        | <i>ngona</i> ..    | <i>mo</i> ..        | <i>kare.</i>     |
| from me .. ..   | <i>ngaungu</i> ..  | <i>morogaut</i> ..  | <i>kurielam.</i> |
| with me .. ..   | <i>ngaibia</i> ..  | <i>morogomoa</i> .. | <i>karedog.</i>  |
| by me .. ..     | <i>ngatō</i> ..    | —                   | —                |
| Thou .. ..      | <i>ngi</i> ..      | <i>ro</i> ..        | <i>ma.</i>       |
| of thee .. ..   | <i>nginu</i> ..    | <i>roro</i> ..      | <i>mara.</i>     |
| to thee .. ..   | <i>ngibepa</i> ..  | <i>rorogido</i> ..  | <i>marim.</i>    |
| thee .. ..      | —                  | <i>ro</i> ..        | <i>mare.</i>     |
| from thee .. .. | <i>nginungu</i> .. | <i>rorogaut</i> ..  | <i>marielam.</i> |
| with thee .. .. | <i>ngibia</i> ..   | <i>rogomoa</i> ..   | <i>maredog.</i>  |
| by thee .. ..   | <i>ngidō</i> ..    | —                   | —                |
| He .. ..        | <i>noi</i> ..      | <i>nou</i> ..       | <i>e.</i>        |
| of him .. ..    | <i>nonga</i> ..    | <i>nouna</i> ..     | <i>abara.</i>    |
| to him .. ..    | <i>nubepa</i> ..   | <i>nougido</i> ..   | <i>abim.</i>     |
| him .. ..       | <i>noino</i> ..    | <i>nou</i> ..       | <i>abi.</i>      |
| from him .. ..  | <i>nungungu</i> .. | <i>nougaut</i> ..   | <i>abielam.</i>  |
| with him .. ..  | <i>nubia</i> ..    | <i>nogomoa</i> ..   | <i>abidog.</i>   |
| by him .. ..    | <i>noidō</i> ..    | —                   | —                |

There is no declension by suffixed particles in any Melanesian language, unless the Savo of Solomon Islands, a language already noted as different in many respects to its neighbours, be regarded as an exception. This language has in the possessive the appearance of a suffix:—

|            |                  |             |               |           |                         |
|------------|------------------|-------------|---------------|-----------|-------------------------|
| I .. ..    | <i>ai, agni.</i> | Thou .. ..  | <i>no.</i>    | He .. ..  | <i>lo.</i>              |
| My .. ..   | <i>ai-ra.</i>    | Thy .. ..   | <i>no-ra.</i> | His .. .. | <i>lo-ra.</i>           |
| Mine .. .. | <i>agnia.</i>    | Thine .. .. | <i>noa.</i>   | His .. .. | <i>loa.<sup>1</sup></i> |

These should be compared with the Motumotu.

|          |                |            |              |           |                |
|----------|----------------|------------|--------------|-----------|----------------|
| I .. ..  | <i>ara.</i>    | Thou .. .. | <i>ao.</i>   | He .. ..  | <i>areo.</i>   |
| My .. .. | <i>ara-re.</i> | Thy .. ..  | <i>a-re.</i> | His .. .. | <i>are-re.</i> |

The interrogative pronouns in the Melanesian languages of New Guinea are the same as in the island languages, *Who?* being usually some form of *Sci* (*dai, rai, lai, eai, kai, tai*), and *What?* some form of *Sava*<sup>2</sup> (*daka, raka, raga, saka, kara, tara*).

In the Papuan languages these pronouns have (as far as they are known) different forms. In Saibai, Miriam, and Kiwai they are declined by suffixes as nouns.

3. *Adjectives*.—The vocabularies give few examples of adjective constructions in the Papuan languages, but in Saibai, Kiwai,

<sup>1</sup> "Melanesian Languages," p. 561.

<sup>2</sup> "Melanesian Languages," p. 133.

Miriam, and Motumotu, the adjective precedes the noun. In the Melanesian tongues, both of New Guinea and the islands, the adjective follows. The adjectival termination *ga*, common in the Solomon Is., Banks Is., and New Hebrides, as *ga*, *gi*, 'a, *a*, *ha* is found in the Motu, Bulā'a, and Sinaugolo, as *ka*; *au-ka*, hard (*au*, wood); *pou-ka*, rotten (*pou*, to ferment). The adjectival prefix *ma* is also found in Motu.

The word equivalent to the English "alone," "by one's self," is in the Motu, Keapara, and Kerepunu, as in the island languages, a noun used with suffixed pronouns (*my*, *thy*, *his lone*).

Compare the following examples from all parts of Melanesia.

| Motu.             |    | Aurora Is.,<br>Maewo. |    | Malekula,<br>Pangkumu. |    | Efate.          |
|-------------------|----|-----------------------|----|------------------------|----|-----------------|
| <i>sibo-gu</i> .. | .. | <i>tabu-k</i> ..      | .. | <i>jombo-g</i> ..      | .. | <i>tuma-gu.</i> |
| <i>sibo-mu</i> .. | .. | <i>tabu-nga</i> ..    | .. | <i>jombo-m</i> ..      | .. | <i>tuma-mu.</i> |
| <i>sibo-na</i> .. | .. | <i>tabu-na</i> ..     | .. | <i>jombo-n</i> ..      | .. | <i>tuma-na.</i> |

| Keapara and<br>Kerepunu. |    | Solomon Is.,<br>Florida. |    | Solomon Is.,<br>Isabel. |    | Espiritu Santo<br>Tangoa. |
|--------------------------|----|--------------------------|----|-------------------------|----|---------------------------|
| <i>gereha-gu</i> ..      | .. | <i>hege-gu</i> ..        | .. | <i>hege-gu</i> ..       | .. | <i>kase-ku.</i>           |
| <i>gereha-mu</i> ..      | .. | <i>hege-mu</i> ..        | .. | <i>hege-mu</i> ..       | .. | <i>kase-m.</i>            |
| <i>gereha-na</i> ..      | .. | <i>hege-na</i> ..        | .. | <i>hege-gna</i> ..      | .. | <i>kase-na.</i>           |

In the vocabularies the Aroma *kereka-na*, Kabadi *sipo-na*, Maiva *kipo-na*, with the suffix of third person, show that those dialects follow the same use.

4. *Verbal Forms*.—The verb in the Melanesian languages of British New Guinea presents a close analogy to that of the islands. A verb is distinctly pointed out as such by a particle, varying (as in the Solomon Is.) with each person and number. This particle has no temporal force and the exact time requires definition by an adverb.

The simple forms found in New Guinea are the following:—

|              | Singular.      |              |                 | Plural.          |                 |                 |                 |
|--------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|              | 1.             | 2.           | 3.              | (inclusive).     | 1 (exclusive).  | 2.              | 3.              |
| Mekeo ..     | <i>a</i> ..    | <i>o</i> ..  | <i>e</i> ..     | —                | <i>ina</i> ..   | <i>ino</i> ..   | <i>e</i> .      |
| Maiya ..     | <i>na</i> ..   | <i>ko</i> .. | <i>e</i> ..     | —                | —               | —               | <i>e</i> .      |
| Nala ..      | <i>ba</i> ..   | <i>bo</i> .. | <i>be</i> ..    | —                | <i>ba</i> ..    | <i>bo</i> ..    | <i>be</i> .     |
| Motu ..      | <i>na</i> ..   | <i>o</i> ..  | <i>e</i> ..     | <i>ta</i> ..     | <i>a</i> ..     | <i>o</i> ..     | <i>e</i> .      |
| Bula'a ..    | <i>a</i> ..    | <i>o</i> ..  | <i>e</i> ..     | <i>e</i> ..      | <i>a</i> ..     | <i>io</i> ..    | <i>ie</i> .     |
| Keapara ..   | <i>a</i> ..    | <i>o</i> ..  | <i>e</i> ..     | <i>e</i> ..      | <i>a, ga</i> .. | <i>go</i> ..    | <i>ge</i> .     |
| Kerepunu ..  | —              | —            | <i>e</i> ..     | —                | —               | —               | <i>ge</i> .     |
| Sinaugolo .. | <i>a</i> ..    | <i>o</i> ..  | <i>e</i> ..     | —                | <i>ga</i> ..    | <i>go</i> ..    | <i>ge</i> .     |
| Sariba ..    | <i>ya</i> ..   | <i>ku</i> .. | <i>ye</i> ..    | <i>ta</i> ..     | —               | <i>kwa</i> ..   | <i>se</i> .     |
| Suau ..      | <i>ea</i> ..   | <i>u, ue</i> | <i>ie, i</i> .. | <i>ta</i> ..     | <i>aie</i> ..   | <i>au, aue</i>  | <i>si, se</i> . |
| Dobu ..      | <i>ea</i> ..   | <i>u</i> ..  | <i>i</i> ..     | <i>ta</i> ..     | —               | <i>ua</i> ..    | <i>si</i> .     |
| Nada ..      | <i>e, a</i> .. | <i>ku, a</i> | <i>i</i> ..     | <i>ta, te</i> .. | —               | <i>mi, i</i> .. | <i>si, i</i> .  |

There is a general agreement in the forms of the particles, but with the exception of the Motu, they have not been thoroughly understood and require further and closer study.

The transitive suffixes, so characteristic of the island languages have not been noticed in the Motu grammar, but their existence is apparent in the vocabulary. Transitive verbs have the endings, *a, i, ba, bai, nai, lai, rai, tai*, which in form and use seem to represent the Melanesian transitive suffixes.<sup>1</sup> Examples are: *rogea*, to store in a *roge* (storehouse); *guguba*, to hold tightly, *gugubaia*, to break it by holding tightly (*gugu*, to clasp); *alala*, to kill him (*alala*, war); *lou*, to return, *lou laia*, to return it; *ahedinaraia*, to confess it, expose it; *aheqaganaia*, to cause him to stumble, *pipitaia*, to wipe it out with the forefinger.

In New Guinea personal pronouns are suffixed to the verbs as in the Solomon Islands and New Hebrides.

The causative prefix is *vaka, va, ha, veba, he*. (The *vaka, va* of the island languages) Keapara *vaka-ripa*, Motu *ha-diba ia*, Kerepunu *vaa-riiba*, Bula'a *va-dipa*, Aroma *veba-riiba*, Kabadi *va-isa-va-isa*, Suau *he-ata*, to teach, cause to know (*diba, riiba, dipa, isa, ata*, to know).

<sup>1</sup> "Lai or rai with the suffix of the person added to the verb denotes the instrumental 'with' or objective 'at.'" "Sometimes it means 'of.'" (Lawes' "Motu Grammar," p. 11). The examples given are *Dabua hurilaia ranu*; *ia niu ta lau koilaigu*; *umui lau kirikirilaigu*, which would be literally "clothing wash-with-it water; he coconut-one me deceive-by-me; you me laugh-at-me." The suffixes *lai* and *rai* (in Kerepunu *lagi, ragi*) are here very like the Melanesian *laki, raki*, which serve to determine the action of the verb upon its object. Another example given is *koau*, to speak, *koaulaia*, to speak of or about it.

The reciprocal prefix is *he*, or *ve* (the island *vei*). Motu *he-adava*, Keapara *ve-arava*, Kerepunu *ve-arava*, Aroma *be-garawa*, &c., to marry, to be husband and wife (*adava*, *arava*, &c.) to one another.

The Papuan verb cannot be discussed, as nothing is known of its details beyond the fact of its possessing very complicated forms similar to those of the Australian languages. In the Torres Straits languages which have been discussed elsewhere by Professor Haddon and the writer, it appears that relations of *place* are indicated by the verbal forms.<sup>1</sup>

The agreements of the Melanesian languages of New Guinea with those of the islands need not be discussed in further detail here. They can be found in every section of the Grammar, and enough has been brought forward to justify the classification made in the former part of this paper. The argument sustained by the grammar can be strengthened by an examination of vocabularies and for this purpose a short list of New Guinea words is appended for comparison with the list in Dr. Codrington's "*Melanesian Languages*"<sup>2</sup> and with my own vocabularies from the New Hebrides.<sup>3</sup>

A comparison shows:

1. That the commonest words in the New Guinea languages which are here called Melanesian are also the commonest words in the island languages:—Bird, *manu*; blood, *rara*; bone, *suri* or *turi*; butterfly, *bebe*; ear, *talinga*<sup>4</sup>; father, *tama*; hand, *ima*, *nima*; house, *ruma*, *vuma*; leaf, *rau*; louse, *kutu*; man, *ta*, *tau*; moon, *bula*, *vula*<sup>4</sup>; mother, *sina*, *ina*; nose, *isu*, *udu*; star, *risiu*; sun, *alo*, *sina*<sup>5</sup>; tongue, *mea*, *mala*; tree, *kai*; water, *vai*, *bei*, *ranu*; woman, *ravinc*.
2. That apparent exceptions and compounds are also Melanesian:—*Rovororo* for bird is, in the islands, as well as in New Guinea, a verb, to fly. *Navarai* for moon in Eastern New Guinea is *na warowaro* in Malanta. The Sariba *ta-moi*, man, is probably the Efate New Hebrides *tu-moli*, the ordinary man, not a *ta-mate*, dead man or ghost, New Guinea *tau-mate*.
3. That in a few cases where a Melanesian word appears in

<sup>1</sup> See "Study of Languages of Torres Straits," part I, p. 539.

<sup>2</sup> "Melanesian Languages," pp. 39-52.

<sup>3</sup> S. H. Ray: "Sketch of Api Grammar," in "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," vol. xviii, 1889, p. 302, and "Languages of New Hebrides." "Proceedings of Roy. Soc. of N. S. Wales," 1893.

<sup>4</sup> These words illustrate a common sound-change between the New Guinea and island languages. By the loss of *ng* and *l*, *talinga* and *vula* become *taia*, or *taia*; *ua* or *bua*.

The island *s* usually becomes *d* in New Guinea.

a Papuan list it is always in the same form as in the nearest Melanesian tongue, and hence is probably a loan word. In many cases its insertion may be due to the Melanesian medium through which the vocabulary was obtained.

Examples are seen in the Domara and Mairu words for bird, blood, butterfly, hand, star, and sun, *manu*, *rara*, *bebe*, *ima*, *visiu*, *nina*. With the exception of the two last these agree with the neighbouring Aroma dialect. *Visiu* and *nina* may be due to the interpreter's knowledge of Motu, now almost a Lingua Franca on the south-eastern shores of New Guinea.<sup>1</sup>

4. The Melanesian numerals of New Guinea fully illustrate the chapter on Numeration in Dr. Codrington's work.<sup>2</sup> The root forms for the numerals from two to five are : *rua*, *koi* or *toi* for *tolu*, *vasi* or *vai* for *vati*, *ima* for *lima* or *nima*. Higher numbers than five are expressed by addition, or by a prefixed form of the word *taura*, which may be compared with the Banks' Island *tuara*, a corresponding one, a fellow, so that *taura-toi* for "six" literally means the "corresponding three," i.e., on another hand.

The numeral for one is in some dialects *sega*, the *sikai* of the islands, with a prefix *ku* as in the New Hebrides. In other cases the word given is apparently an ordinal, "first one," as in Kabadi *ka-pea*, in Efate New Hebrides, *pea*, first; Motu, *ta-mona*, Banks' Islands, *moai*, first. The Papuan numeration is on the level of the Australian, and rarely goes beyond two. When higher numerals are found they are either translations of Melanesian expressions, or loan words.

I do not propose to make any remarks this evening upon the customs of the New Guinea races. So far as I have been able to examine the very meagre accounts which we possess of the habits and customs of the people, they appear to confirm the distinctions which, based only upon the language, I have endeavoured to set before you. On some other occasion I hope to bring forward some evidence with regard to customs which will show that the Motu and allied tribes, as well as the Melanesians of South and East Capes, are connected with the island populations, though constant intercourse between Papuans and Melanesians for many generations have no doubt resulted in a partial assimilation.

<sup>1</sup> That errors will creep into vocabularies by this means is seen in Macgregor's "Kiwai Vocabulary" (Report on New Guinea, 1890), where the Motu *hanna-boi* is given for 'night' instead of the native term *duo*.

<sup>2</sup> "Melanesian Languages," pp. 220-251.

In conclusion, two other matters may be briefly referred to. One relates to the *place* whence the Melanesian immigrants into New Guinea originally came, and the other to the *direction* in which the migrations of the Oceanic and Polynesian races have taken place.

With regard to the place of origin of the Melanesian population of New Guinea, it does not seem possible to ascertain the exact quarter from which it has come. There is at first sight much dissimilarity between the languages west and east, between the Motu and Kerepunu on the one side, and the Suau of South Cape on the other. Though this dissimilarity disappears on closer examination it may be stated that the language of Suau appears very similar to those of San Cristoval in the Solomon Islands, which lies almost due east of South Cape. The Motu and Kerepunu agree more with the languages of the Efate district in the Central New Hebrides.

In reference to the direction of Oceanic migrations the results here set forth are instructive. If the Melanesians, and by inference the Polynesians, were immigrants into the island region the stream of immigration flowed north of New Guinea and not *via* Torres Straits. Melanesians, like those of the islands, have not occupied the western shores of the Papuan Gulf.

The classification of New Guinea races proposed here may hereafter require modification, especially with regard to the very imperfectly understood Papuan tongues, which may perhaps be found more closely connected with the Australian than is now apparent. Their complicated structure is against the cultivation of any of them as a means of communication with the natives. Their difference, and the limited area they occupy, act in the same direction. The outlook for the student is not promising, as most of the mission work among the tribes is that of native teachers, Polynesians or Melanesians, whose native idioms are so very different to the Papuan, that the translations made by them can hardly be depended upon.

It is doubtful whether any accurate scientific data will be forthcoming unless an investigation is made similar to that undertaken by the British Association in North-West Canada. Science owes much to the labour and care of Sir William Macgregor in obtaining information upon the languages and customs of New Guinea natives, but there is still a large amount of information required. This will necessitate patient and laborious investigation.

In the Appendix, consonants are sounded as in English, the vowels as in German. For comparison, the equivalents are given in: *Nuför*, Dutch New Guinea, *Jabim*, German New Guinea, and in *Buka*, *Alu*, and *Savö*, Solomon Islands.

## APPENDIX—COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF NEW GUINEA DIALECTS.

|                | 1.<br>Bird.          | 2.<br>Blood.      | 3.<br>Bone.       | 4.<br>Butterfly.         | 5.<br>Ear.           |
|----------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Mekeo ..    | <i>nge'i, ingnei</i> | <i>ifā</i>        | <i>ungia</i>      | <i>fefe</i>              | <i>aina.</i>         |
| 2. Maiva ..    | <i>rororovo</i>      | <i>aruaru</i>     | <i>uria</i>       | <i>peropero</i>          | <i>haia.</i>         |
| 3. Laval ..    | <i>rahorabo</i>      | —                 | —                 | <i>ibibi</i>             | <i>haia.</i>         |
| 4. Nala ..     | <i>manu</i>          | <i>lala</i>       | <i>kulia</i>      | <i>ebebe</i>             | <i>kaia.</i>         |
| 5. Kabadi ..   | <i>manu</i>          | <i>rara</i>       | <i>kuri</i>       | <i>poiōo</i>             | <i>kai.</i>          |
| 6. Doura ..    | <i>komatara</i>      | <i>lala</i>       | <i>kuria</i>      | <i>meabinava</i>         | <i>kaia.</i>         |
| 7. Motu ..     | <i>manu</i>          | <i>rara</i>       | <i>turi</i>       | <i>kaubebe</i>           | <i>taia.</i>         |
| 8. Hula ..     | —                    | —                 | —                 | —                        | —                    |
| 9. Bula'a ..   | <i>manu</i>          | <i>rala</i>       | <i>iliga</i>      | <i>pepe</i>              | <i>kea.</i>          |
| 10. Keapara .. | <i>manu</i>          | <i>lala</i>       | —                 | —                        | <i>eha.</i>          |
| 11. Kerepunu   | <i>manu</i>          | <i>rala</i>       | <i>iligū</i>      | <i>bebe</i>              | <i>eha.</i>          |
| 12. Aroma ..   | <i>manu</i>          | <i>rara</i>       | <i>iliga</i>      | <i>pepe</i>              | <i>ega.</i>          |
| 13. Sinaugolo  | <i>manu</i>          | <i>lala</i>       | <i>turiga</i>     | <i>kaubebe</i>           | <i>sega.</i>         |
| 14. Tarova ..  | <i>manu</i>          | <i>lala</i>       | <i>turiga</i>     | <i>kaubebe</i>           | <i>sega.</i>         |
| 15. Sariba ..  | <i>roro</i>          | <i>kuasi</i>      | <i>siria</i>      | <i>bebe</i>              | <i>bea.</i>          |
| 16. Mugula     | —                    | —                 | —                 | —                        | <i>teina.</i>        |
| 17. Suau ..    | <i>manu</i>          | <i>osisi</i>      | <i>siata</i>      | <i>bebe</i>              | <i>bea.</i>          |
| 18. Brumer Is. | —                    | —                 | —                 | <i>bebi</i>              | <i>bea.</i>          |
| 19. Wari ..    | —                    | —                 | —                 | —                        | —                    |
| 20. Awaiama    | <i>manu-digudigu</i> | <i>tara</i>       | <i>geami</i>      | <i>kapeu</i>             | <i>taniga.</i>       |
| 21. East Cape  | —                    | —                 | —                 | —                        | —                    |
| 22. Dobu ..    | <i>manua</i>         | <i>rara</i>       | <i>lulu</i>       | <i>pepe-kwa</i>          | <i>tena.</i>         |
| 23. Kiriwina   | <i>manua</i>         | <i>buiawi</i>     | —                 | <i>beba</i>              | <i>teiga.</i>        |
| 24. Mura ..    | <i>mān</i>           | <i>buiari</i>     | <i>tatua</i>      | <i>bebi</i>              | <i>tēga.</i>         |
| 25. Nuda ..    | <i>mānū</i>          | <i>buiūi</i>      | <i>tatuwa</i>     | <i>beba</i>              | <i>tina.</i>         |
| 26. Misima     | <i>kahin</i>         | <i>maiya</i>      | <i>tuatua</i>     | <i>bebebi</i>            | <i>tanam.</i>        |
| 27. Tagula ..  | <i>ma</i>            | <i>madibu</i>     | <i>waknia</i>     | <i>bebi</i>              | <i>enowa.</i>        |
| 28. Roua ..    | —                    | —                 | —                 | —                        | <i>ngoda.</i>        |
| 29. Saibai ..  | <i>urui</i>          | <i>kulka</i>      | <i>ridō</i>       | <i>paikau</i>            | <i>kaura.</i>        |
| 30. Dabu ..    | <i>papa</i>          | <i>mem, mam</i>   | <i>kut</i>        | <i>papapi, nipurigan</i> | <i>ran, ika.</i>     |
| 31. Mowat ..   | <i>hologo</i>        | <i>arima</i>      | <i>oro</i>        | —                        | <i>epate.</i>        |
| 32. Kiwai ..   | <i>wowogo</i>        | <i>arima</i>      | <i>soro</i>       | <i>maupo</i>             | <i>gare, sepate.</i> |
| 33. Miriam ..  | <i>ebur</i>          | <i>mam</i>        | <i>lid</i>        | <i>kap</i>               | <i>laip, gerip.</i>  |
| 34. Tunu ..    | —                    | —                 | —                 | <i>boiboi</i>            | <i>kwopāti.</i>      |
| 35. Evorra ..  | —                    | —                 | —                 | <i>boiboi</i>            | <i>kapāra.</i>       |
| 36. Toaripi .. | <i>ori</i>           | <i>ovo</i>        | <i>uti</i>        | <i>pipi</i>              | <i>kirori.</i>       |
| 37. Elema ..   | <i>ori</i>           | —                 | —                 | <i>hibi</i>              | <i>arato.</i>        |
| 38. Motumotu   | <i>ori</i>           | <i>ovo</i>        | <i>uti</i>        | <i>kaokao</i>            | <i>kirori.</i>       |
| 39. Koiari ..  | <i>ugu</i>           | <i>tago</i>       | <i>itafa</i>      | <i>araku</i>             | <i>ifiko.</i>        |
| 40. Eikiri ..  | <i>ugu</i>           | <i>tagho</i>      | <i>torika</i>     | <i>arako</i>             | <i>ipiko.</i>        |
| 41. Koita ..   | <i>ugwa</i>          | <i>tago</i>       | <i>ita</i>        | <i>beberuka</i>          | <i>ihiko.</i>        |
| 42. Maiari ..  | <i>uku</i>           | <i>tao</i>        | <i>tori</i>       | <i>arako</i>             | <i>iika</i>          |
| 43. Favere ..  | <i>ugu</i>           | <i>tagho</i>      | <i>tori</i>       | <i>avako</i>             | <i>ihiko.</i>        |
| 44. Kupele ..  | <i>ugu</i>           | <i>aghore</i>     | <i>nokeiso</i>    | <i>arako</i>             | <i>kerema.</i>       |
| 45. Meroka ..  | <i>ugu</i>           | <i>aghore</i>     | <i>nokeiso</i>    | <i>avaka</i>             | <i>kerema.</i>       |
| 46. Kabana ..  | <i>tubureda</i>      | <i>tanara</i>     | <i>kunia</i>      | <i>maiabinata</i>        | <i>gadero.</i>       |
| 47. Manukoliu  | <i>neni</i>          | <i>ro</i>         | <i>ehine</i>      | <i>beberoho</i>          | <i>abi.</i>          |
| 48. Domara     | <i>manu</i>          | <i>nara, lara</i> | <i>kisa, kita</i> | <i>bebe</i>              | <i>ope.</i>          |
| 49. Mairu ..   | <i>manu</i>          | <i>rara</i>       | <i>kita</i>       | <i>bebe</i>              | <i>obe.</i>          |



|              | 1.<br>Bird.      | 2.<br>Blood.     | 3.<br>Bone.      | 4.<br>Butterfly.   | 5.<br>Ear.       |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 50. Nufor .. | <i>mān</i> ..    | <i>riek</i> ..   | <i>kor</i> ..    | <i>apop</i> ..     | <i>knasi.</i>    |
| 51. Jabim .. | <i>mo</i> ..     | <i>de</i> ..     | —                | <i>molilip</i> ..  | <i>tangeiu.</i>  |
| 52. Buka ..  | <i>kala</i> ..   | <i>rehetsing</i> | <i>silo</i> ..   | <i>bebe</i> ..     | <i>dalingu.</i>  |
| 53. Alu ..   | <i>maraka</i> .. | <i>masini</i> .. | <i>shuma</i> ..  | <i>bebe</i> ..     | <i>tana.</i>     |
| 54. Savo ..  | <i>kosu</i> ..   | <i>gabū</i> ..   | <i>torolo</i> .. | <i>bebe-ula</i> .. | <i>tanggalu.</i> |

|                   | 6.<br>Father.      | 7.<br>Hand, arm.                 | 8.<br>House.                  | 9.<br>Leaf.  | 10.<br>Louse.                   |
|-------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| 1. Mekeo ..       | <i>ama</i> ..      | <i>imau afe,</i><br><i>ima'a</i> | <i>e'a</i> ..                 | <i>aungā</i><br><i>aunga</i>                         | <i>u'u.</i>                     |
| 2. Maiva ..       | <i>hama</i> ..     | <i>ima</i> ..                    | <i>itu</i> ..                 | <i>rau</i> ..  | <i>uhu.</i>                     |
| 3. Laval ..       | <i>hama</i> ..     | <i>ima</i> ..                    | <i>itu</i> ..                 | —  | —                               |
| 4. Nala ..        | <i>gama</i> ..     | <i>ima</i> ..                    | <i>luma</i> ..                | <i>uaua</i> ..                                       | <i>uku.</i>                     |
| 5. Kabadi ..      | <i>auana</i> ..    | <i>ima</i> ..                    | <i>ruma</i> ..                | <i>meka</i> ..                                       | <i>amuni.</i>                   |
| 6. Doura ..       | <i>kama</i> ..     | <i>ima</i> ..                    | <i>ruma</i> ..                | <i>rau</i> ..  | <i>uku.</i>                     |
| 7. Motu ..        | <i>tama</i> ..     | <i>ima</i> ..                    | <i>ruma</i> ..                | <i>rau</i> ..  | <i>utu.</i>                     |
| 8. Hula ..        | <i>ama</i> ..      | <i>gima</i> ..                   | <i>numa</i> ..                | —  | —                               |
| 9. Bula'a ..      | <i>ama</i> ..      | <i>gima</i> ..                   | <i>numa</i> ..                | <i>lau</i> ..  | <i>gu.</i>                      |
| 10. Keapara ..    | <i>ama</i> ..      | <i>gima</i> ..                   | <i>numa</i> ..                | <i>lau</i> ..  | —                               |
| 11. Kerepunu ..   | <i>ama</i> ..      | <i>gima</i> ..                   | <i>numa</i> ..                | <i>lau</i> ..  | <i>gu.</i>                      |
| 12. Aroma ..      | <i>ama</i> ..      | <i>ima</i> ..                    | <i>numa</i> ..                | <i>rau</i> ..  | <i>u.</i>                       |
| 13. Sinaugolo ..  | <i>tama</i> ..     | <i>ima</i> ..                    | <i>numa</i> ..                | <i>lau</i> ..  | <i>gutu.</i>                    |
| 14. Tarova ..     | <i>tama</i> ..     | <i>ima</i> ..                    | <i>numa</i> ..                | <i>rau</i> ..  | <i>ghutu.</i>                   |
| 15. Sariba ..     | <i>tama</i> ..     | <i>nima</i> ..                   | <i>numa</i> ..                | <i>lugu</i> ..                                       | <i>tuma.</i>                    |
| 16. Mugula ..     | —                  | —                                | —                             | —  | —                               |
| 17. Suau ..       | <i>tama</i> ..     | <i>nima</i> ..                   | <i>numa</i> ..                | <i>lau</i> ..  | <i>tuma.</i>                    |
| 18. Brumer Is. .. | <i>sibawa</i> ..   | <i>nima</i> ..                   | <i>maia</i> ..                | —  | —                               |
| 19. Wari ..       | <i>tama</i> ..     | —                                | —                             | —  | —                               |
| 20. Awaiama ..    | <i>tama</i> ..     | <i>nima</i> ..                   | <i>numa</i> ..                | <i>rugu</i> ..                                       | <i>utu</i>                      |
| 21. East Cape ..  | <i>ama</i> ..      | —                                | —                             | —  | —                               |
| 22. Dobu ..       | <i>tama</i> ..     | <i>nima</i> ..                   | <i>anua</i> ..                | <i>iawana</i> ..                                     | <i>utu.</i>                     |
| 23. Kiriwina ..   | <i>tama</i> ..     | <i>ima</i> ..                    | <i>bwala</i> ..               | <i>egavana</i> ..                                    | <i>kutu.</i>                    |
| 24. Murua ..      | <i>tama</i> ..     | <i>nima,</i><br><i>katapue</i>   | <i>bwani</i> ..               | <i>iganakai,</i><br><i>igeveni,</i><br><i>yakvis</i> | <i>kuti.</i>                    |
| 25. Nada ..       | <i>tama</i> ..     | <i>nima</i> ..                   | <i>koba</i> ..                | <i>kulaoa</i> ..                                     | <i>kutu.</i>                    |
| 26. Misima ..     | <i>tama</i> ..     | <i>nima</i> ..                   | <i>limi</i> ..                | <i>waruwaru</i>                                      | <i>gaga</i>                     |
| 27. Tagula ..     | <i>rama</i> ..     | <i>nima</i> ..                   | <i>gola</i> ..                | <i>ubadama</i>                                       | <i>roi</i>                      |
| 28. Roua ..       | —                  | <i>bwoa, geür</i>                | <i>ngoa</i> ..                | —  | —                               |
| 29. Saibai ..     | <i>baba, tati</i>  | <i>getō</i> ..                   | <i>lagō</i> ..                | <i>nis</i> ..  | <i>ari, supa.</i>               |
| 30. Dabu ..       | <i>baba</i> ..     | <i>tangkor</i> ..                | <i>ma</i> ..                  | <i>oropopo</i> ..                                    | <i>bunmet,</i><br><i>koban.</i> |
| 31. Mowat ..      | <i>baba</i> ..     | <i>tuo, tupata</i>               | <i>mofo,</i><br><i>darimo</i> | —  | —                               |
| 32. Kiwai ..      | <i>abera, baba</i> | <i>tui</i> ..                    | <i>moto</i> ..                | <i>pasa</i> ..                                       | <i>nimo.</i>                    |
| 33. Miriam ..     | <i>baba, aba</i>   | <i>tag</i> ..                    | <i>mela</i> ..                | <i>lam</i> ..  | —                               |
| 34. Tumu ..       | —                  | <i>sēē</i> ..                    | —                             | <i>kiwā</i> ..                                       | —                               |
| 35. Evorra ..     | —                  | <i>ēbi</i> ..                    | —                             | <i>imāra</i> ..                                      | —                               |
| 36. Toaripi ..    | <i>oa</i> ..       | <i>mai</i> ..                    | <i>uvi</i> ..                 | <i>toro</i> ..                                       | <i>dia.</i>                     |

|                  | 6.<br>Father. | 7.<br>Hand, arm. | 8.<br>House.      | 9.<br>Leaf.      | 10.<br>Louse. |
|------------------|---------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------|
| 37. Elema ..     | uika ..       | bai ..           | pura ..           | —                | —             |
| 38. Motumotu ..  | oa ..         | mai ..           | uri ..            | toro ..          | ape.          |
| 39. Koiari ..    | mame ..       | ada ..           | yaga ..           | fana ..          | umu.          |
| 40. Eikiri ..    | mame ..       | ada ..           | iaka ..           | fana ..          | umu.          |
| 41. Koita ..     | mame ..       | ada ..           | yaga ..           | hanaka ..        | umu.          |
| 42. Maiari ..    | mamaka..      | ada ..           | iaga ..           | hana ..          | umu.          |
| 43. Favere ..    | mamaka..      | ada ..           | iāka ..           | hana ..          | umu.          |
| 44. Kupele..     | moia ..       | ada ..           | iaga ..           | susu ..          | umu.          |
| 45. Meroka..     | noia ..       | ada ..           | iaga ..           | susu ..          | umu.          |
| 46. Kabana ..    | babe ..       | iaruse ..        | ema ..            | idurntu ..       | hi.           |
| 47. Manukoliu .. | makarai..     | erere ..         | nehe ..           | evarau ..        | nomone.       |
| 48. Domara ..    | abai ..       | ima ..           | uru ..            | anabeka,<br>begu | tuma.         |
| 49. Mairu ..     | apai ..       | ima-paba         | huru ..           | —                | noga.         |
| 50. Nuför ..     | kama ..       | rwasi ..         | rum ..            | raam ..          | uk, snu.      |
| 51. Jabim ..     | tama ..       | lema ..          | andu, be          | kalawn ..        | tum.          |
| 52. Buka ..      | tama ..       | lima ..          | luma ..           | kala ..          | antu.         |
| 53. Alu ..       | apa ..        | ime ..           | numa,<br>falefale | loiloi ..        | —             |
| 54. Savo ..      | mao ..        | kakau ..         | turi ..           | kiba ..          | dole.         |

|                   | 11.<br>Man.    | 12.<br>Moon.        | 13.<br>Mother. | 14.<br>Nose.        | 15.<br>Star. |
|-------------------|----------------|---------------------|----------------|---------------------|--------------|
| 1. Mekeo ..       | au ..          | ngara ..            | ina ..         | kua ..              | b'iu.        |
| 2. Maiva ..       | hau ..         | naoa ..             | hina ..        | itu ..              | rihiu.       |
| 3. Laval ..       | hau ..         | —                   | hina ..        | ichu ..             | —            |
| 4. Nala ..        | kau ..         | bula ..             | sina ..        | idu ..              | visiu.       |
| 5. Kabadi..       | kau ..         | ue ..               | aida ..        | itu ..              | visiu.       |
| 6. Doura ..       | kau ..         | huia ..             | sina ..        | ururu ..            | bisiu.       |
| 7. Motu ..        | tau ..         | hua ..              | sina ..        | udu ..              | hisiu.       |
| 8. Hula ..        | au ..          | —                   | ina ..         | —                   | —            |
| 9. Bula'a ..      | au ..          | bue ..              | ina ..         | iru ..              | gibu.        |
| 10. Keapara ..    | au ..          | bue ..              | ina ..         | —                   | gibu.        |
| 11. Kerepunu ..   | hau ..         | vue ..              | ina ..         | ilu ..              | giru.        |
| 12. Aroma ..      | au ..          | bue ..              | inz ..         | iru ..              | biu.         |
| 13. Sinaugolo ..  | tau ..         | guve ..             | sina ..        | ilu ..              | visigu.      |
| 14. Tarova ..     | ta ..          | uera ..             | sina ..        | iru ..              | visigu.      |
| 15. Sariba ..     | tamoai ..      | waikena ..          | sina ..        | isu ..              | kipuara.     |
| 16. Mugula ..     | —              | —                   | —              | ishu ..             | —            |
| 17. Suan ..       | tau ..         | navalai ..          | sina ..        | isu ..              | ibora.       |
| 18. Brumer Is. .. | tau ..         | nowarai ..          | bode (?) ..    | ishu ..             | —            |
| 19. Wari ..       | tau ..         | waikena..           | sina ..        | —                   | —            |
| 20. Awaiama ..    | rawa ..        | nawaravi ..         | hina ..        | nū ..               | gamaiawe.    |
| 21. East Cape ..  | raua ..        | nawarani ..         | hina ..        | —                   | —            |
| 22. Dobu ..       | tai ..         | nawarai..           | sina ..        | ubusu ..            | kwadima.     |
| 23. Kiriwina ..   | taucau ..      | tabukuona           | ina ..         | kabunu ..           | utuam.       |
| 24. Murua ..      | gamaga,<br>tau | wikeni,<br>tibukōne | ina ..         | kabunu,<br>abunu .. | utuni.       |
| 25. Nada ..       | tau ..         | waikena ..          | sina ..        | gubuso ..           | utuna.       |

|                | 11.<br>Man.                   | 12.<br>Moon.                  | 13.<br>Mother.    | 14.<br>Nose.              | 15.<br>Star.                |
|----------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 26. Misima ..  | <i>gamagan</i>                | <i>papahana,<br/>waikaina</i> | <i>ina</i> ..     | <i>bohū</i> ..            | <i>rarara.</i>              |
| 27. Tagula ..  | <i>umoru</i> ..               | <i>wagina</i> ..              | <i>nava, tina</i> | <i>buodu</i> ..           | —                           |
| 28. Roua ..    | <i>bi</i> ..                  | —                             | —                 | <i>niu</i> ..             | —                           |
| 29. Saibai ..  | <i>mabaigō</i> ..             | <i>mōlpālō</i> ..             | <i>ama, apu</i>   | <i>piti</i> ..            | <i>titoi.</i>               |
| 30. Dabu ..    | <i>rabu</i> ..                | <i>quar, quak</i>             | <i>yai</i> ..     | <i>murung</i> ..          | <i>piro.</i>                |
| 31. Mowat ..   | <i>arubi</i> ..               | <i>gamuno</i> ..              | <i>idababa</i> .. | <i>wōdi</i> ..            | <i>oro.</i>                 |
| 32. Kiwai ..   | <i>dubu</i> ..                | <i>sagana</i> ..              | <i>aída, māū</i>  | <i>wōdi</i> ..            | <i>gugi.</i>                |
| 33. Miriam ..  | <i>le, kimiar.</i>            | <i>mēb</i> ..                 | <i>apu, amau</i>  | <i>pit</i> ..             | <i>uer.</i>                 |
| 34. Tumu ..    | —                             | —                             | —                 | <i>yu</i> ..              | —                           |
| 35. Evorra ..  | —                             | —                             | —                 | <i>binā</i> ..            | —                           |
| 36. Toaripi .. | <i>karu</i> ..                | <i>papari</i> ..              | <i>lou</i> ..     | <i>verape</i> ..          | <i>koru.</i>                |
| 37. Elema ..   | <i>bira</i> ..                | —                             | <i>namweka</i> .. | <i>evera</i> ..           | —                           |
| 38. Motumotu   | <i>vita, karu</i>             | <i>papare</i> ..              | <i>lou</i> ..     | <i>everape</i> ..         | <i>koru.</i>                |
| 39. Koiari ..  | <i>ata</i> ..                 | <i>bata</i> ..                | <i>ine</i> ..     | <i>uri</i> ..             | <i>kolo.</i>                |
| 40. Eikiri ..  | <i>ata</i> ..                 | <i>pata</i> ..                | <i>neinaka</i> .. | <i>ghusa</i> ..           | <i>koro.</i>                |
| 41. Koita ..   | <i>ata</i> ..                 | <i>bata</i> ..                | <i>neni</i> ..    | <i>uri</i> ..             | <i>vamomo.</i>              |
| 42. Maiari ..  | <i>ata</i> ..                 | <i>pata</i> ..                | <i>neinaka</i> .. | <i>gumatanu</i>           | <i>koro.</i>                |
| 43. Favere ..  | <i>ata</i> ..                 | <i>pata</i> ..                | <i>neinaka</i> .. | <i>ghuma-<br/>havanu.</i> | <i>koro.</i>                |
| 44. Kupele ..  | <i>aau</i> ..                 | <i>paau</i> ..                | <i>neia</i> ..    | <i>ghusatanu</i>          | <i>ora.</i>                 |
| 45. Meroke ..  | <i>ata</i> ..                 | <i>bāu</i> ..                 | <i>neia</i> ..    | <i>ghusataeru</i>         | <i>oro.</i>                 |
| 46. Kabana ..  | <i>a</i> ..                   | <i>hama</i> ..                | <i>mah'</i> ..    | <i>unuga</i> ..           | <i>hamadofee.</i>           |
| 47. Manukoliu  | <i>vaghe</i> ..               | <i>patu</i> ..                | <i>noka</i> ..    | <i>iagore</i> ..          | <i>boiova.</i>              |
| 48. Domara ..  | <i>mariomnio</i>              | <i>docere,<br/>dowere</i> ..  | <i>adei</i> ..    | <i>duruma</i> ..          | <i>visiu.</i>               |
| 49. Mairu ..   | —                             | <i>tovere</i> ..              | <i>atei</i> ..    | <i>noga</i> ..            | <i>idiu.</i>                |
| 50. Nufor ..   | <i>snun-kaku</i>              | <i>paik</i> ..                | <i>sna</i> ..     | <i>snori</i> ..           | <i>ātaruwa.</i>             |
| 51. Jabim ..   | <i>lau, na,<br/>namala</i> .. | <i>ayam</i> ..                | <i>tena</i> ..    | <i>lusu</i> ..            | <i>ūti.</i>                 |
| 52. Buka ..    | <i>tamata</i> ..              | <i>iseho</i> ..               | <i>tina</i> ..    | <i>wesu, osu</i>          | <i>pitopilo,<br/>bebit.</i> |
| 53. Alu ..     | <i>tiu, kaniga</i>            | <i>ilel, ilala</i> ..         | <i>unka</i> ..    | <i>leo</i> ..             | <i>bitobito.</i>            |
| 54. Savo ..    | <i>mapa</i> ..                | <i>kuge</i> ..                | <i>mama</i> ..    | <i>gnoko</i> ..           | <i>simusinu.</i>            |

|              | 16.<br>Sun.       | 17.<br>Tongue. | 18.<br>Tree.      | 19.<br>Water.  | 20.<br>Woman.  |
|--------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1. Mekeo ..  | <i>kina</i> ..    | <i>malā</i> .. | <i>au</i> ..      | <i>vei</i> ..  | <i>papiē.</i>  |
| 2. Maiva ..  | <i>veraura</i> .. | <i>maea</i> .. | <i>atiu</i> ..    | <i>vei</i> ..  | <i>vavine.</i> |
| 3. Laval ..  | <i>biraura</i> .. | —              | <i>irauchi</i> .. | <i>bei</i> ..  | <i>babin.</i>  |
| 4. Kala ..   | <i>melala</i> ..  | <i>mala</i> .. | <i>au</i> ..      | <i>vei</i> ..  | <i>aate.</i>   |
| 5. Kabadi .. | <i>akona</i> ..   | <i>mala</i> .. | <i>au</i> ..      | <i>vei</i> ..  | <i>vavine.</i> |
| 6. Doura ..  | <i>dina</i> ..    | <i>maa</i> ..  | <i>au</i> ..      | <i>vei</i> ..  | <i>ateate.</i> |
| 7. Motu ..   | <i>dina</i> ..    | <i>mala</i> .. | <i>au</i> ..      | <i>ranu</i> .. | <i>haine.</i>  |
| 8. Hula ..   | <i>aro</i> ..     | —              | —                 | —              | <i>vavine.</i> |
| 9. Bula'a .. | <i>aro</i> ..     | <i>mae</i> ..  | <i>au</i> ..      | <i>nanu</i> .. | <i>babine.</i> |
| 10. Keapara  | <i>haro</i> ..    | <i>mae</i> ..  | <i>hau-ubu</i> .. | <i>nanu</i> .. | <i>vavine.</i> |
| 11. Kerepunu | <i>haro</i> ..    | <i>mae</i> ..  | <i>au</i> ..      | <i>nanu</i> .. | <i>vavine.</i> |
| 12. Aroma .. | <i>garo</i> ..    | <i>mala</i> .. | <i>gau-bu</i> ..  | <i>nalū</i> .. | <i>babine.</i> |

|                   | 16.<br>Sun.                     | 17.<br>Tongue.       | 18.<br>Tree.                      | 19.<br>Water.         | 20.<br>Woman.                      |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| 13. Sinaugolo ..  | <i>galo</i> ..                  | <i>mea</i> ..        | <i>gau</i> ..                     | <i>nanu</i> ..        | <i>vavine.</i>                     |
| 14. Tarova ..     | <i>gharo</i> ..                 | <i>mea</i> ..        | <i>rako</i> ..                    | <i>nanu</i> ..        | <i>vavine.</i>                     |
| 15. Sariba ..     | <i>mahana</i> ..                | <i>meme</i> ..       | <i>kaiwa</i> ..                   | <i>waira</i> ..       | <i>sine.</i>                       |
| 16. Mugula ..     | <i>mahana</i> ..                | <i>mana</i> ..       | —                                 | —                     | —                                  |
| 17. Suau ..       | <i>mahana</i> ..                | <i>meme</i> ..       | <i>oeagi</i> ..                   | <i>goila</i> ..       | <i>sine.</i>                       |
| 18. Brumer Is. .. | <i>mahana</i> ..                | <i>mime</i> ..       | <i>madyu</i> ..                   | <i>goila</i> ..       | <i>sine.</i>                       |
| 19. Wari ..       | <i>dabelo</i> ..                | —                    | —                                 | <i>waira</i> ..       | <i>shine.</i>                      |
| 20. Awaiama ..    | <i>kabudara</i> ..              | <i>mena</i> ..       | <i>roga</i> ..                    | <i>goira</i> ..       | <i>wawine,</i><br><i>sinasina.</i> |
| 21. East Cape ..  | <i>kabudara</i> ..              | —                    | —                                 | <i>goiru</i> ..       | <i>wawine.</i>                     |
| 22. Dobu ..       | <i>siara</i> ..                 | <i>meia</i> ..       | <i>kaiwe</i> ..                   | <i>boase</i> ..       | <i>waine, ine.</i>                 |
| 23. Kiriwina ..   | <i>liliu</i> ..                 | <i>maie</i> ..       | <i>kai</i> ..                     | <i>sopi</i> ..        | <i>wiwila.</i>                     |
| 24. Murua ..      | <i>karasi</i> ..                | <i>melene</i> ..     | <i>kaiyau</i> ..                  | <i>sopi, dauna</i> .. | <i>rini.</i>                       |
| 25. Nada ..       | <i>silasila</i> ..              | <i>sapa</i> ..       | <i>säkweréu,</i><br><i>skeréu</i> | <i>sopu</i> ..        | <i>ina.</i>                        |
| 26. Misima ..     | <i>hilahila</i> ..              | <i>meimi</i> ..      | <i>kabakil</i> ..                 | <i>weweil</i> ..      | <i>yowau.</i>                      |
| 27. Tagula ..     | <i>varai</i> ..                 | <i>mami</i> ..       | <i>rumbwa</i> ..                  | <i>buā</i> ..         | <i>wecu.</i>                       |
| 28. Roua ..       | —                               | <i>deū</i> ..        | —                                 | <i>mbua</i> ..        | <i>bia.</i>                        |
| 29. Saibai ..     | <i>gōiga</i> ..                 | <i>lōia</i> ..       | <i>pui</i> ..                     | <i>nguki</i> ..       | <i>ipōkazi.</i>                    |
| 30. Dabu ..       | <i>yabada</i> ..                | <i>dogmar</i> ..     | <i>ratira</i> ..                  | <i>ine</i> ..         | <i>mure.</i>                       |
| 31. Mowat ..      | <i>ibiu</i> ..                  | <i>watotorope</i> .. | <i>ota</i> ..                     | <i>obo</i> ..         | <i>upi.</i>                        |
| 32. Kiwai ..      | <i>sai</i> ..                   | <i>watatorope</i> .. | <i>ota</i> ..                     | <i>obo</i> ..         | <i>upi.</i>                        |
| 33. Miriam ..     | <i>gerger</i> ..                | <i>werut</i> ..      | <i>lu</i> ..                      | <i>ni</i> ..          | <i>kosker.</i>                     |
| 34. Tumu ..       | <i>narā</i> ..                  | —                    | <i>ee</i> ..                      | <i>oo, nānā</i> ..    | <i>wor.</i>                        |
| 35. Evorra ..     | <i>inamau-</i><br><i>ipēri</i>  | —                    | —                                 | <i>eri</i> ..         | —                                  |
| 36. Toaripi ..    | <i>sare</i> ..                  | <i>uri</i> ..        | <i>tora</i> ..                    | <i>ba, ma</i> ..      | <i>ua.</i>                         |
| 37. Elema ..      | <i>sari</i> ..                  | —                    | <i>tora</i> ..                    | <i>ma</i> ..          | <i>ua.</i>                         |
| 38. Motumotu ..   | <i>sare</i> ..                  | <i>tepa</i> ..       | <i>tora</i> ..                    | <i>ma</i> ..          | <i>ua.</i>                         |
| 39. Koiari ..     | <i>vani</i> ..                  | <i>neme</i> ..       | <i>idi</i> ..                     | <i>eita</i> ..        | <i>magi.</i>                       |
| 40. Eikiri ..     | <i>vani</i> ..                  | <i>nemeke</i> ..     | <i>idi</i> ..                     | <i>eita</i> ..        | <i>maghi.</i>                      |
| 41. Koita ..      | <i>vani</i> ..                  | <i>mei</i> ..        | <i>idi</i> ..                     | <i>ēē</i> ..          | <i>magi.</i>                       |
| 42. Maiari ..     | <i>vani</i> ..                  | <i>nemeke</i> ..     | <i>idi</i> ..                     | <i>ita</i> ..         | <i>mai.</i>                        |
| 43. Favere ..     | <i>nini</i> ..                  | <i>neme</i> ..       | <i>idi</i> ..                     | <i>eita</i> ..        | <i>magi.</i>                       |
| 44. Kupele ..     | <i>vani</i> ..                  | <i>nemēē</i> ..      | <i>idi</i> ..                     | <i>e</i> ..           | <i>maghina.</i>                    |
| 45. Meroka ..     | <i>vani</i> ..                  | <i>nemu</i> ..       | <i>idi</i> ..                     | <i>e</i> ..           | <i>magi.</i>                       |
| 46. Kabana ..     | —                               | <i>asese</i> ..      | <i>ora</i> ..                     | <i>iuni</i> ..        | <i>amu.</i>                        |
| 47. Manukoliu ..  | —                               | <i>manane</i> ..     | <i>ibado</i> ..                   | <i>eo</i> ..          | <i>none.</i>                       |
| 48. Domara ..     | <i>nina</i> ..                  | —                    | <i>ana</i> ..                     | <i>amami</i> ..       | <i>ause, areta.</i>                |
| 49. Mairu ..      | <i>nina</i> ..                  | —                    | <i>ana</i> ..                     | —                     | <i>aresa.</i>                      |
| 50. Nufōr ..      | <i>ori</i> ..                   | <i>kaprēndi</i> ..   | <i>aip, aiknam</i> ..             | <i>wār</i> ..         | <i>bien.</i>                       |
| 51. Jabim ..      | <i>abumtau-</i><br><i>oa</i>    | <i>impera</i> ..     | <i>ka</i> ..                      | <i>bu</i> ..          | <i>palingo.</i>                    |
| 52. Buka ..       | <i>kotolun,</i><br><i>nareo</i> | <i>omea</i> ..       | <i>orui</i> ..                    | <i>ramun, gua</i> ..  | <i>kau.</i>                        |
| 53. Alu ..        | <i>felo, isang</i> ..           | <i>meata</i> ..      | <i>au, aua</i> ..                 | <i>ateli</i> ..       | <i>batafa.</i>                     |
| 54. Savo ..       | <i>kuli</i> ..                  | <i>lapi</i> ..       | <i>kola</i> ..                    | <i>piva</i> ..        | <i>adoki.</i>                      |

|                   | 21.<br>One.         | 22.<br>Two. | 23.<br>Three. | 24.<br>Four. | 25.<br>Five.   | 26.<br>Six.    |
|-------------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1. Mekeo ..       | angaong-amo, aungao | aungi ..    | oio ..        | pangi ..     | ima'a aufaiufu | ngéa, nga.     |
| 2. Maiva ..       | hamomona            | rua ..      | aihau ..      | vani ..      | ima ..         | avaihan.       |
| 3. Laval ..       | aia ..              | rua ..      | aita ..       | bani ..      | ima ..         | abaraia.       |
| 4. Nala ..        | kaonamo             | lua ..      | koi ..        | vani ..      | ima ..         | kala-koi.      |
| 5. Kabadi ..      | kapea ..            | rua ..      | koi ..        | vani ..      | ima ..         | kara-koi.      |
| 6. Doura ..       | kaona ..            | lua ..      | koi ..        | hani ..      | ima ..         | 5 + 1.         |
| 7. Motu ..        | tamona ..           | rua ..      | toi ..        | hani ..      | ima ..         | taura-toi.     |
| 8. Hula ..        | koapuna ..          | —           | koi ..        | vaivai ..    | imaima ..      | kaula-koi.     |
| 9. Bula'a ..      | ka, koapuna         | lualua      | koikoi ..     | vaivai ..    | imaima ..      | kaua-koi.      |
| 10. Keapara ..    | obuna ..            | lualua      | oioi ..       | vaivai ..    | imaima ..      | aura-oi.       |
| 11. Kerepunu ..   | obuna ..            | lualua      | oi ..         | vaivai ..    | imaima ..      | aura-oi.       |
| 12. Aroma ..      | obuna ..            | lua ..      | oi ..         | baibai ..    | imaima ..      | aula-oi.       |
| 13. Sinaugolo ..  | sebona ..           | lualua      | toitoi ..     | vasivasi ..  | imaima ..      | 5 + 1.         |
| 14. Tarova ..     | sebona ..           | lualua      | toitoi ..     | vasivasi ..  | imaima ..      | taura-toi-toi. |
| 15. Sariba ..     | kesega ..           | rabui ..    | haiyona ..    | hāsi ..      | harigigi ..    | 5 + 1.         |
| 16. Mugula ..     | —                   | —           | —             | —            | —              | —              |
| 17. Suau ..       | esega ..            | rabui ..    | haiona ..     | hasi ..      | harigigi ..    | 5 + 1.         |
| 18. Brumer Is. .. | teya ..             | labui ..    | haiyona ..    | hasi ..      | harigigi ..    | 5 + 1.         |
| 19. Wari ..       | tea ..              | rua ..      | tolu ..       | vas ..       | caligigi ..    | —              |
| 20. Awaiama ..    | emoti ..            | ruaga ..    | tonuga ..     | wonepari ..  | uritutu ..     | —              |
| 21. East Cape ..  | emots ..            | uwaga ..    | tonuga ..     | wakepage ..  | uritutu ..     | —              |
| 22. Dobu ..       | e-bweu ..           | e-rua ..    | e-to ..       | a-ta ..      | nima ..        | nima-e-bweu.   |
| 23. Kiriwina ..   | kwa-tala            | kwa-yu ..   | kwa-tono      | kwa-rasi     | kwa-nima       | —              |
| 24. Murua ..      | koi-tan             | kwe-yu ..   | kwei-ton.     | kwei-ras     | kwei-nim       | koitan.        |
| 25. Nada ..       | atanok              | akwai-in .. | akwai-tola    | akwai-las    | akvailima      | —              |
| 26. Misima ..     | maisena ..          | rabui ..    | etun ..       | epat ..      | nimasapa-nuna  | 5 + 1.         |
| 27. Tagula ..     | rega ..             | reu ..      | goto ..       | kovaru ..    | golima ..      | koona.         |
| 28. Boua ..       | munda ..            | miwa ..     | pieli ..      | bai ..       | limi ..        | wene.          |
| 29. Saibai ..     | urapon ..           | ukasar ..   | ukamodo-bigal | ukauka ..    | ukauka modobai | —              |
| 30. Dabu ..       | tupidibi ..         | kumirivi .. | kumireriga    | 2 + 2        | tumu ..        | —              |
| 31. Mowat ..      | —                   | —           | —             | —            | —              | —              |
| 32. Kiwai ..      | nao ..              | netewa ..   | 2 + 1         | 2 + 2        | 2 + 2 + 1      | 2 + 2 + 2.     |
| 33. Miriam ..     | netat ..            | neisi ..    | 2 + 1         | 2 + 2        | 2 + 2 + 1      | 2 + 2 + 2.     |
| 34. Tumu ..       | —                   | —           | —             | —            | —              | —              |
| 35. Evorra ..     | —                   | —           | —             | —            | —              | —              |
| 36. Toaripi ..    | falahaka            | oraokoria   | roisorio ..   | 2 + 2        | be-falahaka    | 2 + 2 + 2.     |
| 37. Elema ..      | ritarita ..         | oraora ..   | oroito ..     | —            | —              | —              |
| 38. Motumotu ..   | faraheka            | oraokaria   | oroisoria     | 2 + 2        | 2 + 2 + 1      | .....          |
| 39. Koiari ..     | igau ..             | abuti ..    | 2 + 1         | 2 + 2        | 2 + 2 + 1      | 2 + 2 + 2.     |
| 40. Eikiri ..     | igau ..             | abuti ..    | —             | —            | —              | —              |
| 41. Koita ..      | kobuauku            | abu ..      | abigaga ..    | abaabu ..    | adakasica      | agorokiva.     |
| 42. Maiari ..     | igau ..             | abuti ..    | —             | —            | —              | —              |
| 43. Favere ..     | igane ..            | abuti ..    | —             | —            | —              | —              |
| 44. Kupele ..     | igane ..            | abui ..     | —             | —            | —              | —              |
| 45. Meroka ..     | igane ..            | abui ..     | —             | —            | —              | —              |
| 46. Kabana ..     | igana ..            | abui ..     | 2 + 1         | —            | —              | —              |
| 47. Manukoliu ..  | teebu ..            | aheu ..     | —             | —            | —              | —              |
| 48. Domara ..     | ombua ..            | ava ..      | aisheri ..    | taurai ..    | ima ..         | lilimo.        |
| 49. Mairu ..      | omupua ..           | ava ..      | aisei ..      | sourai ..    | ima ..         | ririoma.       |

|              | 21.<br>One.        | 22.<br>Two.        | 23.<br>Three.    | 24.<br>Four.     | 25.<br>Five.     | 26.<br>Six.                |
|--------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| 50. Nufor .. | <i>sai</i> ..      | <i>dui</i> ..      | <i>kior</i> ..   | <i>flak</i> ..   | <i>riem</i> ..   | <i>onem.</i>               |
| 51. Jabim .. | <i>teng, ta</i> .. | <i>luägi, lu..</i> | <i>tilia</i> ..  | <i>ali</i> ..    | <i>lemeng</i> .. | <i>lemeng-<br/>anu-ta.</i> |
| 52. Buka ..  | <i>toa, tua</i> .. | <i>tolv, tuel</i>  | <i>pisa</i> ..   | <i>hatsi</i> ..  | <i>lima</i> ..   | <i>mo-num.</i>             |
| 53. Alu ..   | <i>kala, ilia</i>  | <i>e-lua</i> ..    | <i>e-pisa</i> .. | <i>e-fate</i> .. | <i>lima</i> ..   | <i>onoma.</i>              |
| 54. Savo ..  | <i>e-la</i> ..     | <i>e-do</i> ..     | <i>igiva</i> ..  | <i>aga-ra</i> .. | <i>ara</i> ..    | <i>pogoa.</i>              |

### *The* TIBETAN HOUSE-DEMON.

By Surgeon-Major L. A. WADDELL, F.I.S., F.R.G.S.

THE Tibetan house-demon is anthropomorphic, with a piggish head and flowing robes. He is called "the Inside-God" (Tibetan *Nang-lha*), and is a *genius loci* of the class called by the Tibetans the "Earth-masters" (*sab-dag*).

As he is of a roving disposition, occupying different parts of the house at different seasons, his presence is a constant source of anxiety to the householders; for no objects may invade or occupy the place where he has taken up his position, nor may it be swept or in any way disturbed without incurring his deadly wrath. Thus it happens that an unsophisticated visitor on entering a Tibetan house and spying a nice vacant place near at hand places there his hat; only, however, to have it instantly snatched up by his host in holy horror with the hurried explanation that the god is at present occupying that spot.

It is some satisfaction, however, to find that all the house-gods of the land regulate their movements in the same definite and known order. Thus:—

In the 1st and 2nd months the god occupies the centre of the house and is then called "the *gel-thung* house-god."

In the 3rd and 4th months he stands in the door-way and is called "the door-god of the horse and yak."

In the 5th month he stands under the eaves and is called "*yangas-pa*."

In the 6th month he stands at the south-west corner of the house.

In the 7th and 8th months he stands under the eaves.

In the 9th and 10th months he stands in the fire-tripod or grate.

In the 11th and 12th months he stands at the kitchen-

hearth where a place is reserved for him. He is then called "the kitchen-god."

His movements thus bear a certain relation to the season, as he is outside in the hottest weather and at the fire in the coldest.

Formerly his movements were somewhat different. According to the ancient style he used to circulate much more extensively and frequently, as follows:—

In the 1st month he dwelt on the roof for the first half of the month, and on the floor for the latter half. To repair the roof at such a time entails the death of the head of the family.

In the 2nd month he dwelt at the top of the stair. During this month the stair cannot be mended, else one of the family will surely die.

In the 3rd month he dwelt in the granary, during which month no alterations may be made, else all the grain will be bewitched and spoiled.

In the 4th month he dwelt in the doorway. Then the doorway cannot be mended or the absent member of the family will die.

In the 5th month he dwelt in the hand-corn-mill and in the water-mill. Then one cannot mend these or all luck departs.

In the 6th month he dwelt in any foxes' holes or rats' holes near the house. Then one cannot interfere with these holes otherwise a child will die.

In the 7th month he dwelt on the roof. Then one cannot repair it or the husband will die.

In the 8th month he dwelt in the wall-foundation. Then no one can repair it or a child will die.

In the 9th month he dwelt up the chimney. Then no one must repair it or the house will pass to a new owner.

In the 10th month he dwelt in the beams or standard-posts. Then one cannot repair these or the house will collapse.

In the 11th month he dwelt underneath the fire-place. Then one cannot repair it otherwise the housewife will die of hiccup or vomiting.

In the 12th month he dwelt in the stable. Then no one can repair or disturb it otherwise the cattle will die or be lost.

The other precautions entailed by his presence and the penalties for disturbing him are these: In the 1st and 2nd months, when the god is in the middle of the house, the







Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.

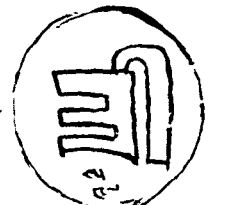
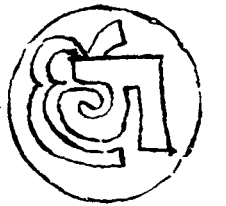


Fig. 7.



fire-grate must not be placed there, but removed to a corner of the room, and no dead body must be deposited there. While he is at the door, no bride or bridegroom may come or go, nor any corpse. Should, however, there be no other way of ingress or egress, such as by a window or otherwise, and there be urgent necessity for the passage of a bride, bridegroom, or corpse, then the images of a horse and a yak must be made with wheaten flour, and on each of those images is planted some skin and hair of each of the animals represented. Tea and beer are then offered to the god, who is invited to sit upon the images thus provided for him. The door is then unhinged and carried outside, the bride, bridegroom, or corpse passes and the door is restored to its place.

When he is at the kitchen fire no part of the hearth can be removed or mended, and no corpse may be placed there, nor must any marriage then take place. And should any visitor arrive he must be screened off from the fire-place by a blanket, and the "chhös-mge-khri" scripture read.

When he is in the verandah he gives very little trouble. Only at such a time no one may whitewash or repair the outside of the house.

Also as a precautionary measure once every year, and at extra times, whenever any suspicion arises that the god may have been slighted or is offended, it is necessary to get Lāma-priests to propitiate him by doing "The Water Sacrifice for the Eight Injurers."

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*Some ANCIENT INDIAN CHARMS, from the TIBETAN.*

By L. A. WADDELL.

[PLATE II.]

MANY interesting survivals of archaic Indian customs, have been preserved by the Lāmas in their ritual based on Indian practices and their Tibetan translations of Indian Buddhist books. One such booklet on Talismans and Amulets is entitled "The Assembly of Lāmas' Hearts." It is in the hands of most Lāma-physicians, and contains many ancient Indian charms based on sympathetic magic, and probably survivals of Vedic times, when as Bergaigne has shown,<sup>1</sup> sympathetic magic entered largely into the ritual, I here translate a few of these charms as a contribution to the subject of priestly magic.

The special charm consists of a monogram or mystic letter (Sanskrit *Vīja* or "seed") as the germ of a spell or *mantra*.

<sup>1</sup> "La Religion Védique."

This letter is in the old Indian *Nagari* character of about the fourth or fifth century A.D., and is inscribed in cabalistic fashion with the special materials as prescribed in the manual. In those instances where the letters are imperfectly formed and my reading therefore doubtful I have prefixed interrogative marks.

*Charm against Weapon-Wounds* (Fig. 2).—With the blood of a wounded man draw (the writing medium is not noted) the monogram D<sup>o</sup>Q and wrap in a piece of red cloth and tie with string and wear round neck on an unexposed part of breast next the skin and never remove it.

*Charm against Leprosy*.—On a piece of the bark of the poisonous laurel write with a mixture of the blood of the individual and the ulcerous discharge and urine of a leper the monogram (?CHCH) and wrap up and tie, &c.

*Charm for Clawing Animals* (i.e., tigers, cats, bears (Fig. 3).—On a miniature knife write with a mixture of myrobalans and musk-water the monogram (?ZAH) and wrap up and tie, &c. (Here the knife seems to represent the animal's claw.)

*For Dog-bite*.—With the blood of a leopard write HRI and wrap within a piece of leopard skin and wear, &c. (The leopard preys on dogs.)

*For Poison*.—With blood of a peacock write (?GRA) with the moustache of a hare and fold up with the feathers of an eagle or vulture and enclose in the stomach of a monkey and tie, &c. (This seems directed to harmless digestion.)

*For Domestic Bickering* (Fig. 4).—Write the monogram (?RE) and bind by a thread made of the mixed hairs of a dog, goat, and sheep and enclose in a mouse-skin and tie, &c. (This seems to represent union of domestic elements.)

*For External Quarrels*.—With the blood of a bearded goat write (?TAMGI) and wrap in a piece of horse's hide and enclose in an otter's skin.

*For Small-pox*.—With the juice of the Som tree—(this may be the classic *Soma*, but the Tibetan translator notes that it is a *pine-tree*) write (?OM) and sprinkle over it some pulverized bone of a man who has died from small-pox, and tie, &c.

*For Cholera* (or "the vomiting, purging, and cramps," (Fig. 5)).—With the dung of a black horse, and black sulphur, and musk-water, write the monogram (?ZA)

and fold in a piece of snake-skin and tie, &c. (The dung represents the purging, the horse the galloping course, the black colour the deadly nature, and the snake the virulence of the disease.)

*For Slander and Scandal.*—With earth taken from the traveller's halting place (*Sarai*)-fire, or if not procurable, with some of the menses of a courtesan write the monogram (? ZOMA) and tie, &c. (Travellers' fires and courtesans are regarded as special centres for gossip and scandal.)

*To Cleanse from Perjury.*—Write (? SA) and fold up with the ear of a hare, the tongue of a hyæna and the ear of a sow, and wrap in a piece of the robe of an unburied corpse and wear it below the waist or in the shoe.

*For Bad Dreams* (Fig. 6).—With the tears or urine of a person possessed of second sight, write the monogram ZI and bind up in a piece of the wearer's own cloth with one of his eyelashes and pass the parcel through the hands of persons of nine different castes or clans and tie, &c.

*For Nāgas.*—On a piece of birch-bark with a paste of musk and sweet marsh-flay and incense write S and wrap in a frog's skin and tie, &c. (Note the use of water-plant and frog's-skin in relation to deities of water—the Nāgas—and confer my paper on "Frog-Worship among the Newars" in "Indian Antiquary," 1893.)

*For Bad Omens.*—With the blood of an owl write the monogram (? AMRA) and bind it with a monkey's hair in a piece of fox-skin and tie, &c.

*For Lightning and Hail.*—With human menstrual blood write (? GA or CHA) and bind it in a piece of the skirt of a widow.

*For Fever.*—With cold camphor and musk-water write (? LO) and tie, &c.

*For the Yaksha Goblins.*—On a piece of red cloth write the monogram (? TI) and wrap up with filings of the five precious things and a small dough image of your enemy and wear it. (The Yaksha genii are associated with wealth as well as injury.)

*For Bad Planets.*—With the ashes of a cremated human corpse of a person who had died on an unlucky day (*e.g.*, Sunday or Saturday) made into paste with water, write the monogram (?) and place it on a small sheet of copper which has been perforated in nine spots and wrap up with a small penile image and wear. (The nine

perforations represent the nine planets of Hindu Astronomy. This charm is very commonly worn in the Tsang province of Tibet.)

*For Theft.*—With the blood of a thief or a black dog write the monogram (? LI) and wrap inside a mouse-skin and tie to a post in the house. (The charm seems to be on the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief.)

*For Foul Smells.*—On a piece of white cloth, with a paste of the six spices, write the monogram SAM and fold up and bind on the crown of the head. Then the kings of the ten directions will assist at causing the disappearance of the smells. (The principle seems to be purity and sweetness as a remedy for foulness.)

*For Fire-side Cooking Smells Offensive to the House-gods* (Fig. 7).—With the blood of a hybrid bull-calf write the monogram GAU (= cow) and fold it up in a piece of the skin of a hedge-hog.

With reference to this last charm it is noteworthy that in Western Aryan Myth, Hera the mother of Vulcan, the Greek hearth-god is in her form of Io represented by a cow.

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MARCH 13TH, 1894.

Dr. E. B. TYLOR, F.R.S., *Vice-President, in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and signed.

The election of Mr. J. J. ATKINSON, of Thio, New Caledonia, was announced.

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*On FLINT IMPLEMENTS of a PRIMITIVE TYPE from old (pre-glacial) hill-gravels in Berkshire.* By O. A. SHRUBSOLE, F.G.S.

[PLATE III.]

IN the rude implements, or alleged implements, found at high levels on the chalk downs of Kent,<sup>1</sup> it is claimed that we get a stage beyond the palæolithic in the history of man in this country. In the present paper it is intended to give the result of the investigation of some high-level deposits in Berkshire.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Prof. Prestwich, "On the Primitive Characters of the Flint Implements of the Chalk Plateau of Kent." "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xxi, p. 246.

Fig 1.

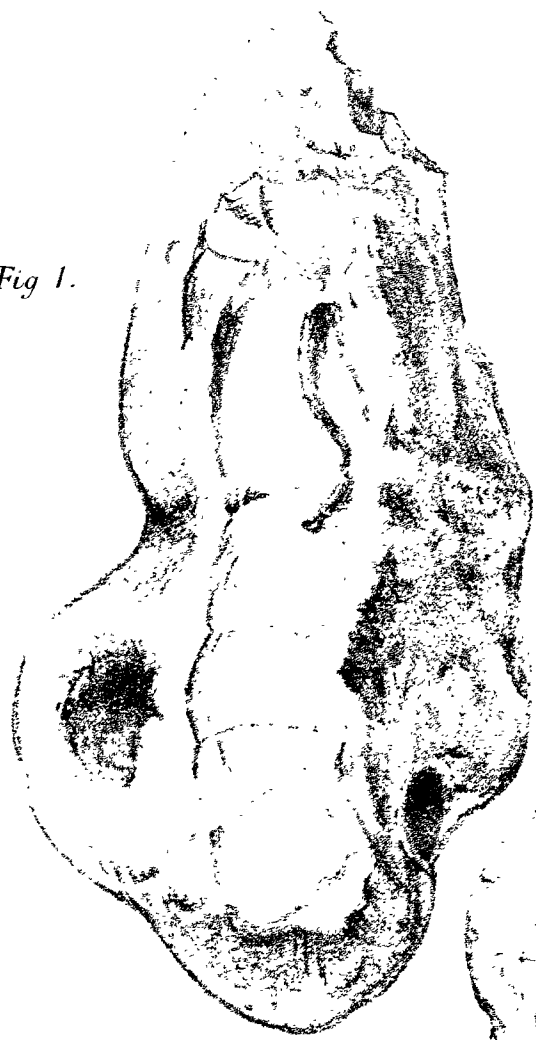


Fig 4.



Fig 5.

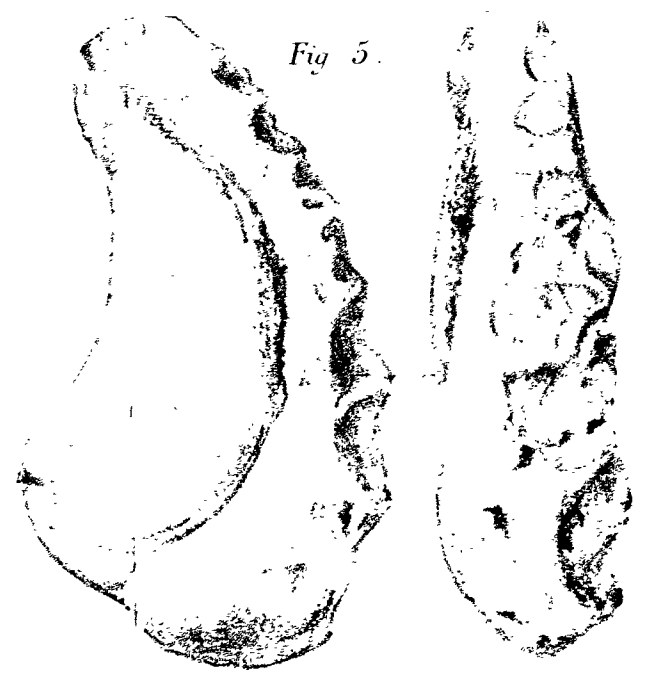


Fig 2.



Fig 3.





The deposits in question consist of gravel, having a thickness of from 5 to 10 feet, which covers the summit of an elongated plateau stretching from Easthampstead, Berks, to Ash Common, near Aldershot, at a general level of about 400 feet above the mean sea-level. It forms the highest ground between the rivers Wey and Blackwater. Similar gravel is found at a slightly lower level on the west side of the Blackwater River, forming Yateley Common and Hartford Bridge Flats; also at the top of isolated hills, as at Finchampstead Ridges. This extensive deposit is composed of the "Southern drift" of Philips<sup>1</sup> and Prestwich<sup>2</sup>;—that is to say, with very rare exceptions, it contains no materials of extraneous or "northern" origin. The gravel is chiefly flint: a small proportion of fragments of chert, &c., connects it with the denudation of the Weald country lying to the south. It is more or less distinctly stratified. The flint material consists largely of entire nodules of very moderate size, and is usually stained internally of a brown colour. Much of it is impure and cherty.

The result of a careful examination of this gravel is here given. So far as present observation has gone, the common type of highly-finished palæolithic implements found in the valleys of the Somme, Thames, &c., does not occur here; the forms found being extremely rude and primitive. They may be referred to three general types:—

1. Large implements with rounded butt.
2. Grooved or hollowed scrapers.
3. Fragments of flint worked at the point only.

1. The first type is represented at present by one specimen only. It was obtained from a gravel-pit on Finchampstead Ridges, near Wellington-College Station, at about 320 feet above sea-level, and is a massive pointed tool resembling in shape the ruder forms from the valley-gravels and the "nodule tools" of Kent's Cavern. It is slightly but distinctly worked. It seems impossible to resist the conclusion that the chipping has been intentional. But the rudeness of form is unquestionable. (See Fig. 1.)

2. The hollowed scrapers are here the most numerous represented class of implement.

I have in a previous communication<sup>3</sup> alluded to the frequency of the occurrence of such forms in the valley gravels. Here the scrapers are made out of any conveniently-shaped piece of flint, and not from flakes struck off for the purpose, and

<sup>1</sup> "Geology of Oxford and the Valley of the Thames."

<sup>2</sup> "Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.," vol. xlv, p. 155.

<sup>3</sup> "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," Nov. 1884, p. 196.



represent, therefore, an earlier form of the type. We appear to have in these implements a primitive and very persistent type, having its origin in the use of any chance flat fragment of a hard substance for scraping some substance not so hard, as wood or bone; a type, indeed, which has come down to our own times in the occasional use of fragments of glass for scraping wood, but which may have come into use at the very dawn of man's intelligence, and may have been perhaps not altogether beyond the mental power of animals inferior to man. By continued scraping on a cylindrical object, the harder but more brittle substance would gradually acquire a hollow.

It seems clear that, at least in palæolithic times, the hollow was sometimes intentionally produced.

Figs. 2 and 3 are examples of these scrapers.

Fig. 3 might pass as a palæolithic form, but for the fact that the back is rough and unworked. Many of the flat ovoid implements from Amiens and other places have a similar groove or hollow in one edge. Fig. 5 is a scraper having the *convex* side cut so that it may more conveniently fit the hand. The concave side is abraded as if by use.

3. The third type is represented by nodules or pieces of flint of moderate size and elongated form which have been simply whittled at one end to produce a point. This is so natural that we may well regard such forms as being essentially primitive, although it is a form which survived the primitive stage. It may, indeed, be suggested that such abrasions or fractures are the result of chance and not of intention. But natural agencies do not, as a rule, produce the smooth ripple-marked fractures shown in Fig. 4, nor do accidental abrasions usually tend to produce a *point*. It is a matter of common observation how frequently flint implements have the point either broken off or worn down. Nor is there any reason in the nature of things why one end only of a nodule should be chipped. It appears, therefore, to the writer that these instruments, although only slightly worked, exhibit marks of intentional chipping.

Taking the series as a whole it indicates a decidedly rudimentary stage in the art of flint-working.

Throughout the gravel under observation none of the large artificial flakes, which are so common in the valley-gravels, have been found; nor are any of the instruments made from flakes. One very small flake only was observed. The idea is suggested that the people who used these implements were not adepts at working flint, but made search for fragments likely to answer their purpose, and modified these only so far as was

absolutely necessary. Of course it is conceivable that more highly finished implements may exist in the gravel, but so far, after several years' search, none such have come under the notice of the writer. It therefore seems highly probable that these implements are the work of an older race than that which is associated with the pleistocene gravels.

One or two possible objections may be anticipated. It may naturally be asked whether the implements are of the same age (as implements) as the gravel of the plateau, or whether they may not be surface "finds." To this it may be sufficient to say that they were taken by the writer from gravel freshly fallen from the face of the pits or from the heaps of screened gravel in the pits, and that their mineral condition is such as to indicate that they have been buried in the gravel, and have formed a part of it. Or, again, it may be suggested that such forms may result naturally from stones rolling over or rubbing against other stones in a torrent-bed or on a sea-shore. A similar objection was once urged against all palaeolithic implements. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to expect that forms so rude as those from the Berkshire plateau will have to pass through some ordeal before their genuineness is generally recognised. They are not elegant; and even experienced investigators will sometimes reserve their enthusiasm for specimens which are "large" or "perfect" or "beautifully worked." But, on the other hand, there is a strong *a priori* probability that ruder forms than the palaeolithic implements exist somewhere. If not such as these, what forms are we to look for as specimens of man's earliest handiwork? And we know that stones may be thus chipped by artificial means; but we do *not* know that similar forms may be produced by natural agencies. So far, no similarly-chipped stones appear to have been found in breccias or pebble-beds of palaeozoic or secondary age; nor am I aware of any examples that can be shown to be the result of recent fluvial or beach action.<sup>1</sup> I have examined ballast dredged from the present bed of the Thames, but have failed to find therein any evidence of stones wearing into the form of implements. A hollowed scraper was observed on a heap of river-ballast, but its mineral condition clearly showed that it had been derived from a hill-gravel. The ordinary effect of water-action is to round-off angles and irregularities. It is just conceivable that two stones might be wedged in a torrent-bed in such a position as that they might groove each other at the edge, but, if such an occurrence be possible, it must be unusual even in mountain

<sup>1</sup> For an instance of the erosion of stones in a weir by means of pebbles and current-action, see "*Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.*," vol. xlvii, p. 63.

regions; and there is nothing in the past physical condition of this district to suggest any such extraordinary action, and certainly not to the extent indicated.<sup>1</sup> It seems, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the specimens referred to are of artificial origin. Doubt may be possible in regard to one specimen here or there, but, when the series is regarded as a whole, the evidence is very strong that it represents some of the earliest forms of human workmanship.

It is obvious that ordinary palæolithic implements are a long way from being primitive in character. They indicate considerable skill, an eye for form, and the acceptance of certain conventional types. Rude as man must have been in palæolithic times, there must have been a time when he was ruder still. Of such a time these high-level gravels may very well have preserved the record.

With regard to the geological age of the gravel, as it rests upon beds of Upper Bagshot age it must be newer than those beds. Beyond this its precise horizon has to be inferred from its position and other considerations. It is generally, but not universally, regarded as fluvial; on which supposition it would be the work of a stream which for a long time has ceased to exist, since its bed now occupies the summit of a hill-range, and on the sites of the former hills are now river-valleys. Professor Prestwich is disposed to regard this gravel "to correspond broadly in time with the Chillesford, Forest Bed, and Westleton Shingle."<sup>2</sup>

According to Dr. Irving "the deposition of these plateau gravels appears to have occupied a considerable portion (perhaps the whole) of the Pliocene period."<sup>3</sup> The preglacial date of the gravel, as far as the writer knows, has been questioned by no one.

The gravel of Finchampstead Ridges is about 80 feet lower in level than that of the main plateau. It may be somewhat later in age, but it has the same composition, and the whole forms one series. There is, also, no material difference in the types of the implements. Figs. 1 and 5 from Finchampstead are forms which at present have not been found in other parts of the district, and they are certainly suggestive of the palæolithic type. But so also is Fig. 3 from the main plateau.

It has been stated that the implements—if we may conclude them to be such—form a part of the gravel of the plateau. They cannot, therefore, be later in origin than the date of the

<sup>1</sup> It is open to question whether the Weald ever had the character of a mountain-region.

<sup>2</sup> "Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.," vol. xlv, p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. xlv, p. 563.









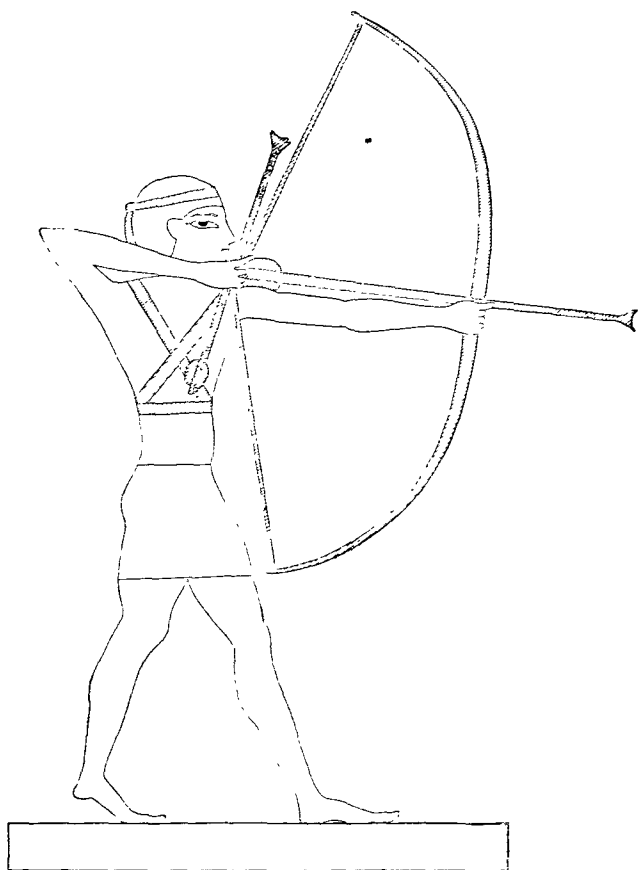








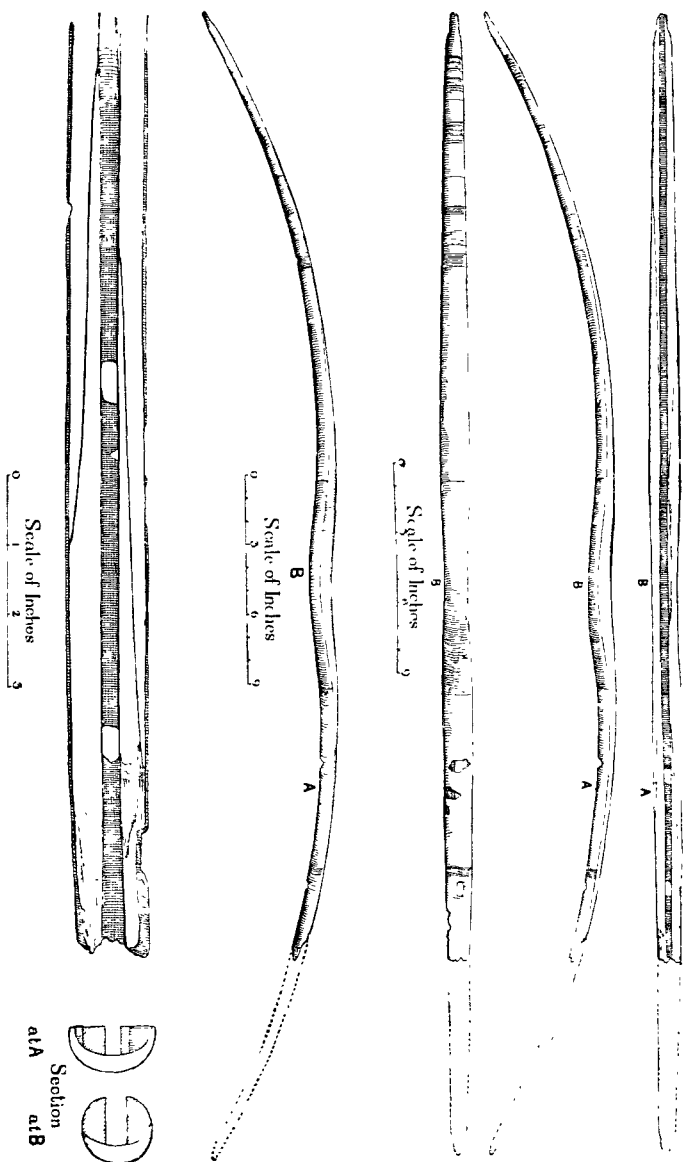
















deposit of the gravel in its present position. But they may be earlier. And if we regard the type, so far as the specimens at present found enable us to form a comparison, such earlier date may not appear improbable. Nevertheless, in speaking of the implements as primitive in character, it is not pretended that a ruder condition than that indicated by them is not conceivable.

The question of the date of man's origin is one of fact, which must be determined by evidence. In suggesting a Tertiary age for man, however, it may anticipate some objection, unconnected with the evidence, to remark, firstly, that we should naturally expect man to have a wide range in time, as he has greater power of adapting himself to circumstances than any other highly-organised animal; and secondly, that Tertiary time is made sometimes to appear more remote than it is by ignoring the fact that we are still living in it to-day. Those climatic and other changes which have occurred since the incoming of the Pliocene stage appear to us in exaggerated perspective by reason of their nearness to us, but they have not inaugurated any new period in geological history.

#### DESCRIPTION OF PLATE.

- Fig. 1.—Massive nodule of flint slightly trimmed. From Finchampstead Ridges, 320 ft. above sea-level.  
 Fig. 2.—Hollowed scraper from Olddean Common, near Bagshot (400 ft.).  
 Fig. 3, 3A.—Flat scraping tool, grooved on one side. From Easthampstead (400 ft.).  
 Fig. 4.—Flint nodule slightly worked at the smaller end. From Finchampstead Ridges (320 ft.).  
 Fig. 5, 5A.—Scraper with bevelled rest for forefinger. From same place.

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*The BOWS of the ANCIENT ASSYRIANS and EGYPTIANS.* By  
 C. J. LONGMAN, M.A.

[PLATES IV-X.]

As some may be present here to-night who did not hear, and have not read in the Journal, Mr. Balfour's valuable paper on the composite bow, it may be as well to state briefly the main heads under which the different forms of bow are classified. There are three principal methods of manufacturing the bow which are all that need be mentioned here, though there are endless sub-varieties. These are:

- (1) The simple wooden bow.
- (2) The horn bow.
- (3) The composite bow.

Of these three classes the first and the third are by far the commonest, and while the composite bow, which is generally formed of wood, horn, and sinews of animals skilfully worked up together, is the typical weapon of Asia and Eastern Europe, the plain wooden bow is especially identified with Africa, Oceania, and Western Europe. While, however, the true composite bow is rarely, if ever, found in Africa, the simple bow is found side by side with the composite bow in many parts of Asia, especially among such races as the Veddahs, the Ainus, and the hill tribes in India, who may be regarded as more or less aboriginal inhabitants. It is not necessary for the purpose of the present paper to go in more detail into the distribution of the forms of the bow.

It appears that the bow was in use in all the lands bordering on the Mediterranean, in greater or less degree, from a very early date. It was, however, among the Assyrians and the Egyptians that it assumed its highest position as a military weapon. It is evident from the mural sculptures discovered by Sir A. H. Layard in the palaces at Nimroud and Kouyunjik, that archery was as important an arm in the Assyrian hosts as it was in the English armies in the Middle Ages. The mere fact that the king himself is generally represented in battle armed with the bow, sometimes even dismounted from his chariot, and shooting at his enemies on foot, shows that the weapon was held in the highest repute. So important was the archer considered, that we find him accompanied by a shield-bearer, whose business it was to ward off the arrows of the enemy. Sometimes the Assyrians fought in groups of three, consisting of an archer, a shield-bearer, and a swordsman. At other times we find one shield-bearer allotted to two archers. (Pl. IV.) Frequently the archers fought from chariots, and here, again, we find them protected by a shield-bearer. Horse-archers were sometimes employed, also in pairs, one horseman holding the reins and guiding both horses, while the other used his bow. (Pl. V.)

It would be not unnatural to suppose that, considering the large number of representations of archers and of bows that have come down to us, little difficulty would be found in recognising the structure of the bow used by the Assyrians. This, however, is very far from being the case, as the Assyrian bow, as also to some extent, the Egyptian bow, has been the cause of great perplexity in the minds of inquirers. It is evident that the Assyrian bow was an efficient and powerful one, not only from the fact that it was the principal weapon of war, but also because their kings and nobles appear to have relied on it largely in hunting even so formidable a beast as the lion. Plate VI shows King Asshur-na-zirpal hunting. He has apparently slain one

lion, and is shooting at another. Now it is evident that if the bow was a trustworthy weapon against lions, it must have been capable of delivering an arrow with great force. Yet, to judge by the sculptured representations, the bow was as ill-made a weapon as can be conceived. We must therefore conclude, either that the sculptures are inaccurate, or that the bow was of a construction somewhat different to any that we are accustomed to, and was capable of doing better work than its appearance would lead us to believe. The former alternative is the one which at first sight seems most probable. The Assyrian sculptors, though obviously artists of great skill, were unacquainted with many of the elements of drawing, and frequently made the sort of mistake which children make in their first efforts. For instance, they delight in showing in a picture more than the eye can see at one view. In depicting an archer in profile, with his back towards the spectator, they cannot resist showing the drawing hand as well as the back of the bow hand, when it would in fact be hidden by the body of the archer. Again, the artists frequently show no appreciation of the relative sizes of objects. It might, therefore, be argued that if they make such obvious mistakes about matters of which we are able to judge, why should not their representations of objects like bows be equally faulty? This would be an easy way of dismissing the question, but on the whole it does not seem the right view to adopt.

In the first place, though the sculptures abound in instances of ignorance of perspective, yet they appear to be singularly accurate and exact in the representation of details. Secondly, if we are to assume that the representations of bows are ill-done, and drawn without any attempt at accurate delineation, it seems certain that they would vary considerably from each other. This, however, is not the case. Great numbers of representations of bows have come down to us, executed at periods distant from each other by hundreds of years, yet the type of bow is remarkably constant. It is impossible to believe that this uniformity can be due to any other cause than the fact that the pictures were accurately drawn from the bows in common use throughout this period.

Plate VII represents King Asshur-na-zirpal with a strung bow in his left hand. At first sight this appears to be a bow consisting of a single wooden stave about 5 feet long, with almost every fault that a bow can possess. The curious angular shape which it shows violates the first principle of the bowyer's craft, according to our ideas, namely, that a bow shall have a stiff, unbending centre of a foot or 18 inches, according to the length of the bow. This angular shape is very typical of

Assyrian bows, and is also frequently found in Egyptian art, especially when Asiatic foes or mercenaries are depicted. Frequently, however, the bows are represented not absolutely angular, but always bending freely from the centre, and this is especially the case in the later sculptures of the time of Asshur-banipal. Bows with stiff centres occur in Egyptian art, but not, so far as I know, in Assyrian. Again, the bow appears to be of the same thickness all the way down, instead of gradually diminishing towards the ends. It is beyond all doubt that if this really represents, as it appears to do, a single-stave bow of wood, it is a bad bow.

If we now refer to PL. VI, representing the same monarch, Asshur-na-zirpal, lion-hunting, we see what is presumably the same bow, or a bow of the same kind, fully-drawn. This picture is as typical of the fully-drawn bow throughout the Assyrian sculptures as PL. VII is of the bow when merely strung. This bow, again, bends very badly, judged by the standard of English wooden bows, as it bends right through the hand. The curve is, however, such as might be expected from the shape of the bow as depicted when strung, without any rigid centre. The length of the arrow, which is fully drawn to the head, is, moreover, so great when compared with the length of the bow that the two ends are brought much closer together than would be possible with any modern wooden bows without fracturing the bow. The curve described seems, in fact, to be only practicable with a bow made of a material far more elastic and less liable to fracture than any wood which, in modern times, at any rate, has been used for bow-making. It is possible that the Assyrians knew of a wood which possessed the necessary qualities, which has long since disappeared or been forgotten, but it is improbable. Indeed, no "self" bow, unless it were made of whale-bone, could be expected to bend in the fashion of these Assyrian bows. The only remaining alternative, if we are to accept the evidence of the sculptures, is to assume that the Assyrian bow was in fact a composite bow. The appearance of the bow when strung affords little support to this theory, and, unfortunately, the ruins of Nineveh have not produced a single example of the Assyrian bow by which the question might be definitely settled. Fortunately, in the dry climate of Egypt a weapon has survived which may, perhaps, throw some light on the subject.

It will be remembered that the composite bow, is and has been from a remote period, essentially the weapon of Asia and of Eastern Europe; while in Africa the simple wooden arcus is the type of bow in general use. Consequently, it would be in accordance with what is generally known of the distribution of the bow, if the Assyrian bow should turn out to be com-

posite, while the occurrence of the composite bow in ancient Egypt would require some explanation. A considerable number of bows have been found in the tombs of ancient Egypt which are simple wooden bows of the typical African character. Pl. VIII from Rosellini's Monuments represents a bow of this type being drawn. The stiff centre will be noted in comparison with the arch of the Assyrian bow. It dates probably from B.C. 1600, or somewhat earlier. It was therefore with great surprise, in the spring of 1893, that I observed in the Egyptian section of the Royal Museum in Berlin what appeared to be undoubtedly a considerable fragment of a composite bow. The curator of the department had not closely examined this piece, which came from a tomb at Thebes which is said by experts to be of the time of Rameses II. It had in fact been classified not as a bow at all, but as a musical instrument. I called the attention of Dr. von Luschan, the head of the Berlin Ethnographical Museum, to the bow, and he, recognising its importance, made a careful examination and dissection of it, and subsequently published a *brochure* on the subject. The diagrams are taken from drawings supplied to me by Dr. von Luschan. (Pl. X.)

The bow is not perfect, one end being wanting, which has been restored by the dotted lines in the illustrations. The portion preserved measures 1.025 metres in length; the complete bow as restored would measure 1.245 metres. It will be seen that a deep groove runs the whole length of the bow, which is enclosed on each side by wood, which Dr. von Luschan says consists of three strips on each side, though in his drawing there appears to be only one strip on each side in the centre at B, and two strips at A. These are the only portions of the bow which are of wood, the most important part of the bow—probably its back—being a hard, shiny, fibrous tissue of a pale yellow colour, of animal origin. Dr. von Luschan considers that this substance consists of the sinews from some large beast, probably cattle. The groove was in all probability filled with horn, which is known to be very perishable even in the dry climate of Egypt. In some places traces can be found of a covering of leather and another, outer skin, probably of birch bark. Here we have a true composite bow similar in many respects to the modern Asiatic bow.

The groove in this bow is on the convex side, while the sinew back is on the concave side, as the bow now exists. The universal practice in building composite bows is to follow the natural shape of the horns which form their basis, the maker adding a stiffening of wood and overlaying the concave side with elastic sinew. When the bow is strung the natural shape of the horns is reversed, so that the outer or convex curve,

becomes the belly, or concave curve, in the weapon when ready for use. It appears that this usage was followed by the unknown bowyers who lived in the days of Rameses the Great. The main difference between this bow and a modern Turkish or Persian bow lies in the fact that in no part of the bow does there appear to be enough wood to render that part rigid. The backbone of the bow from end to end was horn and sinew; if, that is to say, we are right in conjecturing that the missing substance from the groove was horn. There is no stiff section in the centre of the bow, as is now customary, and there are no stiff ears at each end, turning on a natural hinge when the bow is strung. On the contrary, the bow would no doubt bend when drawn in one continuous curve throughout from end to end. Now this is precisely what those bows do in the Assyrian sculptures, which are represented as fully drawn, and precisely what the bow figured in the cut from Rosellini does not do. If, as appears at any rate possible, this bow was an Asiatic bow, one difficulty as regards these sculptures disappears.

The difficulty of the angular form of the bow when strung but not drawn remains to be considered. The structure of the bow of Rameses II at once makes this easier to understand. The absence of a stiff centre would naturally cause the bow when strung to fall away rapidly from the middle. In the example under consideration the wood stretches from end to end, so that although there would be no straight centre, which we nowadays expect, yet there would not be an actual angle. It is, however, possible that in some cases the strips of wood did not actually join in the centre, in which case, when the pressure of the string was applied this curious angular shape would necessarily be produced. Should more bows of this character be subsequently discovered this theory may be confirmed, or it may be upset, but in the meantime it is submitted tentatively as a possible explanation of this very curious weapon.

Dr. von Luschan supposes that this was either a bow of one of the Asiatic mercenaries of Egypt, or of one of the captives taken in war. He conjectures that it may possibly be Hittite. Rameses II conquered the Hittites or Khita, so that this conjecture is not improbable; and it is to some extent confirmed by a battle scene between Seti, the father of Rameses II, and the Hittites, engraved in Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson's work on the ancient Egyptians. In this picture the Hittites are armed with a short angular bow very similar to the Assyrian bow. However this may be, the likeness of the bow of Rameses II to the Assyrian bows and its undoubtedly composite nature seem to

leave little room for doubt that the bows of the Assyrian sculptures are also composite. The fact that angular bows are put in the hands of Asiatics in representations of the wars of Seti and Rameses disposes of the theory that this curious form arose in the mistake of a draughtsman employed hundreds of years later on the sculptures at Nimroud.

No doubt the ordinary bow in use among the ancient Egyptians was the single-stave wooden bow, of which several examples have been found in the tombs. These bows do not appear to have been very strong, and possibly they were not war bows, but were used for shooting birds and the smaller quadrupeds. Bows of unmistakably composite form are occasionally represented in the sculptures, and the fact that one composite bow has been discovered in an Egyptian tomb affords fair ground for believing that bows of this character were also in use, and were probably introduced by the Asiatic mercenaries who were employed by Egypt. The Sharu, who are identified by Birch with the Syrians, supplied the Egyptians with bows in the reign of Thothmes III, which seems to show that they were not content with the indigenous African wooden bows.

Pl. IX represents a hunting scene. It is taken from a green stone plaque in the British Museum from Tel-el-Amarna which Dr. Wallis Budge believes to have been sent to Amenophis III (B.C. 1450) as a gift from one of his Mesopotamian kinsfolk. The bows bear a considerable resemblance to modern oriental composite bows, far more so, indeed, than the bows of the Assyrian sculptures. Wooden bows are however found in Africa curiously resembling the form of these bows, one of which is figured in Dr. Ratzel's monograph on African bows. It is possible that this form of composite bow may have been copied in wood by Nilotic tribes and handed down to the present day.

#### DISCUSSION.

MR. H. BALFOUR: I have listened with great interest to Mr. Longman's paper, which has been so well illustrated. For purposes of discussion it is well to consider the curious angular bow apart from the more usual form of bow, represented in the Assyrian sculptures, which has a more or less steady curve from end to end.

Regarding the angular bow, I must confess that I am not convinced by Mr. Longman's interpretation. Can it be said that any of the bows represented as fully drawn in the Assyrian bas-reliefs can be fairly regarded as representing this angular bow in the drawn state? I have never seen any bow represented as drawn, having a similar angle at the centre, and it is impossible to suppose

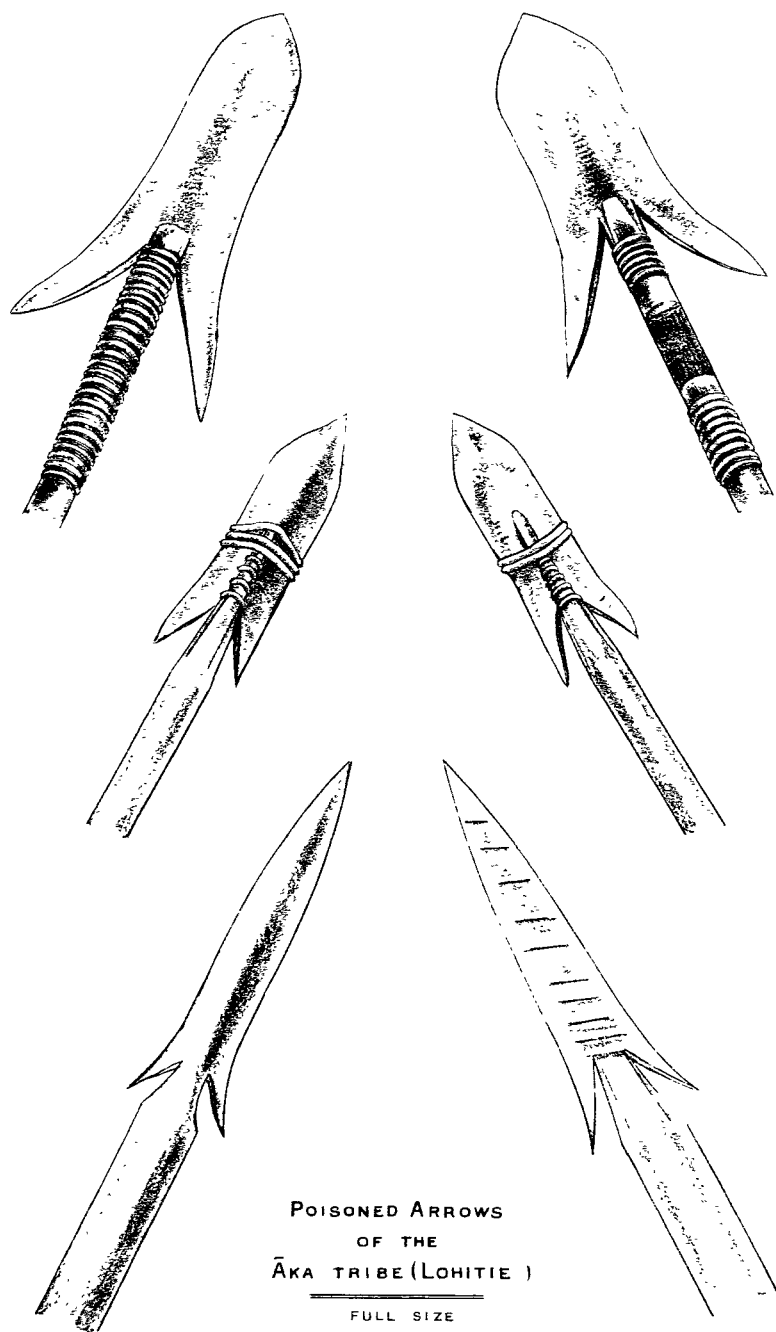


that the angle, which is represented as about  $135^\circ$  in the merely strung state of the bow, would disappear under increased tension; it would rather become less obtuse and therefore more marked. Then again, could a bow with an angular "grip" be held in the hand with any effect when drawn? The shooting would surely be execrable, as the grip of the bow hand would necessarily be of the feeblest description. Now, as regards the structure of an angular bow: It seems impossible that these could have been "self" bows, of wood alone, unless the bows were cut from the junction of a branch with the stem, or with a larger branch, and in this case there would be the unsatisfactory result of a different grain and density in the two arms of the bow, though the angle might be accounted for. I do not think that any satisfactory join could be made for two halves of a bow meeting at an angle in the centre. Nor do I believe that a satisfactory bow of *composite* structure could be made in angular shape. I do not regard Mr. Longman's suggested, and, as he pointed out, merely tentative, explanation of the shape as possible, as, supposing that the two halves of the wooden portion of the bow did not quite meet at the centre, an excessive strain would be thrown upon the sinew backing at the angle, which would be more than it could stand. Moreover, in all the composite bows whose structure I have examined, the wood invariably runs right through the centre of the bow without a break, and therefore analogy is opposed to any such *central* separation of the parts of the wooden structure.

The numerous errors observable in the Assyrian representations are, I think, significant. The figures facing towards our left, having a left arm on the right shoulder, and a right arm on the left shoulder; the upper part of the bow string often passing behind the head of the archer, and even of his companion also, while the lower part is seen in front of the body, passing to the hand which draws the string, and which is in full view, and many other curious mistakes showing the difficulties under which the artist laboured. These, in conjunction with the difficulty of conceiving a rational bow of angular shape, go far towards proving that the angular bow is what I may call a stereotyped artist's error, and in no way an actual variety of bow, though the possibility of there being some symbolic significance in the shape occurs to one.

Turning to the non-angular Assyrian bows I readily agree with Mr. Longman in regarding these as probably of composite structure. The interesting find of a composite bow in Egypt goes a long way towards proving this. Their locality, too, so close to the region where in later times the composite bow reached its highest state of perfection, is in favour of this supposition. So, too, their somewhat short length, and their frequent use on horseback, and also the fact of a bow case, very similar to those of modern composite bows of Asia, being represented in the Assyrian sculptures. The later forms of bow, especially in the times of Assurbanipal and Sennacherib, closely resemble the Median and early Persian bows, many of which show a marked "Cupid's bow" shape, so closely





POISONED ARROWS  
OF THE  
ĀKA TRIBE (LOHITIE)

FULL SIZE

L.A. Waddell, Del.

associated with a composite structure. I am inclined to regard the Assyrian bow as a composite bow of an *early type*, a transition form of simple construction somewhat resembling that of the bows of wood or horn, backed with a layer of sinews, which are obtained from California and some tribes of North-West America (Ossages, Modocs, &c.). I have elsewhere pointed out that these latter bows probably represent a survival of an *early* phase in the development of the higher forms of composite bows. Many of these when drawn would exhibit a curve very similar to that of the Assyrian bows. It would be a matter of great interest if it could be proved that in the Assyrian bows we have the parent form of the later Asiatic composite bows of elaborate structure. In concluding these remarks, let me add that the Institute is much indebted to Mr. Longman for his paper; it is interesting to have the opinion of a practical archer of such repute, and I hope that he will see his way to conducting actual experiments in order to shed further light upon the nature of the early forms of archer's bow. Experiments with bows made in angular shape would be very interesting, and I shall be only too pleased to admit the erroneousness of my views in the matter, when bows of this form are proved experimentally to be efficient for shooting purposes.

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*Note on the POISONED ARROWS of the AKAS.*

By L. A. WADDELL, M.B., F.L.S., &c.

[PLATE XI.]

THE Akas are one of the so-called Lohitic tribes of the Asam Valley, occupying independent hill-territory to the north of the Brahmaputra.

They poison their arrows for warfare as well as for large game, and such arrows proved deadly to most of the Sepoys wounded by them in the expedition sent against the tribe some years ago. Several of the arrows were sent to me for examination, while I was acting as Professor of Chemistry at Calcutta some years ago. From its physiological effects the poison was evidently aconite, and the roots from which the poison was alleged to have been derived undoubtedly belonged to a species of *Aconitum*.

The arrow-heads are mostly made of bambu, but a few are of iron. The shafts are usually of bambu. Some of the heads are made up of pieces dove-tailed and tied together with cane in such a way that dragging on the arrow when it has reached its quarry only pulls out the stem, and the barbs separate more deeply into the wound. The surface of the heads are scored so as to form valvular crevices for the poisonous extract which is smeared over them.

TWO FUNERAL URNS *from LOOCHOO.* By BASIL HALL  
CHAMBERLAIN

THE Loochooans—closely allied to the Japanese by race and language, closely bound to China by the ties of education—respect their ancestors to a degree surpassed by no other Oriental people. It were scarcely too much to say that in Loochoo, if the living dwell in hovels, the dead dwell in palaces, so imposing are the vaults, of which each family, even the very poorest, possesses one. The roofs of these burial-vaults may be seen from a considerable distance at sea, on account of the dazzlingly white plaster that distinguishes them from the surrounding vegetation. On the occasion of a death, the corpse is conveyed to the family vault in solemn procession, a Buddhist priest leading the way, hired mourners following with bitter wails, and the kinsmen of the dead bringing up the rear. The religious rites duly concluded, the body is left shut up for two years. Then, when decomposition is far advanced, the family again assemble for the purpose of washing the bones and depositing them in their final resting-place, an earthenware urn, which, being filled in this manner, is lifted on to one of the numerous shelves that run round the interior of the vault. The name of the dead, and the date are inscribed in Chinese characters on the front of the urn in a space left free for that purpose.

The specimens of Loochooan funeral urns in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, illustrate the kinds used respectively by the rich and by the poor. The prices are \$1.20, or at 2s. 9d. to the silver dollar, about 3s. 4d. of English money for the former; 30 cents, say 1s., for the latter. Both come from the hamlet of Tsuboya (Tsubuya, in local Loochooan pronunciation), a suburb of Nafa, the chief port of Loochoo, whence all the southern portion of the island at least is supplied. I was informed that the urns used to hold the bones of kings cost \$25; but these I was not able to see. It will be noticed that the plan of the more elaborate of the two urns is that of a temple; furthermore that Buddhist influence manifests itself in the lotus flower adorning the front, and in the demons' heads planted at every available corner, their function being to ward off—as on homœopathic principles—all malign influences. The fish at the top corners are a favourite ornament in Japan as well as in Loochoo. The poorer sort of urn similarly shows Buddhist influence in the lotuses scratched on its surface. This, and the presence of the

priest at the funeral, are instances of the ceremonial survival of institutions otherwise gone out of mode; for Buddhism is practically extinct in Loochoo as a religion and rule of life. Confucianism killed it.

For further details I may be permitted to refer to a paper which I am preparing for the Asiatic Society of Japan, and which will contain the result of a month's sojourn in Great Loochoo during the spring of the present year, and of the study of all the principal Japanese works bearing on the subject.

Loochoo may by some, who know it only as a cluster of tiny dots on the map of the Pacific, be supposed to be as barbarous as most of the archipelagos scattered over the ocean. So far is this from being the case that the Loochooans are one of the most civilised peoples of the world, possessing an ancient history, a system of farming which would put European agriculturists to shame, and a skill in diplomacy which, till a few years ago, preserved the national independence from the encroachments both of China and of Japan. Since 1874, however, they have become subjects of the Japanese Empire, though still preserving their own language and most of their ancestral customs, including that of the disposal of the dead in funeral urns as here described. It is asserted by some that at a very early date the Loochooans practised water burial, but that this custom was gradually abandoned because the streams were polluted thereby. Of this statement however, I was unable to obtain any confirmation.

## ANTHROPOLOGICAL MISCELLANEA AND NEW BOOKS.

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**Note on Mr. W. G. Aston's "Japanese Onomatopes, and the Origin of Language." (J.A.I. xxiii, p. 332.)** By  
HYDE CLARKE.

BEFORE accepting the most learned dissertations of Mr. W. G. Aston, recording his minute knowledge of the old and new Japanese language, in regard to the origin of speech, there are several things to be taken into account. One is that anthropologically gesture precedes speech, and that speech is not necessary to constitute a sufficient language or converse among men.

This is sufficiently shown by what anthropologists know of North American Indians, and from the valuable mass of records as to the gesture and sign languages of America, now being compiled at Washington by Col. Garrett Mallory.

Everyone is apt to jump to the conclusion that language began with speech, for we believe it to be so natural to us. Some have gone the length of stating that there can be no intelligence without speech, nor apart from it, and that animals have not the same kind of intelligence as men. It is, however, questionable whether an English baby has properly a natural disposition for speech, or whether he may not even be in the condition of Mr. Aston's primitive man, using cries and calls freely, but not speech. Babies generally use gesture freely for a time, as they do cries, and will continue to do so, while understanding speech, or even occasionally using it. This condition sometimes remains until five or six years old, so that children, hearing well, have been mistaken for deaf mutes. In one case a girl had to be sent to a lipreading school before she could be got to speak freely.

On erroneous assumptions, theories of speech are applied to animals, as in the case of the gorilla. There is no evidence that any gorilla ever used articulate speech. Many animals, however, use cries in conditions such as are described by Mr. Aston.

Animals understand signs, as is known to animal trainers, and minute powers of observation enable an animal to understand signs almost imperceptible to us. Observation shows that animals use signs of various kinds and even sounds. I have observed the same sign used by a dog, a cat, and an Australian parrakeet.

A friend bought a dog at Cambridge. After a time he found out that, if in passing a butcher's shop he looked at a piece of meat, the dog would slyly hang behind, and bring home the bit of meat. To make sure he tried the dog several times, and found it was so. As a companion of this kind was too dangerous, the dog was

sold. It was supposed the dog had been trained at Oxford, and afterwards brought to Cambridge for sale. The dog was taught to keep clear of his master and to understand which was the piece of meat looked at.

With regard to the sufficiency of gesture, more clearly even than with Indians who can speak, can it be observed with the mutes of the Seraglio at Constantinople whose tongues are cut out, and who can make no articulate sound. They have among themselves a very copious language. One curious thing I found with these ancient practitioners of sign language was that they had discovered lip-reading. Sometimes when they could not make one understand the individual designated they would make his name, Mehemed, or whatever it might be, with their lips, but I was not a practitioner in lip reading, and did not always comprehend.

The language of the mutes is most likely the same as that which was used by the pantomimes of ancient Rome, from whom it has descended. By a modern scholar no attention is paid to the programme of Terence or Plautus spoken by the pantomime, for he cannot understand how a pantomime could express the name of a city for instance. My friends the mutes were reputed to have signs for every city in the Turkish empire, and I saw that they had signs for every public man. The audience in Rome knew the language of the pantomimes as many people in Constantinople now do that of the mutes.

The extent to which gesture language has prevailed even in Europe is little observed. It has been practised even in these Islands by the monastic orders. A very valuable paper on this subject will be found in the "Transactions" of the Royal Irish Archæological Society for last year. The use of gesture is a tradition of the Benedictine Order, and the paper to which I refer relates to a monastery near Dublin, the ruins of which still remain. The Trappists and other silent orders have, in signs, an alleviation which is little known. The signs, very elaborate, have little relation to natural gesture language, the grammar of which can sometimes be understood by animals. Indeed this grammar is so different from that of the philologist that it is a barrier to him in understanding the real conditions of the origin of language.

Professor Graham Bell told us in his memorable discourse at the Anthropological Institute that the Indians and the deaf mutes at Washington could converse and understand. He had conversed with a French deaf mute at Paris, so easy is the system to one who knows anything of gesture language. It has been a great loss that we made no record of that discourse, for it was felt we could not preserve the illustrations, on which much of the value depended.

Gesture language in some cases holds a position as a common language among tribes speaking various dialects. Its great deficiency is at night in the dark.

A main point in the subject dealt with by Mr. Aston rests on an observation made by Alfred Russell Wallace, and which contains the germ of the whole matter of the origin of speech. This I



named in "Nature" the Wallace formula, and was in hopes it would thereby attract greater attention.

Wallace observed that in many Australian languages the words for mouth and lips are *Labials*, for teeth are *Dentals*, and for the nose are *Nasals*.

Now this is so far true, and very true, that it goes further and applies to hundreds of languages, and what is to be noted, even to us in English, so that it is very easy to remember the law.

Mr. Aston and his fellow inquirers have to deal with this fact, and to account for the origin of speech language on this basis. It also accords with the phenomena of gesture language, and of primitive symbology. Still further it accords with the evidence of characters.

If anyone will take the ancient Chinese characters where they are round, the Shwo-wren for example, he will, as I have pointed out, find much evidence. He will find rounds for round objects and labial sounds. In other ancient characters he will find classed together mouth, eye, ear, sun (day eye), moon (night eye), egg, &c. Objects periodically or casually opening and shutting are assimilated.

How this was worked out and connected with the organs has been sufficiently shown by me in "Nature," and since then the results obtained in a wide field of observation have brought further confirmation.

Mr. Aston is quite right in treating onomatopœia as later and subsidiary and not primary.

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**Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia**, being the second part of "**Shamanstvo**," by Professor V. M. MIKHAILOVSKII, of Moscow, Vice-President of the Ethnographical Section of the Imperial Society of Natural History, Anthropology, and Ethnography.<sup>1</sup> Translated by OLIVER WARDROP (Part I).

*Shamanism in Russia at the present day.*—Hitherto the word *shamanism* has been used in a narrow and strictly defined sense, geographically and ethnographically. The term has been applied especially to certain phenomena in the life and philosophy of our foreign fellow-subjects, in particular the inhabitants of Siberia, and therefore, when we enter upon a wider consideration of the question, and consider shamanism as a phenomenon characteristic of many peoples, scattered throughout many parts of the world, we must begin by examining it in the region where it was first observed and studied, *i.e.*, among the Asiatic and European tribes of Russia. Since it is our intention to regard this phenomenon from the point of view of universal ethnography, we shall not give an exhaustive account of all the facts collected by Russian enquirers, but shall limit our investigations to those data sufficient

<sup>1</sup> Professor Mikhailovskii's essay forms the twelfth Vol. of the Proceedings of the Ethnographical Section, and was published in 1892.

to furnish materials for a characterisation of shamanism in Russia in order to compare it with similar institutions in other lands.

Shamanism among the Siberian peoples is at the present time in a moribund condition; it must die out with those beliefs among which alone such phenomena can arise and flourish. Buddhism on the one hand, and Mohammedanism on the other, not to mention Christianity, are rapidly destroying the old ideas of the tribes among whom the shamans performed. Especially has the more ancient Black Faith suffered from the Yellow Faith preached by the lamas. But the shamans, with their dark mysterious rites, have made a good struggle for life, and are still frequently found among the native Christians and Mohammedans. The mullahs and lamas have even been obliged to become shamans to a great extent. Many Siberian tribes who are nominally Christians believe in the shamans, and have recourse to them. The Yakuts, for instance, when called upon by the government to give information about their customary law, in the third decade of the present century, insisted on excluding shamanism from the question of any particular profession of religion. They said, "Shamanism is not the faith or religion of the Yakuts, but an independent set of actions which take place in certain definite cases." And they endeavour to explain and justify the attachment of Christian Yakuts to their shamans.<sup>1</sup>

*The names applied to Shamans by the various Siberian tribes.*—Shamans, though of a degenerate type, are to be met with throughout the whole of Siberia, and they are known by various names. The word *shaman* is only found among the Tunguses, Buryats, and Yakuts.<sup>2</sup> It is only among the Tunguses that this is the native name; the Buryats, like the Mongols, also call their shamans *bö*, and the female shamans *ödögön* or *utygan*.<sup>3</sup> Among the Yakuts, a shaman is called *oyun*, a female shaman *udagan*.<sup>4</sup> The Altaians use the term *Kam*, and call the shaman's dealings with spirits *kamlanie*, i.e., *kam-ing*. The Samoyeds called their shamans *tadibei*.<sup>5</sup> Despite the different names, the performances of the shamans are the same among all these peoples, though all acknowledge that the modern shamans are less powerful than the ancient.

*The first Shamans and their origin.*—There are some curious tales about the first shamans and the origin of shamanism. Mr. Shashkov has copied down among the Buryats of Balagan a long legend about the cause of the deterioration of the shamans. The first shaman, Khara-Gyrgen, had unlimited power, and God, desiring to prove him, took the soul of a certain rich maiden, and she fell ill. The shaman flew through the sky on his tambourine, seeking the soul, and saw it in a bottle on God's table. To keep the soul from flying out, God corked up the bottle with one of the

<sup>1</sup> Samokvasov: "Sbornik obychnago prava sibirskikh inorodtsev," 218-219.

<sup>2</sup> Shashkov, 80.

<sup>3</sup> Agapitov and Khangalov, 41. Potanin, iv, 61.

<sup>4</sup> Priputov, 64.

<sup>5</sup> Radloff: "Aus Sibirien," ii, 16.

fingers of his right hand. The cunning shaman changed himself into a yellow spider, and bit God on the right cheek, so that, irritated by the pain, he clapped his right hand to his face, and let the soul out of the bottle. Enraged at this, God limited Khara-Gyrgeu's power, and thenceforth shamans have been getting worse and worse.<sup>1</sup> The legend which we summarize is interesting for the glimpse it gives of the coarse ideas of an earlier period, underlying the modern mask of monotheism. The god referred to is but one of the spirits of the animistic epoch. The Buryats also have the following story about the appearance of shamans among men:—In the beginning there were only the good spirits (*tengri*) of the west, and the evil spirits of the east. The western *tengris* created men, who were at first happy, but afterwards, through the wickedness of the evil spirits, they began to fall sick and die. Then the good *tengris* decided to give a shaman to mankind, to aid in the struggle with the evil spirits, so they made the eagle a shaman. Men did not put faith in a mere bird, and, besides, they did not understand its language; the eagle therefore prayed the western *tengris* either to allow the post of shaman to be given to a Buryat, or to bestow human speech upon the eagle. By the will of the good spirits, the first shaman became the offspring of the eagle and a Buryat woman.<sup>2</sup> The Yakut tradition is that the first shaman was of extraordinary strength, and would not acknowledge the chief god of the Yakuts, for which reason the wrathful deity burned him up. All the body of this shaman consisted of crawling reptiles. One frog escaped from the fire, and from it issued the shaman demons, who still supply the Yakuts with famous shamans, male and female.<sup>3</sup> The Tunguses of the Turukhan region, though the miraculous element is not wanting in their story, have a less fantastic account of the first shaman. According to their version, the first shaman was formed in consequence of his particular fitness for this occupation, and by the aid of the devil. This shaman flew up the chimney of the *yurta* (hut) and came back accompanied by swans.<sup>4</sup> The stories about ancient shamans, and the supernatural appearance of persons destined to enter into immediate intercourse with spirits and gods, arose, on the one hand, from the desire of the shamans to give a special sanction to their proceedings; on the other hand, they are due to the peculiar character of their doings, which produced an exceedingly powerful impression on the minds and imaginations of uncivilised people.

*Forms of "kamlanie" and exorcism among the Tunguses.*—Among the various performances of the shamans, the most characteristic of all is that which is now generally called *kamlanie*. The presence of a shaman at a festival, as priest and sacrificer, is but of secondary importance, and is not of the essence of shamanism. Scenes of *kam-ing* among the various foreign peoples in Russia have been

<sup>1</sup> Shashkov, 81.

<sup>2</sup> Agapitov and Khangalov, 41–42.

<sup>3</sup> Pripuzov, 64.

<sup>4</sup> Tretyakov: "Turukhanskii krai," 210–211.

described in detail by ancient and modern travellers, especially Gmelin and Pallas. In Argunsk, Gmelin saw the juggling, as he calls it, of a certain Tungus shaman. The *kamlanie* took place at night, in the open air, by a fire. The spectators sat round the fire; the shaman stripped, and then put on his shaman costume of leather, hung with pieces of iron; on each of his shoulders was a toothed iron horn. But this particular shaman had as yet received no tambourine from the demons, of which there are a vast number; each shaman has its own demons, and he that has most is considered the cleverest. The *kamlanie* consisted of running round in the circle, and singing, in which he was supported by two assistants. Another Tungus shaman, seen by Gmelin, had a tambourine; he made a speech in a drawling chant, and the Tunguses present chimed in. The language of the shaman's utterances was unknown; he then cried out in the voices of various animals, and drove back spirits. The spirits did not say anything to him, but tormented him a great deal.<sup>1</sup>

*Among the Yakuts.*—The description of *kamlanie* by a Yakut *oyun* is especially remarkable; this *oyun* seems to have made a great impression on Gmelin. The ceremony took place in a birch-bark *yurtu*, in front of which a fire was burning. When it was dark, a shaman, with long black hair, undressed in the *yurta*, and put on a coat hung with iron; he left on his breeches, but changed his stockings for others which were embroidered, and are only worn by shamans during the *kamlanie*. He took his tambourine, sat down with his face to the south-west, and began to beat the tambourine and cry out. The spectators did not join in chorus. He sat thus for a while, grimacing, shouting, and beating the tambourine. Gmelin's companions told him that the man was summoning the spirits. Suddenly the shaman leaped to his feet, the beating on the tambourine became faster, the shouts louder, his black hair was flying while he rushed about the *yurta*. At last the shaman was overcome, and fell fainting. Then two chiefs seized him, for if the exorcist falls on the ground while he is delirious, misfortunes will happen to the whole people. Afterwards, while a third chief was holding over his head a flint, and sharpening a knife on it, the shaman looked round for a moment, and again became delirious; whilst in this state, he often stopped, fixedly looked upwards, and grasped at the air with his hand. Then followed his prophecies, and when all was over, and the shaman had doffed his dress, he declared that he remembered nothing.<sup>2</sup> Klark describes the *kamlanie* of a Yakut shaman in terse but impressive language, and declares that the sound of the tambourine, the convulsive antics of the shaman, his fierce screams, his wild stare in the dim light, all strike terror into the hearts of semi-savage people, and powerfully affect their nerves.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gmelin, ii, 44-46, 193-195.

<sup>2</sup> Gmelin, ii, 351-356.

<sup>3</sup> Klark: "Vilyuisk i ego okrug. Zapiski Sibirskago otdyela," 1864, kn. vii, 139.

In the "Syevernyi Arkhiv" for 1822, there is a description of the healing of a sick person by a Yakut shaman. There we find him playing another part; that of the leech, driving away evil spirits which possess the sick and cause illness. His performance consisted of two parts; first of all he did not put on his dress, but took a piece of tinder in his hand, twisted into tufts some hairs from a horse's mane, then embraced the patient, and thus took into himself the demons that caused the illness, found out what village they came from, and designated a sacrifice. When the animal destined for sacrifice was brought, the second part of the ceremony began; the shaman put on his professional costume, went up to the beast, and conveyed into it the demon that had entered him from the sick man. This process had a terrifying effect upon the animal; it seemed to be paralyzed. After the beast was killed, the head and flesh were eaten, and the skin and bones were hung on a tree.<sup>1</sup>

*Among the Samoyeds of Tomsk.*—In Western Siberia also, among the Tomsk Samoyeds, the shaman alone has access to the dark world of spirits; according to Castren, he performs his functions in a place specially prepared. He sits down in the middle of the room, on a bench or trunk, in which there must be nothing of a dangerous nature, neither knife, nor bullet, nor needle; behind the shaman, and beside him, are ranged the numerous spectators; but nobody must sit in front of him. The shaman's face is turned to the door, and he affects to see and hear nothing. In his right hand he holds a stick, smooth on one side, and on the other, covered with mysterious signs and figures; in his left hand are two arrows with the points upwards; on the point of each a little bell is fixed. The raiment of the conjurer has no distinctive character; he generally dons the clothes of the enquirer or patient. The *kamlanie* begins with a song, summoning the spirits, and during this the shaman beats with the stick on the arrows, and the bells ring out the measure, while the audience sit devoutly silent. As soon as the spirits begin to appear, the shaman stands up and begins to dance, accompanying the dance with very difficult and ingenious movements of the body. Meanwhile the song and the sound of the bells go on without pause. The subject of the song is a conversation with the spirits, and it is sung with varying degrees of excitement. When the singing has become exceptionally enthusiastic, the spectators also join in it. After the shaman has learned from the spirits all he wants to know, he declares the will of the gods. When he is consulted about the future, he divines by means of the stick, which he throws down; if the side marked with signs is downwards, this foretells misfortune, if it is uppermost, good fortune. To convince their fellows of the reality of their intercourse with spirits, the shamans have recourse to the following plan: the ghost-seer sits down in the middle of a dry reindeer skin which is stretched on the floor, and has his hands and feet tied; then the shutters are closed and the shaman summons the

<sup>1</sup> "Syevernyi Arkhiv," 1822, 274-277.

spirits subject to him. In the various corners of the dark *yurta*, and even outside, different voices are heard, there is a sound of scratching and drumming in time on the dry skin, bears growl, snakes hiss, squirrels jump. When the noise ceases, the unbound shaman goes out of the *yurta*, and the audience are convinced that the whole performance has been the work of spirits. Farther to the north, the Samoyed shamans, to prove their mysterious power, ask to be shot in the head.<sup>1</sup>

*Among the Ostyaks.*—As early as the days of Peter the Great, Novitskii, in his description of the Ostyaks, near akin to the Samoyeds, portrayed picturesquely the manner in which an Ostyak shaman conjured. When the natives wish to make enquiries about matters affecting their daily wants, fishing, hunting, or the like, they lead the wonder-worker into a dark hut, and there bind him firmly; they themselves sit down and play on reed pipes; the captive shouts out necromantic words, invoking his ally, Satan. The performance always takes place by night, and, after some hours of invocation, a stormy and noisy spirit enters the hut. Then the spectators flee, and leave the wizard alone with the spirit. The spirit takes him, raises him up and lets him down again, and torments him in all kinds of ways. Some hours later, the demon makes his revelation to the shaman, and then leaves him; the shaman communicates the message to the enquirers.<sup>2</sup> Tretyakov has given the substance of some of the sacred songs of the shamans among the Ostyaks and Yurak-Samoyeds. An Ostyak shaman sings that he is raising himself to heaven by means of a rope let down to him; he pushes aside the stars that block his way. In the sky, the shaman floats in a boat, and then sails down a stream to the earth, with such rapidity that the air blows through him. Afterwards, with the aid of winged devils, he descends below the earth, and asks the dark spirit "Ama," or the shaman's mother, for a cloak. (At this moment the bystanders throw a cloak over his shoulders.) Finally the shaman informs each of those who are present that his happiness is secured, and tells the patient that the devil is cast out. Among the Tazovsky Ostyaks and Yuraks, the shaman sings of his journeyings, and tells how he flies amid blossoming wild roses, and rises to the sky, where he sees on the *tundra* seven larches; there his grandsire formerly made his tambourine. Then the shaman enters an iron hut and falls asleep, surrounded by purple clouds. He comes down to earth on a river, and then adoring the heavenly deity the sun, the moon, the trees, the beast of earth—the ruler of the world, he prays for long life, happiness, &c.<sup>3</sup>

*Among the Chukchis and Koryaks.*—Passing to the extreme side of Siberia, on the Pacific coast, we find, among the tribes there, similar phenomena. Among the Chukchis, according to Litke, the

<sup>1</sup> Castren: "Reiseberichte und Briefe," 1845-1849, 172-174.

<sup>2</sup> "Kratkoe opisaniye o narodye ostyatskom," Grigoriya Novitskago, 1715g. Izd. L. Maikov, 1884, 48-49.

<sup>3</sup> Tretyakov, 217-218.

shaman, in his *kamlanie*, began by retiring behind a curtain, then were heard groans, and gentle tappings, with a thin whalebone, on the tambourine; opening the curtain, he was seen swaying from side to side, the shouts and drumming became louder, he threw off his coat, and stripped himself to the waist. The performance concluded with jugglery. First of all, the shaman took a smooth stone, gave it to Litke to hold, then took it between his hands, rubbed one palm on the other, and the stone disappeared; it was found in a swelling near the elbow, and was cut out. The last trick of the shaman, before retreating behind the curtain, was to cut his tongue with a knife until blood flowed.<sup>1</sup> The Koryak shamans, according to Krasheninnikov, had no special dress, and were only remarkable as healers of the sick and performers of tricks, e.g., they thrust a knife into the stomach. In healing diseases they designated the kind of animal which ought to be sacrificed. In their *kamlanie* the tambourine played an important part.<sup>2</sup>

*Among the Kamchadals.*—Among the Kamchadals there were no special shamans, but their place was taken by women; these were chiefly old, and they cured diseases by whispered charms. Their chief form of shamanism consisted of two old women sitting in the corner and ceaselessly whispering. One of them tied round her leg a garland of nettles ornamented with red wool, and shook her leg about. If the leg rose easily this was a good omen, but if it rose with difficulty misfortune would happen. But the *kamlanie* did not terminate with this. The female shaman summoned the devils with the words, "gut! gut!" and gnashed her teeth, and when the devils appeared she met them with laughter and cries of "hoi! hoi!" Half an hour afterwards the devils departed, and when this happened the witch cried "ishki," i.e., no. Her assistants were all the time whispering and telling her not to be afraid, and to notice everything and not forget the response. Some, adds Krasheninnikov, say that in time of thunder and lightning the *bilyukai*, spirit, comes to the women shamans and enables them to give responses.<sup>3</sup> Although Krasheninnikov, in his account of shamanism among the Kamchadals, declares that this tribe consider all women, especially old ones, capable of *kamlanie*, yet from the facts he gives we arrive at the conclusion that it is only certain women, exceptionally gifted, who can call up spirits, and become united with them.

*Among the Gilyaks.*—The Gilyaks carefully conceal all information about their shamans, and it is therefore very interesting to find that a merchant named Ivanov has given a detailed account of them, published in the "Sibirskii Vvestnik" for 1866. Mr. Ivanov lived on the Amur river from 1855, managed a Gilyak school, and had close relations with the Gilyaks of the Amur and of Sakhalin Island. A shaman, out of friendship, allowed him to be present at

<sup>1</sup> Erman: "Archiv," 1843, 459.

<sup>2</sup> Krasheninnikov, ii, 158-159.

<sup>3</sup> Krasheninnikov, ii, 81-82.

a *kamlanie*. At ten o'clock Mr. Ivanov reached the *yurta*. "As soon as I entered," says he, "he began to put on his shaman costume, hung with heavy iron rattles, took in his hand a tambourine covered with fish skin, and beat upon it with a hair-brush. On his head he had long wood shavings, and to the sound of the tambourine he began dancing about the *yurta*, and shouting in a wild voice, endeavouring to show the spectators that he possessed that inspiration which is the mark of his profession. Among his various gymnastic feats and tricks, he took in his right hand a knife and in his left hand an axe, and going over to the door, where there was no light, placed the knife against his stomach and struck with the axe on the handle of the knife until the blade of the knife had penetrated his entrails, then turning to the spectators he showed them that the blade had entered his stomach. All the bystanders went up to him to see; one of them took hold of the handle and pulled it away from the blade; the latter, according to the shaman, was left in his stomach, and thence he afterwards produced it." Mr. Ivanov afterwards detected the shaman's trick, and exposed him.<sup>1</sup>

*Among the Mongols.*—Shamanism was especially developed near Baikal Lake and in the Altai Mountains. In these classic lands of the Black Faith, capable enquirers like Yadrintsev, Potanin, and Radloff have laboured. There, in the south of Siberia, we find not only examples of the productions of the shamanist mind excited by an inflamed imagination, but whole mystery plays in which the conjurers up of spirits are the actors, plays distinguished by a strong dramatic element. Among the ancient Mongols, as early as the time of Chingis Khan and his immediate successors, the shamans were at the height of their power; they were priests, leeches, and prophets. As priests they need not occupy us at present. For healing purposes, the ancient Mongol shamans employed the methods which are still used in Siberia. When the exorcist of the spirits guilty of causing the illness could not fall into a state of delirium, the spectators tried to excite him by clapping of hands, shouts and songs; this custom is called *togokha* by the Mongols. As sooth-sayers, they either foretold the future, or divined according to the flight of arrows, or by the shoulder-blade; they burned the shoulder-blade of a sheep, and made responses to enquirers according to the cracks caused by the fire.<sup>2</sup>

*Among the Buryats.*—Among the Alarsk Buryats, the shaman, when called in to heal a sick person, makes a diagnosis, i.e., he enquires into the cause of the illness, and decides what has happened to the patient's soul, whether it has lost itself, or has been stolen away and is languishing in the prison of the gloomy Erlik, ruler of the underground world. A preliminary *kamlanie* decides this question. If the soul is near at hand, the shaman, by methods known to him alone, replaces it in the body, if the soul is far away, he seeks it in every part of the world; in the deep woods, on the

<sup>1</sup> "Sibirskii Vvestnik," 1866, No. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Banzarov, 114-115.



steppes, at the bottom of the sea, and when he has found it, restores it to the body. The soul frequently escapes from its pursuer; it runs to a place where sheep have walked, so that the shaman cannot discover its traces, which are mixed with the footprints of the sheep, or it flees to the south-western spirits, where it is safe from the wiles of the shaman. If the soul is not to be found anywhere within the limits of our world, the shaman must seek it in the realm of Erlik, and perform the toilsome and expensive journey to the underground world, where heavy sacrifices have to be made, at the cost of the patient. Sometimes the shaman informs the patient that Erlik demands another soul in exchange for his, and asks who is his nearest friend. If the sick Buryat is not of a magnanimous disposition, the shaman, with his consent, ensnares the soul of his friend when the latter is asleep. The soul turns into a lark; the shaman in his *kamlanie* takes the form of a hawk, catches the soul, and hands it over to Erlik, who frees the soul of the sick man. The friend of the Buryat, who recovers, falls ill and dies. But Erlik has only given a certain respite; the patient's life is prolonged for three, seven, or nine years.<sup>1</sup> The famous Berlin ethnographer Bastian describes the *kamlanie* of a Buryat shaman, at which he was present. An old shaman, in the company of three of his pupils, who assisted him, by night, in a *yurta* half lighted up by a fire, flung himself about, stamping wildly, and, while performing his dance round, summoned the spirits in a monotonous chant with a rhythmic cadence. When the shaman reached his pupils they fell down prostrate before him, and he touched their heads with two wands which he waved during his performance. Bastian's guide asked a question about a box that had been lost on the road. One of the pupils carefully laid a shovel on the coals, and filled it with thin splinters of wood, keeping up the fire so that the whole surface of the shovel would be on fire at the same time; then he reverently carried over the shovel full of flaming chips to his master, who spat on it several times and eagerly noticed the crackling of the burning wood, at the same time groaning and twitching convulsively. Unfortunately the response was indefinite and obscure.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Pozdnyeev gives, among his specimens of the popular literature of the Mongol tribes, an interesting wizard song of a Buryat shaman. It was sung, apparently, before a Buryat set out for the chase, and reminds him of his duties towards the Russian Government.

"Tree of the western rock  
Spread in thy youth,  
Taking a blue colour,  
Bloom with blue blossoms."

"Father heaven, O take!  
Thou must make a ramrod,  
Thou must kill the roebuck's mate,  
Thou must pay tribute to the Tsar,  
Thou must do carting for the Kazaks."

<sup>1</sup> Potanin, iv, 86-87.

<sup>2</sup> Bastian: "Geographische und ethnologische Bilder," i, 404-406.

"Tree of the southern rock  
Spread out from thy root;  
Taking a blue colour,  
Bloom with blue blossoms."

"Father heaven, O take!" &c.

"Tree of the northern rock  
Spread out from thy branches,  
Taking a blue colour  
Bloom with blue blossoms."

"Father heaven, O take!" &c.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Pozdnyeev has copied from Castren's Buryat grammar another specimen of a shamanist prayer. It differs from the foregoing in that it was uttered at public worship (*kerek*) and was not called forth by a private accidental demand. It begins by referring to various gods giving authority to the shaman's invocation. Then it goes on as follows:

"At this was present (here the name of a spirit invoked is given).

? "At the invocation *lylp* (a certain spirit).

"We invoke long life,  
We invoke long prosperity,  
We invoke a skin a *chetvert* thick,  
We invoke life strong as iron,  
We invoke the effectiveness of sacrifice,  
Entrance into a happy fate,  
We invoke the driving away of infection,  
The healing of sickness,  
We invoke wealth in flocks,  
We invoke a numerous progeny."  
"Make ready at once!"<sup>2</sup>

*Among the Altaians.*—In various corners of the Altai Mountains, among the Turkish tribes, Teleuts, Altaians and Chernev Tatars, the *kams*, or shamans, tenaciously preserve all the traditions and ceremonies connected with their calling. Mr. Potanin was fortunate enough to observe several cases of *kamlanie*. A very curious instance was that of a young shaman named Enchu, who lived in an *aul* on the river Talda, six versts from Angudai. His *kamlanie* consisted of four parts: 1. Before the fire, sitting with the face towards it; 2. Standing with the back to the fire; 3. A pause, during which the *kam*, leaning on the side of his tambourine, narrated all that the spirits had said or done; 4. Finally, he *kam'd* with his back to the fire, in front of the place where the tambourine always hangs, and undressed himself. Enchu said he did not remember what had happened to him while he was dancing with his back to the fire. At that time he madly twisted his body without moving his feet; he squatted down, writhed and straightened himself out again, as if imitating the movements of a snake. Owing to the rapid movement of the upper part of his body, the twisted handkerchiefs sewed on his dress spread out and whirled in the air, forming exquisite wavelike lines. Meanwhile he beat the tambourine in various ways,

<sup>1</sup> Pozdnyeev, i, 289.

<sup>2</sup> Pozdnyeev, i, 280.

and produced the most varied sounds. Sometimes Enchu held the tambourine upside down, holding it horizontally, and struck it violently from underneath. Potanin's Angudai guides explained that the shaman was collecting spirits in the tambourine. When the *kam* sat with his back to the fire he was much quieter; sometimes he interrupted his beating of the tambourine, conversed with somebody, laughed, thus indicating that he was in the company of the spirits. At one time Enchu sang slowly and pleasantly, while producing on the tambourine sounds similar to the trampling of horses' feet; the spectators explained that the shaman was riding with his guards.

On the Elegesha, Potanin was present at the *kamlanie* of an old female shaman in the *aul* of Uryankhai. The *yurta* (or hut) was very close. The *shamanka's* husband helped in the preliminary part of the ceremony: he gave her dress to her, dried the tambourine before the fire, threw juniper branches into the fire, &c. The distinctive features of this performance, as compared with Enchu's, were delirium and spasms; throwing away her tambourine, she began to drag herself towards those who were sitting in the *yurta*, showing her teeth, and stretching out her fingers to make them look like the claws of a beast; then she fell with a crash on the ground, and her head almost struck the hearthstone. As she lay on the floor she twisted herself about, and tried to gnaw with her teeth the hot stones around the hearth. Her husband held up her head, and muttered: "Stinkard!" According to the Altaians, the procedure varies among the different *kams*.<sup>1</sup>

*A shaman's journey to Erlik's realm.*—But Erlik, the malicious ruler of the underground realm, always plays an important part, and Mr. Potanin has written down, from Father Chivalkov's account, a story giving a full and dramatic description of a *kam's* journey to Erlik's abode. The shaman begins his travels from the place where he is performing. He describes his entry. The road runs southward. The *kam* passes through the neighbouring districts, climbs over the Altai, and describes, in passing, the Chinese land with its red sand; then he rides over a yellow steppe across which a magpie cannot fly. "With songs we shall traverse it!" cries the *kam* to his followers, and draws out a song; the young braves mount with him, and accompany him in song. After the yellow steppe comes a wan-coloured steppe, over which no raven has ever flown, and the *kam* again incites his followers to make merry with song. Beyond these two weary steppes is the iron mountain, Temir Shaikha, whose summit reaches heaven; the *kam* tells his followers that concord is necessary for this dangerous ascent. Then the *kam* describes the difficult ascent of the mountain, pretends to climb, and when the top is reached breathes heavily. On the mountain he sees the bones of *kams* who have failed to reach the summit for want of power. "On the mountains men's bones lie heaped up in rows; the mountains are piebald with the bones of horses." Then, leaving the mountains behind, he rides up to a hole which leads

<sup>1</sup> Potanin, iv, 60-62.

into the underground world, "the jaws of the earth." On entering he finds a sea, over which is stretched a hair. To give a visible representation of his passage over this dangerous bridge, the shaman totters from side to side, and seems sometimes to be on the point of falling. At the bottom of the sea he views the bones of many fallen shamans, for a sinful soul cannot cross the hair bridge. When he reaches the other shore, the *kam* meets several sinners suffering punishments corresponding to their guilt, e.g., an eaves-dropper is fixed with his ear against a pillar. Finally the shaman rides up to Erlik's abode; he is met by dogs; at first the porter will not let the *kam* pass, but he is at length appeased with presents. Before the ceremony begins, pots of home-brewed beer, boiled beef, and skunk skins are prepared for this purpose. After receiving the gifts, the porter lets the traveller into the *yurta* of Erlik. Hereupon the *kam* goes up to the door of the *yurta* in which the performance is taking place, and affects to believe that he is approaching Erlik, who is sitting at the other end of the *yurta*; he bows, and puts his tambourine against his forehead, saying, "Mergu! mergu!" and then tells whence and why he has come. Then the *kam* cries out; this means that Erlik has noticed him, and has cried out from anger at his coming. The alarmed *kam* runs back to the door, and then again approaches Erlik's throne. He repeats this manoeuvre three times, and then Erlik says, "Those that have feathers fly not hither, those that have bones walk not hither; thou black, ill-smelling beetle, whence comest thou?" The sage shaman explains who he is, and treats the lord of hell to wine; in doing this, he pretends to take wine from the pots, fills his tambourine, and presents it to Erlik-Khan. Then he represents the Khan drinking the wine, and hiccoughs in his stead. After slaking the Khan's thirst, he offers him an ox, which has been previously killed, and the use of a collection of furs and clothes taken from the chests and hung on a rope; touching these things with his hand, the sorcerer hands them over to the khan, and says, "May this *tolu* of varied shapes, which cannot be lifted by a horse, be for clothes on thy neck and body." But these things are left with the master of the house. As each thing is handed over, the tambourine is tapped. Erlik becomes drunk, and the *kam* mocks the drunken god. The propitious deity now gives his blessing to the suppliant, promises to multiply cattle, and even reveals what mare will bring forth a colt, and how it will be marked. The *kam* joyfully returns homeward, not on a horse, as before, but riding on a goose, and he walks about the *yurta* on tiptoe, as if he were flying. He imitates the cry of a goose. The *kamlanie* comes to an end, the shaman sits down, somebody takes the tambourine out of his hands, and beats on it thrice. The *kam* goes on beating his palm or his breast with his drum-stick, until it is taken away from him. After this the *kam* rubs his eyes as if he were awaking. He is asked, "What sort of ride had you? How did you get on?" And he replies, "I have had a successful journey! I was well received!"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Potanin, iv, 64-68.

*Ceremonies and Songs of an Altaian Kam while Sacrificing to Bai-Yulgen.*—The activity of the *kam* as a sacrificer, a conjurer up of spirits, and a soothsayer, is manifested most brilliantly in the ceremonies attending a great sacrifice to the celestial deity, Bai-Yulgen, who dwells on the golden mountain in the sixteenth heaven. All the songs and invocations were written down in the fifth decade of the present century, at the Altai mission, and were published by the priest Verbitskii. Mr. Radloff made a translation, and gave a full account of this festival, which is kept from time to time by every family. The festival takes place in the evenings of two or three days. On the first evening begins the preparation for the sacrifice. The *kam* selects a spot in a birch thicket in a little meadow, and there he places a new and ornamented *yurta*. In the *yurta* they put a young birch with the foliage on it; the lower branches are lopped off close to the trunk; on one of the topmost branches a flag is hung. At the bottom of the tree they cut on the trunk, with an axe, nine steps (*tapty*). Round the *yurta* a penfold is made, as if for cattle; opposite the door of the *yurta* is the entrance of the courtyard, and by the entrance is a birch stick with a noose of horse-hair. Then they choose a horse agreeable to the deity, and the *kam* has it held by a special person chosen from among those present, and called *Bash-tutkan kiski*, i.e., holder of the head. The shaman takes a birch twig and waves it over the horse's back, thus driving the soul of the sacrificed animal to Yulgen, at the same time the *Bash-tutkan's* soul accompanies it. The assembling of spirits in the tambourine takes place with great solemnity; the *kam* summons each spirit separately, and with a groan replies, "Here am I also, *kam*!" at the same time moving the tambourine as if taking the spirit into it. When he has assembled these assistants, the *kam* goes outside the *yurta*, sits down on a scarecrow in the form of a goose, and moving both arms rapidly like wings, he slowly sings in a loud voice:

"Below the white sky,  
Above the white cloud,  
Below the blue sky,  
Above the blue cloud,  
Mount, O bird, to the sky!"

To all the speeches of the shaman the goose replies by quacking, "*Ungai gak gak, ungai gak, kaigai gak gak, kaigai gak.*" The shaman himself, of course, does this imitation of the goose's voice. On his feathered steed the *kam* pursues the soul, *pura*, of the sacrificed horse, and neighs like a horse; finally, with the aid of the spectators, he drives it to the penfold, to the birch stick with the noose which represents the guardian of the animal's soul. The *kam* neighs, kicks, and makes a noise as if the noose were catching him by the throat, pulls, and sometimes throws down his tambourine as a sign that the horse has freed itself and run away. Finally, having recaptured the *pura*, he fumigates it with juniper and discards the goose. Then the animal destined for sacrifice is brought, the *kam* blesses it, and, with the aid of some of the

bystanders, kills it in a most cruel manner. The bones and skin become the sacrifice, and the flesh is eaten up, with various ceremonies, the *kam* receiving the choicest portion.

The most important part of the performance takes place on the second day, after sunset; it is then that the *kam* must display all his power and all his dramatic art. A whole religious drama is performed, descriptive of the *kam's* pilgrimage to Bai-Yulgen in heaven. A fire burns in the *yrta*, the shaman feeds the lords of the tambourine, *i.e.*, the spirits, personifying the shamanistic power of his family, with the meat of the offering, and then sings:

"Accept this, O Kaira Khan!  
Master of the tambourine with six bosses,  
Come to me amid the tinkling!  
If I cry 'Chokk!' bow thyself!  
If I cry 'Mé!' accept this!"

With a similar invocation he addresses the master of the fire, representing the power of the family of the owner of the *yrta*, the organiser of the festival. Raising a cup, the *kam* with his lips makes a noise as if invisible guests had assembled and were drinking, and he cuts up the meat into morsels and gives them to the spectators, who greedily gulp them down, as representatives of the unseen spirits. Fumigating with juniper nine garments, hung on a rope and decked with ribbons, which the master of the house offers to Yulgen, the *kam* sings:

"Gifts which no horse can carry,  
Alás! Alás! Alás!  
Which no man can lift,  
Alás! Alás! Alás!  
Garments with threefold collars,  
Turn them over three times and look at them,  
Let them be a cover for the racer,  
Alás! Alás! Alás!  
Prince Yulgen full of gladness!  
Alás! Alás! Alás!"

When the *kam* has donned his shaman's dress, and carefully fumigated his tambourine, he sits down on a bench, and, striking his tambourine, summons many spirits, primary and secondary; on behalf of each he answers "Here am I, *kam*!" Towards the end of this invocation the shaman addresses himself to Merkyut, the bird of heaven:

"Celestial birds, the five Merkyuts!  
You with mighty brazen claws,  
The claw of the moon is of copper,  
And the beak of the moon is of ice;  
Mighty is the flapping of the broad wings,  
The long tail is like a fan,  
The left wing hides the moon,  
The right wing hides the sun;  
Thou, mother of nine eagles,  
Without straying thou fliest over Yaik,  
Thou art not wearied over Edil.  
Come to me with song!  
Sporting, approach my right eye!  
Sit on my right shoulder!"

The shaman imitates the cry of this bird, and says: "Kagak, kak kak! *kam*, here I am!" He then bows down his shoulders, as if crushed by the weight of a huge bird. As the number of the spirits assembled increases, the *kam* beats more loudly on the tambourine, which becomes so heavy that he staggers under it. After having collected such powerful protectors and helpers, the shaman walks several times round the birch placed in the *yrta*, then kneels in front of the door, and asks the porter spirit to grant him a guide. A favourable answer being given, he noisily comes out into the middle of the *yrta*, and sharply beats his tambourine; the upper part of his body is shaken with convulsive movements, and an unintelligible muttering is heard. Then, with a peculiar motion of his drum-stick, the shaman pretends to scrape from the back of the master of the house all that is unclean, and thus liberates the soul, which, according to the belief of the Altaians, is in the back, from the influence of the wicked Erlik. Then he embraces the host, the hostess, their children and kinsfolk, in such a way that the tambourine touches the breast of each, while the drum-stick is held behind their backs. The shaman thus, with the aid of all the spirits collected in the tambourine, purifies them from all ills and misfortunes that the hostile spirit could bring upon them. After this purification, the people return to their places, and the shaman drives all the potential misfortunes out of doors. Then he puts his tambourine close to the host's ear, and with blows on this sacred instrument drives into him the spirit and power of his forefathers, thus preparing him to receive and understand the succeeding prophecies of the shaman. Indicating in pantomime that he is investing the host, hostess and all the members of the family with breast-plates and hats, the *kam* passes into a state of ecstasy; he jumps, knocks against those who are present, and suddenly places himself on the first step cut out of the birch trunk, at the same time raising the tambourine, thumping it with all his might, and shouting "gok, gok!" All the shaman's movements indicate that he is rising to the sky. In a joyous ecstasy he runs round the fire and the birch, imitating the sound of thunder, and then with convulsions he runs up to a bench covered with a horse-cloth. This represents the soul of the *pura*, the sacrificial horse; the *kam* mounts it and cries:

"I have mounted one step,  
Aikhai! aikhai!  
I have attained one zone.  
Shagarbata!  
I have climbed to the top of the *tapty* (the birch steps),  
Shagarbata!  
I have risen to the full moon.  
Shagarbata!"

The shaman passes through one zone of heaven after another, and orders the *Bash-tutkan* to hurry. In the third zone, the *pura* is tired out, and, to relieve it, the *kam* calls the goose, which he mounts. But this temporary relief is of no avail; the shaman, on

behalf of the *Bash-tutkan*, makes a long speech in a tearful tone, telling of his exhaustion, and that of his steed. In the third space of heaven there is a halt, and the shaman tells the audience of all he has seen and heard in that zone; here it is that information is given about approaching changes in the weather, impending sickness and epidemics, misfortunes that are to befall neighbours, sacrifices to be offered by the district. In foretelling rainy weather, for instance, the *kam* sings:

"Kara Shurlu with six staves,  
Drips on the low ground,  
Nothing with hoofs can protect itself,  
Nothing with claws can uphold itself."

The *kam* may also make similar prophecies in other regions of the sky, at his discretion. After the *Bash-tutkan* is rested, the journey is continued; before each heaven, the shaman mounts on the next step of the birch tree. To give variety to the performance, various episodes are introduced: first the *karakush*, a black bird in the service of the *kam*, is treated to a pipe of tobacco, then the *karakush* chases the cuckoo; during this, the shaman coo-cooes, and imitates the report of the *karakush's* gun; in the third place, he waters the *pura* horse, and imitates the sound of a horse drinking. In the sixth sphere of heaven takes place the last episodic scene, and this has a comic tinge. The shaman sends his servant Kuruldak to track and catch a hare that has hidden itself. For a time the chase is unsuccessful, new personages are introduced, and one of them, Kereldei, mocks Kuruldak, who, however, at last succeeds in catching the hare. The fifth heaven is particularly interesting, for there the *kam* carries on a long conversation with the mighty Yayuchi (supreme creator), who reveals to him many secrets of the future. Some of these things the shaman communicates aloud, others he mutters rapidly.

In the sixth heaven he bends before the moon, who dwells there, and in the seventh, before the sun. In a similar manner the *kam* makes his way to the eighth, ninth heaven, &c. The more powerful the *kam* is, the higher he mounts in the celestial regions; there are some, but few, who can soar to the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and even higher. When he has reached the summit of his power, the *kam* stops, drops his tambourine, and, gently beating with his drum-stick, invokes Yulgen in a humble prayer:

"Lord to whom three ladders lead,  
Bai-Yulgen, owner of three flocks,  
The blue slope which has appeared,  
The blue sky which shows itself,  
The blue cloud which whirls along.  
Inaccessible blue sky,  
Inaccessible white sky,  
Place a year's journey distant from water,  
Father Yulgen thrice exalted,  
Whom the edge of the moon's axe shuns,  
Who uses the hoof of the horse.  
Thou, Yulgen, hast created all men,



Who are stirring round about us,  
 Thou, Yulgen, hast endowed us with all cattle,  
 Let us not fall into sorrow !  
 Grant that we may resist the evil one !  
 Do not show us Kermes (the evil spirit that attends man)  
 Give us not over into his hands !  
 Thou who the starry sky  
 Thousands and thousands of times hast turned,  
 Condemn not my sins ! ”

From Yulgen the shaman learns whether the sacrifice is accepted or not, and receives the most authentic information concerning the weather, and the character of the coming harvest ; he also finds out what sacrifices are expected by the deity. On such an occasion the shaman designates the neighbour who is bound to furnish a sacrifice, and even describes the colour and appearance of the animal ; Mr. Radloff remarks that the *kam* is not wholly disinterested in these cases. After his conversation with Yulgen, the ecstasy of the shaman reaches its highest point, and he falls down completely exhausted. Then the *Bash-tutkan* goes up to him, and takes the tambourine and drum-stick out of his hands. The shaman is quite motionless and silent. After a short time, during which quiet reigns in the *yurta*, the shaman seems to awake, rubs his eyes, stretches himself, wrings out the perspiration from his shirt, and salutes all those present as if after a long absence.

Sometimes the festival ends with this great ceremony, but more frequently, especially among the wealthy, it lasts another day, which is spent in libations to the gods, and feasting, during which an enormous quantity of *kumys* and other strong drink is consumed.<sup>1</sup>

The account, given above in an abridged form, of the journeyings and spirit-raising of an Altai shaman, is taken from Mr. Radloff's detailed description, and is the most exhaustive and complete picture we have of the fantasy of the Siberian shamanists, and is consequently of great value for the comparative ethnographical study of our subject.

*The tambourine and drum-stick.*—The shaman, as mediator in dealings with the spirit world, must, during his functions, bear outward signs to distinguish him more or less from other people. The most important appurtenances of the profession are the tambourine and drum-stick, and the various parts of the shaman's dress. The tambourine is met with amongst almost all the Siberian tribes who have shamans ; besides its power in calling up spirits, it has the miraculous power of carrying the shaman. Mr. Potanin dwells in detail on the shamans' tambourines among the Altaians, and compares them with the tambourines of the other Siberian peoples. All the tambourines seen by Mr. Potanin were circular ; but, according to Mr. Yadrintsev, all those used among the Chernev Tatars are oval. The tambourine consists of a hoop or rim, of a palm in breadth, with skin stretched over it on one

<sup>1</sup> Radloff : “ Aus Siberien,” ii, 20–50.

side; on the concave side of the tambourine two vertical cross pieces of wood and one horizontal iron cross piece are fixed. The wooden cross piece is called by the Altaians *bar*, but other tribes give it other names. The *bar* has the form of a spindle broadening at the upper end (the broad part is shaped like a human head), at the lower end it forms a fork, resembling legs.<sup>1</sup> On the upper part, eyes, a nose, mouth and chin are marked. The iron cross-piece is called *krish* (bow-string) among the Altaians; it is an iron rod on which are iron rattles, called *kungru* in Altaian; the number of these rattles is greater or less according to the rank of the *kam*. Their number corresponds with that of the *chalus*, or spirits, subject to the shaman. Besides the *kungrus*, there are small sword-shaped trinkets fixed on the inner side of the tambourine, to the right and left of the head of the *bar*. On the outside of the hoop or rim are bosses about the size of a bean, and sometimes smaller. On the bow-string, under the beard of the *bar*, are fastened bands of narrow cloth, and these are called *yalama*. On the skin of the tambourine, sometimes on both sides, sometimes on the inner side only, are drawings in red paint. According to Mr. Yadrintsev's description, the tambourines of the Chernev and Kumandinsk Tatars differ from those of the Altaians; the vertical cross-piece has no representation of a human face, and is only a plain piece of wood. On the outer side of the tambourine of the Chernev Tatars there are drawings of animals and trees. A horizontal line separates it into two unequal parts; the upper part is the larger, and on it is figured a bow, the ends of which rest on the horizontal belt. Within the bow are two trees, and on each of them sits a *karagush* bird; to the left of the trees are two circles, one light, the sun, the other dark, the moon. Under the horizontal stripe are frogs, a lizard, and a snake; on the cross stripe and the bow are stars.<sup>2</sup> A certain *kam* gave Mr. Klements some curious explanations of the pictures on a tambourine.

(A) *Lower part of the tambourine.*

- (1) *Bai-kazyn* (painted in white), literally "the rich birch." This is the name given to the birches at which the yearly sacrifices take place.
- (2) *Uluq-bai-kazyn* (in white paint). Two trees that grow in Ilkhan's kingdom.
- (3 and 4) *Ak-baga* (white frog), *Kara-baga* (black frog), servants of Ilkhan.
- (5) *Chzhity-us*, certain spirits with seven nests and seven feathers.
- (6) *Chzhity-kyz* (seven maidens), who let loose seven diseases against man.
- (7) *Ulgere*; he is invoked in case of diseases of the teeth and ears.
- (8) *Ot-imeze*, signifying "mother of fire."

<sup>1</sup> Figs. *b* and *c* on p. 18, vol. ii of Radloff's "Aus Siberien."

<sup>2</sup> Potanin, iv, 42-43.

(B) *Upper part of the tambourine.*

- (1) *Solban-ir* (translated by the *kam* as "dawn").
- (2) *Kyun*, the sun.
- (3) *Ike-karagus*, two black birds; they fly on errands from the shaman to the devils.
- (4) *Aba-tyus* (bear's *tyus*, whatever that may mean).
- (5) *Sugyznym-karagat*, the horses of Ilkhan.
- (6) *Kyzyl-kikh-khan*. He is invoked when men set out for the chase.

The remaining figures, painted with white colour, are the beasts chased by *kyzyl-kikh-khan*.

These pictorial representations on the tambourines have a peculiar interest for us; they are intimately connected with shamanist beliefs, and would throw light on the mysteries of shamanist necromancy, but, like all pictorial signs, these drawings need to be explained by persons intimately acquainted with the ideas and facts to which they refer. We have as yet but few materials of this kind, and must restrict ourselves to the vaguest conclusions, e.g., that the terrestrial and underground worlds are portrayed on the tambourine, separated by a horizontal band. Mr. Potanin notes such a division in the Ostyak tambourine of which he gives a drawing in his book.<sup>2</sup> If we were in possession of more of these pictorial materials, and texts like that published by O. Verbitskii, light might be thrown on this important question, but so far, all explanations have been rather of the nature of guess-work. Among the Buryats, the tambourine has been almost supplanted by the bell, and Mr. Khangalov only saw a tambourine in the hands of one shaman, who was an inexperienced beginner. If we may judge from this specimen, the Buryat tambourine has the dimensions and shape of a sieve; horse-skin is stretched upon it, and fastened behind with small straps; there were no drawings on it, either inside or outside, but the surface was bespattered with some white substance. According to Khangalov, the tambourine among the Buryats has a symbolic meaning; it represents the horse which can convey the shaman whither he will. The Yakuts make their tambourines of a lengthened circular form, and cover them with cowhide. On the inner side are two iron cross-pieces, arranged crosswise, and forming a handle. The tambourine is hung with little bells and rattles; it serves the Yakut, like the Buryat shaman, as a horse on which he rides to the spirit realm.<sup>4</sup>

But it is not all shamans who attain the high honour of having a tambourine; frequently a long time passes during which the spirits will not allow this magic instrument to be made. Gmelin, for instance, says that many Buryat shamans are not permitted by

<sup>1</sup> Klements: "Ny eskolko obraztsov bubnov minusinskikh inorodtsev. Zap. Vos. Sib. Otd. I. G. O. P.," v, 2, 26.

<sup>2</sup> Potanin, iv, 680.

<sup>3</sup> Agapitov and Khangalov, 4 t.

<sup>4</sup> Pripuzov, 65.

the demons to have a tambourine, and during their *kamlanie* use two long sticks, striking them crosswise against each other.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps it is to this cause that we must attribute the fact that Mr. Khangalov saw no tambourines among the Buryat shamans, excepting in one instance. With the decline of shamanism, the number of persons able to make this sacred instrument, duly observing all the unknown ceremonies necessary, becomes smaller; the process of *kamlanie* is simplified, and the will of the spirits is made the excuse. As regards the mallet with which the tambourine is beaten, it is sufficient to observe that this instrument is encased in skin of some sort, so that the sound may not be too sharp. Among the Altaians, for instance, the mallet is covered with the skin of a wild goat or a hare.<sup>2</sup> Among certain tribes, e.g., Buryats, Soicts, Kumandintses, Yakuts, they use for divining and for summoning spirits, a peculiar musical instrument giving out a feeble, jarring sound.<sup>3</sup> Despite all these, the tambourine continues to occupy the first place among shamanist instruments.

*Shamanist dress and horse-sticks.*—The shamans put on a special dress only when they are engaged with the spirits; in private life they are not distinguished from other people by any outward signs. Shashkov considers the following list to comprise all those articles of dress which are common to all the Siberian tribes: 1. An outer *caftan*; some of them are made of cloth, others of beasts' skins. They are hung with various rattles, rings, and representations of mythical animals. 2. A mask; among the Samoyed *tadibeis*, its place is taken by a handkerchief with which the eyes are covered, so that the shaman may penetrate into the spirit-world by his inner sight. 3. A copper or iron breast-plate. 4. A hat, one of the chief attributes of the shaman.<sup>4</sup> Gmelin describes the costume of a Tunguz shaman, and points out that, in addition to the ordinary shaman's dress, he also put on an apron hung with iron plates, bearing figures either sunk or in relief. His stockings were of leather, and trimmed with iron. He had no hat, for his old one had been burnt, and the deity will not give a new one. This shaman put on his dress over his shirt.<sup>5</sup> The Yakut shamans adorn their fur coats with representations of a sun with holes in it, and a half moon, thus indicating the twilight that reigns in the spirit land. The coats are hung with monstrous beasts, fishes, and birds, as a sign that there are monsters in the spirit world. Behind hangs an iron chain, which, in the opinion of some, shows the strength and endurance of the shaman's power, while others think it is the steering gear for the journey to the spirit land. The iron plates serve as a protection against the blows of malevolent spirits. The tufts sewed on the fur coat signify feathers.<sup>6</sup> The travellers of the eighteenth century

<sup>1</sup> Gmelin, iii, 26.

<sup>2</sup> Agapitov and Khangalov, 43.

<sup>3</sup> Gmelin, ii, 193.

<sup>4</sup> Potanin, iv, 48.

<sup>5</sup> Shashkov, 86.

<sup>6</sup> Pripuzov, 65. Mr. Pripuzov's description agrees in the main with that given by Mr. Shchukin in his "Poyezdka v Yakutsk," 1833, pp. 200-201.

paid great attention to the dress and accessories of the shamans. Pallas describes in detail the costume of a Buryat shamanka that he saw; she was accompanied by her husband and two Buryats, each with a magic tambourine. She held in her hands two sticks, ornamented at the upper end with a representation of a horse's head, and hung with small bells. From her shoulders there hung down her back to the ground about thirty snakes made of black and white fur, sewed together in such a way that the snakes looked as if they were formed of black and white rings. One of the snakes was divided into three at the end, it is therefore called *lyuga*, and is considered to be an indispensable ornament of every Buryat shamanka. Her hat was covered by an iron helmet, from which rose horns with three antlers, like the horns of a deer.<sup>1</sup>

Gmelin visited the *yrta* of a much respected Buryat shamanka near Selenginsk. Her dress consisted of all the rags she could hang round her; most of the rags were more than a yard long and about 7 inches wide; almost every rag was adorned with embroidered images, and hung with silk strings and tassels. A box which stood in the *yrta* was full of clouts, flints and meteorites. All these things served for healing purposes; there was also a felt bag full of felt idols of various shapes.<sup>2</sup> The shaman's costume, hanging in the *yrta*, was, she declared, incomplete. These scanty descriptions of former travellers must be compared with the scientific investigations of modern ethnographers. In the exhaustive work of MM. Agapitov and Khangalov there is a systematic account of an ancient costume of the Buryat shamans, which is hardly ever met with nowadays. 1. An indispensable part of a shaman's belongings was a fur cloak or *orgoi*, white for a white shaman who dealt with good spirits, and blue for a black shaman, representative of evil spirits. The *orgoi* is made of silk or cotton stuff, and does not differ in cut from an ordinary fur cloak; on it are sewed metallic figures of horses, birds, &c. Some cups, representations of a certain animal, and an idol in a rhombic frame, which have been found, may, according to Agapitov and Khangalov, with plausibility be considered as belonging to the number of such adornments. 2. The hat among the shamans of the present day is of lynx skin, with a tuft of ribbons on the top; a peaked cap is even worn sometimes, but the tuft is indispensable. After a fifth ablution the shaman receives an iron hat<sup>3</sup>; it has the form of a crown and consists of an iron hoop to which two half-hoops are fixed crosswise; on the top of one of them is fastened a small iron plate, with the two ends turned up to look like two horns. Where the half hoops join the horizontal hoop there are fastened, in three places, three *kholbokho*, i.e., conical pendants, and at the back of the hoop is a chain of four links united by small rings; on the end of the chain hang objects resembling a spoon and an awl. 3. Horse-

<sup>1</sup> Pallas, iii, 181-182.

<sup>2</sup> Gmelin, ii, 11-13.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 3 in Pl. III, Agapitov and Khangalov.

sticks are met with among all the Baikal Buryats; among those of Balagansk they do not exist. The shaman has two horse-sticks; they are made either of wood or iron.<sup>1</sup> The iron sticks are acquired by the shaman, like the iron cap, only after the fifth ablution. The wooden sticks are prepared on the eve of the first dedication; they are cut out of a growing birch; an endeavour is made to perform the excision in such a way that the birch will not wither. If the tree from which the stick is taken dies, it is considered an ill omen for the shaman. A birch is selected from among those that grow in the wood set apart for the burial of the shamans. The top of the stick is decorated with a horse's head; at some distance from the lower end a horse's knee is cut out, and the bottom has the form of a hoof. Some bells are fastened to the horse-sticks, and one of them is larger than the others. These sacred sticks are adorned with hollow *kholboko* cones, ribbons of four colours (blue, white, yellow, and red), skins of ermine, squirrel and skunk, and to make them still more like horses, small stirrups are hung on them. The iron sticks do not essentially differ from the wooden ones. The Olkhonsk Buryat shamans have also a *shire*, i.e., shrine. This is a box about 3 ft. 6 in. in length and 14 in. in height, to the top of the lid, having the form of a roof with a double slope. The box stands on legs about 28 in. high; it is decked with ribbons, bells and skins, and on one of the long sides are painted in red, or carved, representations of men, animals and other things.<sup>2</sup> Usually, at the end, on the right side, is a picture of the sun, and on the left, the moon. The sun has the form of a wheel, and in the middle of the moon is a human figure grasping a tree. The central part of the plank is occupied by three human figures; one of them is a woman, the other two are men; these are the inferior deities to whom they offer libations of wine several times in the year. In a line with these are drawn two quivers, a case for a bow, a bow and a sword, and under each human figure is a horse. In the *shire* are kept the horse-sticks, tambourine, and various sacrificial instruments. Nil, Archbishop of Yaroslavl, mentions two other objects: *abagaldei*, a monstrous mask of leather, wood or metal, with a huge beard painted on it, and *toli*, a metallic mirror with figures of twelve animals; it is worn on the breast or neck, and is sometimes sewed on to the shaman's dress; at the present time these two objects are hardly ever used by Buryat shamans.<sup>3</sup>

From Mr. Potanin's investigations it would seem that the special dress of the *kams* has been better preserved among the Altaian tribes than among the other Siberian peoples, and he gives some very curious information about this costume. The shaman's dress consists of the skin of a wild goat or reindeer; the outside is almost covered with a multitude of twisted handkerchiefs of various sizes,

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 2 in Pl. III, Agapitov and Khangalov.

<sup>2</sup> Figs. 4 and 5, Pl. III, Agapitov and Khangalov.

<sup>3</sup> Agapitov and Khangalov, 42-44.

which represent snakes; they are embroidered with cloths of several colours, and sometimes with brocade. Some of the handkerchiefs are not sewed to the dress by the end, but in such a way that the upper end remains free, and looks like the head of a snake. On this are sometimes sewed imitations of eyes; on the thicker rolls, this end is slit, so that the snake's jaws are open. The tails of the larger snakes are forked, and on each end hangs a tassel; sometimes three snakes have a head in common. Besides these twisted handkerchiefs, narrow straps of reindeer skin are sewed on to the dress in bunches of nine. It is said that rich *kams* have a thousand and seventy snakes or twisted handkerchiefs. The small twisted handkerchiefs are called *manyak* by the Altaians; this name is also applied to the whole dress. Besides the twisted handkerchiefs and straps, *i.e.*, the *manyaks*, many other symbolic signs and rattles are fixed to the dress. Stirrup-shaped triangles of iron are often met with, on one of the corners of which iron trinkets are put, a small bow fitted with an arrow to frighten away evil spirits from the shaman during his *kamlanie*, and some *kholbogoss*. On the back, two round copper plates are sewed; sometimes two others are sewed on the breast. Skins of small animals, such as ermine, striped squirrel and flying squirrel, are also sewed on with the *manyaks*. In the case of one *kam*, Mr. Potanin noticed four tobacco-pouches sewed on; these were feigned to be full of tobacco, though they were empty; the *kam* gives away this tobacco to the spirits during his wanderings in their country. The collar is trimmed with a fringe of the feathers of the white owl or brown owl; one shaman had sewed to his collar seven small dolls, and on the head of each was a plume of brown owl's feathers; these dolls, the shaman said, were the celestial maidens. In some dresses, the *manyaks* do not cover the whole dress from the collar to the waist, but a shred of cloth of some particular colour, *e.g.*, red, is sewed on, and to it are fastened round copper plates, *kholbogoss*, and frequently little Russian bells; the wealthier *kams* have nine bells. The noise they make is asserted to be the voice of the seven maidens sewed to the collar, calling the spirit to come to them.

The hat of an Altaian shaman is a square or four-cornered piece of young reindeer's skin; the front is covered with cloth, or some other bright-coloured material. On one side are sewed two brass buttons, on the other are two button holes. Mr. Potanin saw a hat the upper edge of which was adorned with feathers from a golden eagle or brown owl, arranged in tufts; on the lower part was a fringe of cowrie shells hung on strips of skin. This piece of skin is laid with its lower edge on the brow; the sides are turned to the back of the head, and it is buttoned at the back, thus forming something like a European tall hat. If the strip of skin is narrow and stiff, the upper part of it sticks straight up, and the plume gives the head-dress the appearance of a diadem. Some Teleut shamans make their hats of brown owl's skin; the wings are left as ornaments, and sometimes the bird's head is left on too. It is not all shamans who have the right to wear the *manyak* and the brown owl hat;

during the ceremony of *kamlanie* the spirits reveal to their favourites that the time has come when they may prepare this professional dress. Among the Chernev Tatars, the shamans sometimes use a mask (*kocho*), made of birch bark and ornamented with squirrel tails to represent eyebrows and moustache. Among the same people Mr. Yadrintsev remarked the use of two crutches; one of them was considered to be a staff, the other a horse, like the horse-sticks of the Buryat shamans.<sup>1</sup>

All the separate parts of the dress of Siberian shamans, and their other professional belongings, have a threefold significance, both separately and conjointly. The shamans, by the outward appearance of their costume, in consequence of its originality, endeavour to produce a strong impression on the spectators; the sound of the bells, metal trinkets, and rattles on the tambourine, and the sticks which are struck against each other, agitates the audience, and puts them into a peculiar state of mind. Finally, all the objects and ornaments belonging to the shaman have their definite meaning, sometimes even of a mystic character, intelligible only to shamanists, and closely connected with their philosophy.

*How the rank of shaman is attained.*—It is not everyone who can become a shaman, and the position is bestowed, among the Siberian tribes, either by hereditary right or in consequence of a special predisposition manifesting itself in a boy or youth chosen by the spirits for their service. Among the Trans-Baikal Tunguses, he who wishes to become a shaman declares that such and such a dead shaman has appeared to him in a dream and ordered him to be his successor; in addition, everyone before becoming a shaman "shows himself to be crazy, stupefied and timorous."<sup>2</sup> According to the stories of the Tunguses of Turukhansk, the man who is destined to become a sorcerer sees in a dream the devil "*khargi*" performing shamanist rites. It is at this time that the Tungus learns the secrets of his craft.<sup>3</sup>

The Yakut shamans and shamankas do not receive the magic talent by inheritance, although there is a tradition that if a necromancer arises in a family the dignity is not transferred; they are preordained to serve the spirits whether they wish it or not. "Emekhet," the guardian spirit of the dead shaman, endeavours to enter into some one among the kinsfolk of the deceased. The person destined to shamanism begins by raging like a madman; suddenly he gabbles, falls into unconsciousness, runs about the woods, lives on the bark of trees, throws himself into fire and water; lays hold of weapons and injures himself, so that he has to be watched by his family; by these signs they know that he will be a shaman; they then summon an old shaman acquainted with the abodes of the aerial and subterranean spirits. He instructs his pupil in the various kinds of spirits, and the manner of summoning them. The consecration of a shaman among the Yakuts is accom-

<sup>1</sup> Potanin, iv, 49-54.

<sup>2</sup> "Sibirskii Vvestnik," 1822, 39-40.

<sup>3</sup> Tretyakov, 211.



panied by certain ceremonies; the old shaman leads his pupil on to a high hill or out into the open field, clothes him in shaman's dress, invests him with tambourine and drum-stick, places on his right nine chaste youths and on his left nine chaste maidens, then dons his own dress, and, standing behind the new shaman, causes him to repeat certain words. First of all he demands that the candidate should renounce God and all that he holds dear, promising that he will consecrate his whole life to the demon who will fulfil his prayers. Then the old shaman tells where the various demons dwell, what diseases each causes, and how he may be appeased. Finally the new shaman kills the animal destined for sacrifice, his dress is sprinkled with the blood, and the flesh is eaten by the throng of spectators.<sup>1</sup> Among the Siberian Samoyeds and Ostyaks the shamans succeed to the post by inheritance from father to son. On the death of a shaman, his son who desires to have power over the spirits makes of wood an image of the dead man's hand, and by means of this symbol succeeds to his father's power.<sup>2</sup> Among the Ostyaks, the father himself selects his successor, not according to seniority but fitness, and conveys to the chosen one all his science; the childless leave their profession to friends or pupils. Those destined to be shamans spend their youth in practices which irritate the nervous system and excite the imagination.<sup>3</sup> Tretyakov describes the ordination of shamans among the Samoyeds and Ostyaks of the Turukhan district. According to his account, the candidate stands with his face to the west, the old shaman prays the dark spirit to aid the novice, and expresses the hope that the latter will not be left without an assistant spirit. Finally the instructor sings a sort of hymn to the spirit of darkness, and the new shaman has to repeat a prayer after him. The spirits try the beginner, they demand his wife, his son, and he ransoms them with sacrifices and promises to share the offerings with them.<sup>4</sup>

In the southern part of Siberia, among the Buryats, anybody may become a shaman, but the profession is generally only followed by those who belong to a shamanist family and have had ancestors, paternal or maternal, engaged in that occupation. Besides these, there are shamans specially chosen by the gods themselves; if anyone is killed by lightning, this is looked upon as a direct expression of the will of the gods, who thus indicate that the family has been selected by them; the deceased is considered to be a shaman and is buried as such; his nearest kinsman has a right to be a necromancer. Stones that fall from the sky may also give a Buryat shamanist power. It is said that a man once drank *tarasun* in which such a stone had been washed, and became a shaman in consequence. These fortuitous shamans are generally unfitted for this work, through lack of early training, and, owing to their

<sup>1</sup> Pripuzov, 64-65. V. S.—kii: "Kak i vo chto vyeruyut Yakuty," "Sibirskii Sbornik," 1890, v. ii, 130.

<sup>2</sup> Tretyakov, 211.      • Belyavskii, 113-114.

<sup>4</sup> Tretyakov, 210-211.

ignorance, they are guided by old men, appointed for this purpose, who are experienced, and know the ceremonies and prayers. But usually the dead ancestors who were shamans choose from their living kinsfolk a boy who is to inherit their power. This child is marked by special signs: he is often thoughtful, fond of solitude, a seer of prophetic visions, subject occasionally to fits, during which he is unconscious. The Buryats believe that at such a time the boy's soul is with the spirits, who are teaching him, if he is to be a white shaman, with the western spirits, if he is to be a black shaman, among the eastern spirits. Dwelling in the palaces of the gods, the soul, under the guidance of the dead shamans, learns all the secrets of the shamanist craft; it remembers the names of the gods, their dwelling place, the forms used in their worship, and the names of the spirits subject to these great gods. After enduring trials, the soul returns to the body. Year by year the tendency of mind becomes more pronounced; the youth begins to have fits of ecstasy, dreams and swoons become more frequent; he sees spirits, leads a restless life, wanders about from village to village and tries to *kam*. In solitude he carries on shamanist exercises with energy, somewhere in a forest or on a hill-side by a blazing fire. He invokes the gods in an unnatural voice, shamanizes, and frequently falls fainting. His friends follow him at a distance to see that no harm befalls him.

As long as the future mediator between gods and men is preparing for his new duties, his parents or kinsfolk appeal for help to a skilled shaman; they summon the gods and offer them sacrifices, praying that their kinsman may come safely through the ordeal. If the future shaman belongs to a poor family, the whole community helps to get animals for sacrifice and objects necessary for the rites. The preparatory period lasts some years; its length depends on the abilities of the youth. As a rule the candidate does not become a shaman before he is twenty years of age. Before entering upon his duties the candidate must go through a ceremony known as body-washing. One ablution does not suffice to give all the rights of the office; the operation must be repeated from three to nine times, but the majority are satisfied with one or two; indeed, there are some who omit the ceremony altogether, dreading the vast responsibility it brings, for the gods deal exceptionally severely with those who have undergone consecration, and sternly punish with death any serious mistake. The first ceremony of consecration is preceded by what is called the water purification. For this purpose an experienced shaman is selected, called the father-shaman, and nine young men, called his sons, are appointed his assistants. The water for the ablution must be spring water; sometimes it is drawn from three springs. They set out for the water on the morning of the day when the ceremony is to take place; they take with them *tarasun*, and offer libations to the master and mistress spirits of the well. On the way back they tear up by the roots young birch trees, shoots sprouting from seeds, bind them up into brooms, and carry them to the *yurta* of the candidate. The water is warmed in

a kettle on the hearth, and they throw into it juniper, wild thyme, and fir bark to purify it. Then they take a goat which is held in readiness, cut a little hair off its ears, a fragment from each hoof and horn, and throw all this into the kettle. After this, the goat is killed in such a way that drops of its blood run into the water, which is then ready for the ceremony. The goat's flesh is given to the women, and they cook and eat it. The father-shaman first divines from the shoulder of a sheep, then he summons the shamanist predecessors of the candidate, and offers wine and *tarasun* as a sacrifice; after the sacrifice he dips the birch brooms in the water and beats the future soothsayer on the naked back; the sons of the shaman do likewise, at the same time saying, "When a poor man calls thee, ask little of him in return, and take what is given. Have a care for the poor, help them, and pray the gods to protect them against evil spirits and their power. If a rich man call thee, ride to him on a bullock, and do not ask much for thy services. If a rich man and a poor man both send for thee at the same time, go first to the poor and then to the rich." The new shaman promises to observe these precepts, and repeats the words of a prayer uttered by the father-shaman. When the ablution is finished they make a libation of *tarasun* to the guardian spirits, and this concludes the ceremony. The water purification is frequently performed subsequently by the shaman; it is compulsory once a year, but sometimes even monthly, at the new moon, and also on special occasions when the shaman feels himself defiled in any way, e.g., by contact with unclean things; when the defilement is very grievous the purification must be by blood. The shaman also purifies himself when any death takes place in the village. Some time after the ceremony of purification, the first dedication, called *khереge-khulkhe*, takes place, and large contributions are raised in the community to cover the expenses. A father-shaman and nine sons are again chosen, and the ceremony of dedication begins with a procession, on horseback, of the shaman, his guide, and the nine helpers, to their acquaintances, to collect offerings. In front of each *yurta* the riders stop, and cry out a summons to the inhabitants, who entertain them, and hang offerings in the form of kerchiefs and ribbons on a birch, which the candidate holds in his hands; they also give money sometimes. Then they purchase wooden cups, bells for the horse-sticks, and other objects, silk, wine, &c. On the eve of the ceremony they cut down in the forest the necessary quantity of thick birches. The young men cut the wood, under the direction of the old man. From a very strong and straight birch they carefully cut out two planks to make the horse-sticks. They also hew down a fir tree. All this timber is taken from the wood where the inhabitants of the village are buried. To feed the spirit of the wood, they bring sheep's flesh and *tarasun*. At the same time they get ready the shaman's outfit, and the father-shaman and his colleagues from other places shamanize, and invoke the protecting gods. On the morning of the day on which the ceremony happens, the trees that have been brought in are put in the proper

places. First of all they lay in the *yurta* a great thick birch with its roots stuck in the right hand south-western corner, at the point where the earthen floor lies bare round the hearth; the top of the tree is thrust out through the smoke hole. This birch symbolically indicates the porter god who allows the shaman ingress into heaven; it is left there permanently, and serves as a distinctive mark of a shaman's abode. At the consecration, the remaining birches are placed outside the hut, in the place where the ceremony will be performed, in a certain order, beginning from the east: 1. A birch under which they place, on a piece of white felt, *tarasun*, &c.; to the tree are fastened red and yellow ribbons if the shaman is a black shaman, white and blue ribbons if he is a white shaman, and all four colours if he is going to serve both good and evil spirits; 2. A birch to which they attach a large bell, and the horse that is to be sacrificed; 3. A birch tree, of sufficient size, which the new shaman must climb; all these three birches are called *sergé* (pillars), and they are generally dug up by the roots; 4. Nine birches, in groups of three, bound round with a rope of white horse-hair, to which are fastened ribbons in a certain order, white, blue, red, yellow, and then the same colours again; on these birches are hung nine beasts' skins, and a *tuyas* of birch bark containing food; 5. Nine posts to which they fasten the animals for sacrifice; 6. Thick birches laid out in order; to these are afterwards tied the bones of the sacrifices, enveloped in straw. From the chief birch in the *yurta* to all the birches outside, two tapes are stretched, one red and one blue; this is a symbol of the shaman's road to the spirit land. To the north of the row of birches are placed nine great kettles, in which the meat of the sacrifice is cooked.

When all is ready, the newly consecrated shaman and the other participators in the ceremony deck themselves, and proceed to consecrate the shaman's instruments; it is then that the horse-sticks are endued with life; they turn into living horses. From early morning the shamans collected in the *yurta* have been shamanizing, summoning the gods, and sprinkling *tarasun*. After the ceremony of aspersion, the old shaman summons the protecting deities, and the young shaman repeats after him the words of a prayer, at the same time he occasionally climbs up the birch to the roof of the *yurta*, and there loudly calls upon the gods. When the time for issuing forth from the *yurta* is come, four shamans take each a corner of the piece of felt, and sing and wail; at the entrance to the *yurta*, on the street, they kindle a fire, and throw wild thyme on it. The fire serves to purify everything that is carried through it. During the time spent in the *yurta*, human beings and inanimate objects undergo purification. The procession, in a certain order, goes to the place when the birch trees are arranged; in front walks the father-shaman; then comes the young shaman, followed by the nine sons, the kinsfolk and guests. The essential features of the consecration may be considered the following:

- (1) When the shaman anoints himself with the blood of the sacrificed kid, on the head, eyes and ears,
- (2) When he is carried on the felt carpet, and
- (3) When he climbs up the birch, and from the summit of the *yurta* calls upon the gods and his kinsmen, the dead shamans.

The ceremony concludes with various sacrifices and popular games.<sup>1</sup> It will be seen, from the above description, that the consecration of a shaman is expensive, and accompanied by sacrificial rites which produce on the beholders a lasting impression, and give dignity to the profession in the eyes of the Buryats.

Among the tribes in the Altai, the ability to shamanize is inborn; instruction only gives a knowledge of the chants, prayers and external rites. The future *kam* begins to realize his destiny at an early age; he is subject to sickness, and often falls into a frenzy. In vain do many of the elect struggle against this innate tendency, knowing that the life of a shaman is not an enviable one, but this restraint brings greater suffering upon them; even the distant sounds of a tambourine make them shiver. Those who have the shamanist sickness endure physical torments; they have cramps in the arms and legs, until they are sent to a *kam* to be educated. The tendency is hereditary; a *kam* often has children predisposed to attacks of illness. If, in a family where there is no shaman, a boy or girl is subject to fits, the Altaians are persuaded that one of its ancestors was a shaman. A *kam* told Potanin that the shamanist passion was hereditary, like noble birth. If the *kam's* own son does not feel any inclination, some one of the nephews is sure to have the vocation. There are cases of men becoming shamans at their own wish, but these *kams* are much less powerful than those born to the profession.<sup>2</sup>

Thus all the preliminary development of the shaman, from his childhood to the time when he is consecrated to the profession of *kam* or shaman, is of such a nature as to augment his innate tendencies, and make him an abnormal man, unlike his fellows. The ceremony of consecration has a similar character; the shaman assumes an exceptional position, takes vows upon himself, becomes the property of spirits who, though subject to his summons, have yet full power over him.

*Cases in which necromancers are applied to.*—To these soothsayers, skilled in all the secrets of the world of gods and spirits, the superstitious shamanist tribesmen, imbued with the gloomy ideas consequent upon their coarse animistic philosophy, address themselves in all the perplexities of life. All misfortunes, diseases, and death itself, are attributed by shamanists to the influence of external, supernatural causes, to remove which every effort is made. It is not to be wondered at that on the occasion of the great festivals connected with the sacrifices the shaman plays the chief part; he is then not so much a priest, a guardian of the ritual, as a

<sup>1</sup> Agapitov and Khangalov, 44 52.

<sup>2</sup> Potanin, iv, 56-57.

necromancer acquainted with the sacrifices agreeable to the gods, and the means of appeasing them. This characteristic of the shamans is especially apparent from the custom existing among the Turukhan Samoyeds of organising an annual necromantic ceremony. At the beginning of winter, when the hunting season ends, diseases begin to prevail among the Samoyeds, and they decide in an assembly that it is time for the shamans to watch the road, for it will be bad if men begin to die. The shamans give their consent to the preparation of "a clean *chyum*" (i.e., *yurta* or hut), and every Samoyed helps to make ready the materials; they get poles, bring reindeer and black oxen for sacrifice; from the skins they make coverings for the *chyum* and clothes for the shamans. The *chyum* is built on the shore of a lake, and has the form of an elongated tent; on the top of it, at the southern end, they place, in an inclined position, a wooden statue representing a man or a reindeer. On the north side, the poles are fastened in such a way that they form something like a tail extended in the form of a fan; this tail is anointed with reindeer's blood. Many traditions are connected with this hut, and it is the scene of various ceremonies, the most essential of which is the senior shaman's entry into it. The young people busy themselves with games, songs, and dances, then they kill a reindeer, and the eldest ghost-seer drinks its blood, and shamanizes in the presence of the other assembled necromancers and the older men. The ceremony concludes by the shamans kissing one another's hands.<sup>1</sup>

*Doings of the shamans among the Koryaks and Gilyaks.*—The above description of the construction of a clean *chyum* among the tribes of the Turukhan region exhibits a full view of the social duties of the shamans, and clearly indicates the great importance of these guardians of the Black Faith. Although in many cases the shamans act as priests, and take part in popular and family festivals, prayers and sacrifices, their chief importance is based on the performance of duties which distinguish them sharply from ordinary priests. The essential attributes of these gloomy mediators between men and the dark hostile powers of the spirit world will become apparent on reviewing the most important cases in which the chief tribes of Siberia have recourse to shamans. The Koryaks, according to Krasheninnikov, look upon shamans as leeches, who by beating their tambourines drive away diseases, and declare what sacrifices must be offered to the spirits in order to cure the patient. Sometimes they order a dog to be slain, sometimes the laying of twigs, and other similar trifles, outside the *yurta*. The Gilyak shamans, also, busy themselves chiefly with healing the sick, by means of invocations, tambourine playing and whirling round; at times they cause the sufferer to leap through the fire, but they do not despise drugs prepared from plants, with the healing properties of which they are well acquainted. Besides their medical duties, the Gilyak shamans foretell the future, bring

<sup>1</sup> Tret'yakov, 220-222.

down rain, and do other things connected with their secret science.<sup>1</sup> Though at the present time, according to our missionaries, paganism among the Gilyaks and Golds is beginning to yield to Christianity, nevertheless, christened as well as pagan natives are still unable to give up the use of shamans and their fantastic rites. Twenty-five years ago, shamanist ceremonies were in universal use among them, and no one could do without the shaman. At a birth or a death, when a Gold or Gilyak set out on his winter hunting expedition or when he went fishing, the shaman was in every case indispensable.<sup>2</sup>

*Shaman leeches among the Daur and Manchzhurs.*—Among the Manchzhurs and Daur, on the banks of the Amur River, notwithstanding the extreme poverty of the people, their attachment to the shamans, as doctors, is remarkable. Although the Russian doctors charge nothing for attendance, and supply drugs almost free, the natives, in all diseases except fever, apply to the shamans, although their services cost a great deal. These native practitioners live at the cost of the family until the patient has recovered, and insist upon the sacrifice of a pig worth from twenty to twenty-five roubles. The shamans cure all diseases except fever. Each *kamlanie* lasts, with interruptions, from eight o'clock in the evening until dawn. During the intervals the shaman fortifies himself with tea and tobacco. At the end, there is a feast of the animals sacrificed. During the *kamlanie* itself, in order to nerve the shaman in his struggle with the demons, they give him *khanshin*.<sup>3</sup>

*Healing of diseases among the Yakuts.*—In recent times, much interesting information has been collected concerning the Yakut shamans. In a long article on the beliefs of the Yakuts, a writer in the "Sibirskii Sbornik," calling himself V.S.—skii, describes in detail the shamanism existing among the natives. The shaman prescribes for all diseases, but especially Yakut maladies. The following diseases are looked upon as Yakut: obscure nervous complaints, such as hysteria, madness, convulsions, St. Vitus's dance, also barrenness, puerperal fever and other diseases of women, diseases of the internal organs, all kinds of abscesses, wounds, headaches, inflammation of the eyes, rheumatic fever, typhoid, inflammation of the lungs and larynx. There are some diseases that the shamans refuse to treat, *e.g.*, diarrhoea, scarlatina, small pox, measles, syphilis, scrofula, and leprosy. They are especially afraid of small pox, and will not shamanise in a house where it has been. All diseases proceed from evil spirits who have settled in human beings, and their treatment is intended to drive out or win over the unwelcome guests. The simplest method is that of healing by fire. In the Kolymsk district, a lad had an injured finger, which was painful, and occasionally broke out into an abscess. It was decided that the wicked spirit *Er* had taken possession of the finger.

<sup>1</sup> Krashenninnikov, ii, 58-59. Deniker, 294, 306.

<sup>2</sup> "Pribavlenie k Irkutskim Eparkhialnym Vedomostyam," 1887, 267.

<sup>3</sup> "Vostochnoe Obozrenie," 1890, 20, 9; 32, 6.

Desiring to drive it thence, the patient took burning coal and blew it round the abscess. When the burnt flesh burst with a crackling sound, the patient, with a smile of satisfaction, remarked to the spectators, "Did you see him jump out?" Other domestic remedies to relieve suffering are the clanging of iron, loud cries, &c. When simple treatment of this kind is of no avail, the Yakuts apply to the shaman; he acts as intercessor for the unfortunate, and mediator between men and spirits when they come into collision. The obligations he takes upon himself are not light, the struggle he enters upon is a dangerous one. The author of the article describes that part of the shamanist ritual which is invariable. The shaman called in to visit a patient takes the post of honour, in the corner opposite the fire on the right hand wall, when one is looking towards the chimney hole and the door. Stretching himself out on his white mare's skin, the leech lies waiting for night, and the hour when he may begin his sorcery. All this time he is treated with deference, and supplied with food and drink. At length, when the sun has set, and the hut begins to be dark, hasty preparations are made: they chop wood, make faggots, and cook an exceptionally abundant and choice supper. Gradually the neighbours arrive, and take their places on the benches along the walls, the men on the right side, the women on the left. Conversation is carried on in a very sober manner, the movements of the visitors are slow and gentle. When all are at supper, the shaman sits up on the edge of his pallet, slowly unplaits his hair, in the meantime muttering something, and occasionally giving various orders. Sometimes he nervously hiccoughs, artificially, and then his whole body trembles in a strange way. The sorcerer's eyes do not look about; they are either cast down or fixed motionless on one point, generally on the fire. The fire gradually becomes dull, thick darkness fills the hut, the door is shut, and there is almost complete silence. The shaman slowly takes off his shirt and puts on his wizard's coat, then, taking a lighted tobacco pipe, he smokes for a long time, and swallows the smoke. The hiccoughs become louder, the trembling more alarming. When the shaman has finished smoking, his face is pale, his head has fallen far forward, and his eyes are half shut. In the meantime, the white mare's skin has been laid in the middle of the hut. The shaman takes a jar of cold water, drinks a few large gulps, and, with a slow sleepy motion, seeks on the bench the whip, twig or drum-stick prepared for him. Then he goes out into the middle of the hut and, bending his right knee four times, makes a solemn bow to the four sides of the universe; at the same time he spurs water from his mouth, all round. A tuft of white horse hair is thrown into the fire, which is then put out. By the faint glimmer of the smouldering coals, one can still see in the darkness, for a short time, the motionless figure of the shaman sitting with downcast head, holding in front of his breast, like a shield, a large tambourine. His face is turned to the south. All the people who are sitting on the benches hold their breath, and nothing is heard in the darkness save the indistinct muttering and hiccoughs of the



wizard. At last these sounds also cease; for a moment complete silence reigns. Soon after, there is heard a single yawn, sharp and metallic in sound, and then, in some part of the dark hut, a falcon cries loudly and clearly, or a sea-mew utters a piteous wail. After another interval, the tambourine begins to make a slight rolling noise, like the buzzing of mosquitoes: the shaman has begun his music. At first it is tender, soft, vague, then nervous and irregular like the noise of an approaching storm; it becomes louder and more decided. Now and then it is broken by wild cries; ravens croak, grebes laugh, sea-mews wail, snipes whistle, falcons and eagles scream. The music becomes louder, the strokes on the tambourine become confused in one continuous rumble; the bells, rattles and small tabors sound ceaselessly. It is a deluge of sounds capable of driving away the wits of the audience. Suddenly everything stops; one or two powerful blows on the tambourine, and then it falls on the shaman's lap. Silence at once reigns. This process is repeated, with slight variations, several times. When the shaman has worked up his audience to a sufficient pitch, the rhythm of the music is changed, and it is accompanied by broken phrases of song, gloomy in tone:

- (1) Powerful bull of the earth! . . . Steed of the steppe! . . .
- (2) I am the powerful bull . . . I roar! . . .
- (3) I neigh . . . steed of the steppe! . . .
- (4) I am a man placed above all! . . .
- (5) I am a man gifted above all! . . .
- (6) I am a man created by the lord powerful among the mighty! . . .
- (7) Steed of the steppe, appear! . . . Teach me! . . .
- (8) Magic bull of the earth appear! . . . Speak! . . .
- (9) Mighty lord, command me! . . .
- (10) May everyone with whom I go, hear with the ear! . . .  
Let no one follow me to whom I say not—come! . . .
- (11) Henceforth, come no nearer than is allowed, let everyone  
look with a keen eye! . . . Let him be quick to hear! . . .  
Have a care of yourselves! . . .
- (12) Look to it well! . . . Be all such, all together . . .  
all, as many as there are of you! . . .
- (13) Thou on the left hand, lady with the staff, if it happen  
that I wander, or take not the right road, I pray thee  
direct me! . . . Get ready! . . .
- (14) Show me my mistakes and show me the road, my mother!  
Fly with a free flight! . . . Clear my broad path! . . .
- (15) Spirits of the sun, mothers of the sun, dwelling in the  
south, in the nine woody knolls, you who will envy . . .  
I pray you all . . . let them stand . . . let your  
three shadows stand high! . . .
- (16) In the east, on his mountain, is the lord my grandsire,  
mighty in strength, thick of neck—be with me! . . .
- (17) And thou greybeard, most worthy of wonder-workers (the

fire) I pray thee : approve all my thoughts without exception, grant all my wishes . . . hearken! . . . Fulfil! . . . All, all fulfil! . . .

The ritual used by the Yakut shamans is always the same. There are two forms of it—one longer and one abridged. It is the latter that we have given. The remainder of the ceremony is an improvisation adapted to certain cases and certain persons. When the shaman, by his singing, has brought down upon himself his guardian spirit, he begins to skip and move about on his skin mat, thus beginning the second part of his dramatic performance. The fire has been made up again, and its bright gleam illumines the hut, which is now full of noise and movement. The wizard ceaselessly dances, sings and beats his tambourine; first turning to the south, then to the west and east, he madly jumps and contorts himself. The time and step of his dance somewhat resemble the Russian *trepäk*, but it is faster, and lacking in boldness. Finally the shaman has learnt all he needs to know; he has discovered who caused the illness, and has assured himself of the support of the powerful spirits. Then begins the third part of the performance. Whirling, dancing, and beating the tambourine, the shaman approaches the patient. With fresh invocations he expels the cause of the disease, frightening it out, or sucking it out of the diseased place with his mouth. When the disease has been driven out, the shaman takes it into the middle of the hut, and, after many invocations, spits it out, drives it from the hut, kicks it away or blows it from the palm of his hand far up into the sky or under the earth. But it is not sufficient to drive out the disease: it is indispensable to appease the gods who have relieved the sufferer, and the shaman decides what sacrifice must be offered to the mighty spirits of heaven. At the termination of the ceremony, the shaman sits down again on his mare's skin, and sings and plays, the spectators lift him and his mat back to the place of honour which he occupied at the beginning.<sup>1</sup>

*Divination and propitiatory invocations of the Yakut oyns.*—Side by side with the healing of diseases is divination, with its various ceremonies. Gmelin refers to prophecy among the Yakuts, accompanied by the following methods: the shaman takes a ring or a coin, and holds it in the midst of the palm of the enquirer, moving it about in various directions as if examining it, and then foretells the future.<sup>2</sup> In an article in the "*Sibirskii Sbornik*," we are told that the Yakut shamans accompany the foretelling of the future with dramatic performances like those used in healing the sick.<sup>3</sup> These necromancers are called in in all cases when it is desired to win success or avert misfortune. Mr. Vitashevskii tells how a

<sup>1</sup> "*Sibirskii Sbornik*." "*Prilozhenie k Vostochnomu Obozreniyu*," 1890, v. ii. "*Kak i vo chto vyeruyut yakuty (Etnograficheskii nabrosok)*." V. S.—Iago, 141-153.

<sup>2</sup> Gmelin, ii, 364-365.

<sup>3</sup> "*Sibirskii Sbornik*," 158.

young Yakut, Siancha, on a visit to his father-in-law, who lived a verst and a half from the author, invited a shaman to offer a sacrifice, and invoke a blessing from the guardian spirit of hunters and fishermen. The Yakuts represent this spirit as a beast the size of a big year old calf, with hoofs like a cow, a dog's head, small eyes, and long hanging ears. The performance at which Mr. Vitashevskii was present took place on the night of the 8-9th February, 1890. It was extremely dramatic, and the author of the article gives a careful and detailed account of it. In many points, Mr. Vitashevskii's description is of great interest for comparative ethnography, and presents quite a unique phase of shamanist ritual. As a preliminary, an image of the spirit of hunting and fishing was made. It was simply a log of wood 3 in. thick and rather less than 28 in. long. On this log a rough drawing of a human face was made with a piece of coal. Besides this, the so-called "pillow" was made from a saddle, formed of two thick willows and twenty willow twigs. Both objects were taken to the door, and placed in such a way that the face of the image looked inwards. The performance began in the following way: three young fellows stood with the shaman, each holding in his right hand three lighted faggots. The shaman fumigated with the smoke of his faggots the three young men who stood facing the fire. Then all four threw down their faggots at random, and the young men mixed with the crowd. The shaman sat down on a stool facing the door, and, holding an arrow in his right hand, pronounced the following words. First of all he addressed Baryllakh, the spirit of the chase. We only give the beginning of the address:

"Baryllakh of my rich forest;  
My lord grandsire,  
Now—then!  
Smile! . . ." &c.

The shaman then, in the name of the spirit, asked the young Yakut, who was going to hunt, what he was called, and receiving the answer, "They call me Sencha," the shaman pronounced some untranslated Mongol words and went outside, saying that Baryllakh himself would knock directly.

In a short time there was a knock outside, and by the open door entered the shaman, who was triumphantly met by the spectators. He acted the part of spirit of the chase, laughed, smirked, and, sitting down on the ground, to the right of the chimney, said, "Give me my darling, my friend!" Then they gave the shaman the image of Baryllakh and the pillow which had been made from the saddle. He smelt both all over, and caressed them; then he ordered them to be placed against the post which is in the *perednii ngol* (place of honour) under the *ikons*. On the pillow they placed a cup of *salamata* (hasty pudding), and threw butter in the middle of the fire. In the morning, the master of the house where the performance took place ate up the *salamata*. The image of Baryllakh, and the saddle pillow, were taken away into the woods. Thus ended the shaman's sorcery. It is to be noted that the Yakuts

represent Baryllakh as always giggling, and fond of laughter. When huntsmen have killed an elk, they go up to the beast laughing, in order to win the favour of the spirit.

Mr. Vitashevskii has given another detailed account of a shamanist ceremony, organised, to appease the spirits, by a converted Yakut who wished to ameliorate his disordered affairs. The same shaman, one Simen, officiated.<sup>1</sup> In this, as in the preceding case, one can see, in a coarse form, the simple beginnings of those dramatic tendencies which among highly cultured peoples have reached such an extensive development, and have become one of the highest phases of literature. The shaman, in presence of his uncritical fellow-countrymen, gives the reins to his fancy, and tries by an original *mise-en-scène* to make an impression on the visual faculty; he brings up spirits, mingles the comic with the tragic element, and, with an art surprising in a semi-savage, enchains the minds of his audience. Even the Russians who have inhabited the country for a long time are often attracted by these shamanist shows.

*Methods of healing among the Tunguses.*—Among the Tunguses, both pagan and Christian, the shaman, according to Shchukin, is not a priest, but a wizard who heals and divines.<sup>2</sup> For the cure of the sick they apply to shamans, who, by inspecting the blood and livers of slain birds or other animals, diagnose the disease. They declare the means by which the gods may be appeased. By direction of these necromancers new idols are made, and sacrifices are offered. The sacrifice takes place inside the *yurta*, in the evening. The shaman takes the patient's head between his hands, sucks his brow, spits in his face, and fixedly looks at the affected part.<sup>3</sup>

*And Ostyaks.*—The Ostyaks, by command of the shaman, bring into the *yurta* of the sick person several reindeer; to the leg of one deer they fasten one end of a rope, the other end is held by the patient, and when the latter pulls the rope they kill the deer. The head and horns are laid on the floor, the flesh is eaten, and the sick man is anointed with the fat.<sup>4</sup> In order to extract the devil, the Ostyak shaman takes hold of the diseased part with his teeth, and in a few minutes draws from his mouth a piece of the entrails of some beast, a small worm, or simply a hair. All these objects are considered to be embodiments of a disease.<sup>5</sup>

*Leechcraft among the Kirghizes.*—The Kirghiz shaman, like his colleagues in other tribes, adopts various methods to represent in a dramatic form his struggle with the spirits that possess the sick. Sitting down opposite the patient, he plays on the *balalaika* (three-stringed guitar), cries, sings, grimaces, then he runs about the

<sup>1</sup> V. Vitashevskii: "Materialy dlya izucheniya shamanstva u Yakutov, Zup. V. S. O. R. G. O. po etnografii," ii, v. 2<sup>a</sup>, 37-48.

<sup>2</sup> "Poyezdka v Yakutsk." Izd. N. Shch., 91.

<sup>3</sup> Shashkov, 99-100.

<sup>4</sup> Shashkov, 98-99.

<sup>5</sup> Tretyakov, 218.

*yurta* and out into the open air, where he mounts the first horse he can find, and gallops about on the steppe, chasing the spirit that torments the sick man. On his return, the shaman beats the patient with a whip, bites him till the blood flows, waves a knife over him, spits in his eyes, hoping by such radical means to drive out the spirit. These performances are repeated for nine days.<sup>1</sup>

*Among the Teleuts.*—On the shores of Lake Teletsk, Helmersen witnessed the healing of one of his Telent companions. The natives believed that evil spirits had entered his body, and were causing his pain and dismay. The *kam* Jenika undertook the cure. He began by tying some twigs together, put a red hot coal on the bundle, and waved it over the patient, meantime muttering some incoherent words. The sounds he made gradually became louder and more guttural, and finally broke into a wild song, accompanied by a swaying motion of the body. From time to time the chant was broken by loud deep sighs. The exorcism went on increasing in energy for a quarter of an hour; then Jenika placed the bundle of twigs by the sick man, sat down, and quietly smoked a pipe. The result of the treatment was that the patient was cured.<sup>2</sup> In the Altai Mountains, nightmare is attributed to the spirit Aza. To drive it away, a *kam* is summoned, who conjures in the *yurta* before a willow twig with five colours bound to it (*i.e.*, rags or ribbons of five colours).<sup>3</sup>

*And Vogul Manzes.*—On the borders of Siberia and European Russia, among the Vogul Manzes, the medical functions of the shamans consist of invocation of the gods, whispered charms, and the use of certain therapeutics. In all cases they enquire of the gods the cause of the illness. The gods receive sacrifices of reindeer, garments, and hides, then the patient drinks charmed water, vodka, and blood; he is anointed with blubber, reindeer fat, and still more frequently bear's grease, he is fumigated with castoreum and the sediment of boiled larch or birch, and rubbed with a bear's tooth. Frequently the same remedy is used for different diseases.<sup>4</sup>

*The duties and functions of Mongol and Buryat shamans.*—The Buryats, by their social life and education, stand on a higher level than the other Siberian peoples. Among them, shamanism must have undergone a greater degree of elaboration, and, thanks to certain Buryat scholars, we are in a position to give a detailed account of Buryat shamanism, notwithstanding the fact that the Yellow Faith of the Buddhist lamas is rapidly driving out the old Black Faith.

Dorji Banzarov examines the duties of the Mongol shamans in general, and the Buryat shamans in particular, under three heads:

<sup>1</sup> Shashkov, 99.

<sup>2</sup> Helmersen: "Reise nach den Altai (Baehr u. Helmersen Beiträge)" B. xiv, 71.

<sup>3</sup> Potanin, iv, 130.

<sup>4</sup> Gondatti: "Slyedy yazycheskikh vyrovanii u Manzov," 54.

as priest, physician, and wizard, or diviner. As priest, the shaman, knowing the will of the gods, decides what they want from men, and he performs sacrifices as an expert in ritual and prayers. Besides the ordinary general sacrifices, the shamans performed private sacrifices, of which, in Banzarov's opinion, the following were the most important: 1. On beginning any enterprise; 2. For the healing of disease; 3. To prevent murrain, the attacks of wolves on cattle, and, in general, any pecuniary loss; 4. A libation to the sky, on the occasion of a thunderstorm, especially the first thunder in spring. As physician, the shaman has a definite method of expelling the spirit from the patient's body, at the same time he performs tricks, and acts like a madman. The gift of prophecy makes him very powerful. He either prophesies simply, or by means of divination. Divination is by the shoulder bone, and by the flight of arrows.<sup>1</sup> While agreeing with the learned Buryat in many points, we must take exception to his view of the part played by the shamans as priests, which in Banzarov's classification of their duties occupies so prominent a place. More than once, we have pointed out that the priestly function of the shamans is of secondary importance, while the essence of shamanism is in sorcery, which is especially apparent in the curing of diseases and in divination. The majority of cases of sacrifice, of a so-called accidental character, mentioned by Mr. Banzarov, arise precisely from this fundamental source of shamanism. The Buryats chiefly apply to shamans and shamankas in two cases: when a member of a family falls sick, or when a horse is lost.<sup>2</sup> According to Mr. Sidorov, every shamanist ceremony due to disease or theft begins with divination by the shoulder bone of a sheep or a goat. The Buryats have a tradition about this shoulder bone. A written law was given by God to the chief tribal ancestor of the Buryats; on his way home to his own people he fell asleep under a haystack. A ewe came to the stack and ate up the law with the hay; but the law became engraved on the ewe's shoulder blade.<sup>3</sup>

In the Alarsk department of the government of Irkutsk, according to the priest Eremyeev, there is a superstition which does not exist in other districts. If anyone's child becomes dangerously ill, the Buryats of that region believe that the crown of his head is being sucked by Anokhoi, a small beast in the form of a mole or cat, with one eye in its brow. No one except the shaman can see this beast and free the sufferer from it.<sup>4</sup> Shamans called in to visit patients, especially children, are called by the Buryats, Naizhis. If the patient recovers, he rewards the shaman, and calls him his *naizhi*. If anyone has sick children, or if his children die, any new born infants, or young sick children are visited by the shaman,

<sup>1</sup> Banzarov: "Chernaya vyera," 107-115.

<sup>2</sup> "Mongoly Buryaty v Nerchinskoy Okrugye Irkutskoi gubernii." Zh. M. Vn. D., 1843, ch. iii, 85.

<sup>3</sup> Sidorov: "Shaman i obryady shamanskoi vyery." Irkutskiya Eparkh. Vyed., 1873g. 465.

<sup>4</sup> "Shamanstvo Irkutskikh Buryat." Irk. Eparkh. Vyed., 1875g, 21, 300.

who, in order to preserve them from unclean spirits, makes a special amulet, called *khakhyukhan*. If the infant lives or recovers, as the case may be, the shaman is called *naizhi*, and rewarded for his trouble. If the child dies, the *khakhyukhan* is returned to the shaman, and the title of *naizhi* ceases to be applied to him. The duty of the *naizhi* is to protect the child, with the aid of the *zayans*, from evil spirits, and grant it his powerful protection. There are not *naizhis* in every family, and the Buryats only apply to such shamans in extreme cases. The *naizhis* are changed at the wish of the parents. It sometimes happens that one family has several guardian shamans. If the child grows up, he shows special respect to his *naizhi*.<sup>1</sup>

(To be continued.)

**"Religion in Japan: Shintoism—Buddhism—Christianity."**

By G. A. Cobbold. Illustrated. pp. 113. (S.P.C.K.) 1894. 8vo. The volume gives a good account of religion at the present time in Japan.

**"The Asiatic Origin of the Oceanic Languages;"** an etymological dictionary of the language of Efate (New Hebrides). By Rev. D. Macdonald. (Melville, 1894.) pp. 212, 8vo. "This work gives in the first place, a dictionary of the language of Efate, New Hebrides, as accurate as I can make it after upwards of twenty-one years' constant study and use of the language in the performance of my duty as a missionary stationed on the island of Efate . . . In the second place the dialectical variations of Efatese words are given in a considerable number of instances; the cognate words in other languages of the Oceanic family are usually put within brackets, and are chosen purposely from its four great branches—the Papuan (or 'Melanesian'), the Maori-Hawaiian (or 'Polynesian'), the Malayan, and the Malagasy (or 'Tagalan')."

**"A Descriptive Dictionary of British Malaya."** By N. B. Dennys. (London and China Telegraph Office, 1894.) pp. 423. 8vo. "The volume contains about three thousand headings. The Straits Settlements and protected native states are treated of at considerable length, while notices, more or less brief, are given of every town, village, &c., appearing in published maps, as also of many others hitherto undescribed. The various aboriginal tribes, the products of the jungle, native manners and customs, the

<sup>1</sup> Khaṅgalov: "Predaniya i povyeriya Unginskikh Buryat. Zap. V. S. O. I. R. G. O. P.," v. 2<sup>i</sup>, 24-25.

natural history of the Peninsula, and many other subjects of interest, are described or explained."

**"The Russian Peasantry, their agrarian condition, social life, and religion."** By Stepniak. (Swan Sonnenschein, 1894.) pp. 651. 8vo. "Russian peasants are passing through an actual crisis—economical, social, and religious—and the future of our country depends upon its solution. In the book we now have the honour to lay before the English reader we have tried to show as briefly and as fully as possible the main features and the bearings of this double process of growth and decay, now to be observed within our rural classes. The task we set ourselves was to choose from among the rich materials scattered throughout our literature for the last score of years, and to arrange the various separate pieces into one general picture . . . Most of what is described in these volumes refers to the bulk of the Russian peasantry; but in dealing with the political views and social habits of our rural classes, and the changes they have undergone since their emancipation, we have had the Great Russian peasants chiefly in view. It is they who have shaped Russian history in the past, and who will certainly play the leading part in her future."

**"Thoughts and reflections on Modern Society,"** with an introduction on the gradual social evolution of primitive man. By A. Featherman. (Kegan Paul, 1894.) pp. 352. 8vo. The volume deals with tropical primeval man, tribal communities, extra-tropical primitive man, the rein-deer epoch, epoch of tamed animals, the age of metals, the fundamental agencies of modern social development. The subject matter is arranged in a large number of short articles under the general headings of social sketches, intellectual manifestations, moral characteristics, industrial economy, political organisation, and religious spiritualism.

**"An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India."** By W. Crooke. (Govt. Press: Allahabad, 1894.) 8vo. pp. 420. This important work is divided into the following sections:—The godlings of nature; the heroic and village godlings; the godlings of disease; the worship of the sainted dead; the worship of the malevolent dead; the evil eye and the scaring of ghosts; tree and serpent worship; totemism and fetishism; animal worship; the black art; some rural festivals and ceremonies; Bibliography; Index.

**"List of Objects of Antiquarian and Archæological Interest in British Burma."** (Govt. Press, Rangoon, 1892.) pp. 45.

**"Grammatical Notes and Vocabulary of the Peguan Language."** By Rev. J. M. Haswell. (Rangoon: American Missionary Press, 1874.)



**"Man hunting in the Desert ;"** being a narrative of the Palmer search expedition (1882, 1883). By A. E. Haynes, Capt. R.E. (Horace Cox, 1894.) 8vo. pp. 305. The volume gives an account of the Egyptian Question in the summer of 1882, and Palmer's mission in the desert. The tracking and capture of the murderers is minutely described, together with their trial and sentences. The topography of the district, and especially of Mount Sinai, is carefully discussed, as well as the marches of the Israelites as described in the Old Testament. The volume is fully illustrated and has excellent maps.

**"Attempt at a Catalogue of the Library of the late Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte."** By Victor Collins. Henry Sotheran and Co., 140, Strand, and 37, Piccadilly. (Small 4to. 1718 pp., 13,699 entries. Price one guinea.)

Although this is really a large and laborious work, yet those who look at it will not feel surprised that the author should claim for it only to be an attempt, for a library that requires nearly 14,000 entries, and that includes specimens of hundreds of languages and dialects, may tax the capabilities of more than one scholar. Mr. Victor Collins has felt the responsibility, and has succeeded in enlisting the co-operation of many competent friends. This was particularly requisite for Basque, a subject to which that distinguished man of science, the Prince, had devoted so many years, and had accumulated so much rare material with labour and expense. The catalogue will therefore become a valuable book of reference to scholars who can no longer consult the library or profit by the personal knowledge and advice of its late illustrious owner. We have tested very many of the entries and find them full and satisfactory. It is difficult even to enumerate the contents, for Prince Lucien went beyond the limits of ordinary languages, and collected matter for wide and minute knowledge of European dialects of many classes. To our own dialects he devoted original research. Then there are whole libraries of French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese dialects. Mr. Collins has called in special assistance for Celtic.—(H. C.)

**"Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy."** Vol. iii, No. 2. On some caves in the Slieve na Cailliagh District, co. Meath, by E. C. Rotherham. Illustrated. Studies in Irish craniology; Inishbofin, co. Galway, by A. C. Haddon. The Ethnography of Inishbofin and Inishark, co. Galway, by C. R. Browne. On an Ogham Monument recently found in co. Kerry, by Right Rev. Dr. Graves.

**"The American Anthropologist."** Vol. vii, No. 1. Songs of the Modoc Indians, by A. S. Gatschet. On certain personages who appear in a Tusayan Ceremony, by J. W. Fewkes. Suicide

among primitive peoples, by S. R. Steinmetz. Era of the formation of the historic league of the Iroquois, by J. N. B. Hewitt. Words expressive of cries and noises in the Kootenay language, by A. F. Chamberlain. Carribean influence in the prehistoric art of Southern States, by W. H. Holmes. Primitive copper working, by F. H. Cushing.

**"Transactions of the Canadian Institute."** Vol. iv, Part 1. Notes, archæological, industrial, and sociological on the Western Dénés, by A. G. Morice.

**"The American Antiquarian."** Vol. xvi. No. 3. Panel in the temple at Halabede, India; representing Ganapatti, the elephant-headed God. Migrations of the Algonkins, by C. S. Wake. The salmon wife—A Kwakiutl legend, by G. C. Teall. Culture heroes and deified kings, by S. D. Peet. An obstetrical conjuration, by D. G. Brinton.

**"Revue Mensuelle de l'école d'Anthropologie de Paris"** Vol. xv. May. Anthropological Geography de l'Europe. The family among the first inhabitants of North Africa.

**"Annales de la Société d'Anthropologie de Bruxelles."** Vol. viii, Part 2. The megalith of Ville-sur-Haine. Illustrated.

**"L'Anthropologie."** Vol. v, No. 2. Notes towards a history of primitive art. By E. Piette. The Hamites of Eastern Africa. By M. Delafosse. The age of the lacustrine stations in Switzerland. By E. Vouca.

**"Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Bruxelles."** Vol. xi. Primitive astrology, by M. Goblet d'Alviella. The neolithic stations of Verrewinckel and Rhode-Saint-Genèse, by M. Cument. Vol. xii. The metal age in Belgium, by M. Comhaire. Pre- and Proto-historic map of Belgium, by M. Comhaire. On a recent memoir by Dr. De Man on the ethnology of Zealand, by M. V. Jacques. The ethnic origin of the Jews, by M. V. Jacques.

**"Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris."** Vol. iv, No. 11. Stone cross with inscriptions at Carnac, by M. Vauville. The prehistoric period in the departments of the Gard and the Ardeche, by M. Raymond. Carved figures on the megalithic monuments in the neighbourhood of Paris, by M. de Mortillet. No. 12. Memoir on the normal variations and anomalies in the nasal bones in human beings, by M. Manouvrier. Neolithic station at Carcaux, near Fouras (Charente Inferieure), by M. Zaborowski. The natives of Lifon (Loyalty Islands), by M. Deniker. Family rights of property in Annam, by M. Denjoy.

**"Memoirs de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris."** Vol. i, No. 3. The anthropology of France, Dordogne, by Dr. R. Collignon.

**"L'Anthropologie."** Vol. v. No. 3. Anthropology at the "Jardin des Plantes," by M. Hamy. The Basque race, by R. Collignon. Sculpture in Europe before the Graeco-Roman influence, by S. Reinach.

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THE JOURNAL  
OF THE  
ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

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APRIL 10TH, 1894.

Prof. A. MACALISTER, F.R.S., *President, in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and signed.

The death of Mr. E. W. BELL was reported.

Prof. A. C. HADDON delivered an address on "Ethnographical Studies in the West of Ireland," illustrated with the optical lantern.

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EXHIBITION *and* DESCRIPTION *of the* SKULL *of a* MICROCEPHALIC  
HINDU. By R. W. REID, M.D., F.R.C.S., Professor of  
Anatomy in the University of Aberdeen.

[PLATES XII, XIII.]

THE accompanying skull came into my possession a few months ago, and I think that, from the small size of its cranium and from other peculiarities, its exhibition and description may be of interest to the members of the Anthropological Institute.

The only history which I have been able to obtain regarding the specimen is that it was sent to Aberdeen in 1858 by Surgeon-General Walker, M.D., LL.D., C.B., and that it formed part of the body of a Fakir who had attempted to murder Dr. Walker at the time of the Indian Mutiny. The Fakir died (? was executed) in the Agra jail. Dr. Walker, who was in charge of

the jail at the time, macerated and prepared the skull as now exhibited. A horoscope and knife which had belonged to the Fakir accompanied the skull to this country, but unfortunately they have been lost.

A general view of the specimen shows at once that the skull is a small one, and that the smallness is due to a marked diminution in the size of the cranial as compared with the facial portion.

From the partial obliteration of the sagittal suture its age seems to be about forty years.

Subjoined are its detailed measurements and, for the sake of comparison, the average measurements of seven Hindu skulls preserved in the Anatomical Museum of the Aberdeen University are placed in a parallel column.

|  | Skull of Fakir. |    |           |    | Average of seven Hindu skulls.                                     |  |
|--|-----------------|----|-----------|----|--|--|
| Circumference  | ..              | .. | 435 mm.   | .. | 492 mm.  |  |
| Length   | ..              | .. | 158 "     | .. | 177 "  |  |
| Breadth  | ..              | .. | 107 "     | .. | 130 "  |  |
| <i>Index of Breadth</i>  | ..              | .. | 677       |    | 734  |  |
| Height   | ..              | .. | 119 "     | .. | 130 "  |  |
| <i>Index of Height</i>   | ..              | .. | 753       |    | 734  |  |
| Basi-nasal length  | ..              | .. | 98 "      | .. | 99 "   |  |
| Basi-alveolar  | ..              | .. | 101 "     | .. | 100 "  |  |
| <i>Alveolar index</i>  | ..              | .. | 1,031     |    | 1,010  |  |
| Nasal height   | ..              | .. | 51 "      | .. | 48 "   |  |
| " width  | ..              | .. | 21 "      | .. | 25 "   |  |
| <i>Nasal index</i>   | ..              | .. | 412       |    | 521  |  |
| Orbital width  | ..              | .. | 39 "      | .. | 36 "   |  |
| " height   | ..              | .. | 33 "      | .. | 32 "   |  |
| <i>Orbital index</i>   | ..              | .. | 846       |    | 889  |  |
| <i>Cranial capacity</i>  | ..              | .. | 800 c.cm. |    | 1,300 c.cm.  |  |
| Summary :—Dolichocephalic, prognathous, leptorhine, mesoseme, microcephalic. |                 |    |           |    | Dolichocephalic, mesognathous, mesorhine, mesoseme, microcephalic. |  |

The Fakir skull stands out as compared with the average Hindu skull in its prognathous, leptorhine and microcephalic characters.

*Norma lateralis*.—Fig. 1. Upon looking at the left—the most perfect—side of the skull it is seen that the cranium is relatively very small as compared with the face.

The plan of the occipital foramen is prolonged forwards, meets the profile of the face a little below the middle of the anterior opening of the nose.

The curve of the vault is fairly even. The inion is very prominent. A well marked projection exists behind the left parietal foramen. The outline of the forehead is retreating, the glabella and supraciliary ridges being pronounced. A well

marked depression exists at the root of the nose. The nasal bone is well formed. The anterior nasal spine is very prominent. Its tip extends beyond a perpendicular dropped from the lower end of the inter-nasal suture. The lower margin of the nasal aperture is sharp. The alveolar aperture of the upper jaw projects much forwards, carrying with it the incisor and the canine teeth.

The teeth are fully developed. The upper incisors and the canine are large. Worn at the expense of their posterior surfaces, they overlap their fellows of the lower jaw. The lower incisors are absent. The "bite of the teeth" sweeps upwards on its way forwards.

The lower jaw is massive. Its mental eminence is prominent, but its anterior flatness is ill marked. The temporal ridge is pronounced. It rises very highly upon the vault, encloses a large temporal fossa and ends posteriorly in a somewhat abrupt elevation in the immediate neighbourhood of the asterion. The mastoid process is well developed, and the external auditory meatus is somewhat compressed antero-posteriorly. The sphenoid articulates with the superior maxillary, and the squamoparietal suture is unusually straight. The pterygo-maxillary fossa is large.

*Norma verticalis*.—Fig. 2. The general outline is oval. The zygomatic arches are plainly seen. The external angular processes of the frontal bone are very prominent. There is a bulging in the region of the asterion of each side, formed by the hind root of the zygoma, the posterior inferior angle of the parietal and the base of the mastoid. The pterion swells outwards upon each side and, with the prominent external angular processes of the frontal, causes a narrowing of the forehead immediately above the supraciliary ridges. The sutures are simple, the sagittal being nearly obliterated in the region of the vertex. The temporal ridges, well marked, approach to within two centimetres of the sagittal suture. The supraciliary ridges and the glabella are pronounced. The lower margins of the orbital cavities project beyond the upper ones. The nasal bones and the alveolar processes of the upper jaw bones—the left process carrying with it the incisor and canine teeth—are very prominent. The crown, neck and part of the fang of the right incisor tooth, with the adjacent portion of the alveolus, and the crown of the adjacent lateral incisor are absent. (This imperfection in the specimen was caused by the accidental dropping of the skull from the hands of a Customs Officer at Liverpool.)

*Norma frontalis*.—Fig. 3. The outline of the cranium approaches "sugar loaf" appearances. The frontal region is narrow and retreating. Frontal eminences are wanting. The

pterion bulges upon each side and the supraciliary ridges are prominent. The orbital cavities are wide and deep. The orbital margin is somewhat rectangular and an infra-orbital suture is present upon each side. The anterior opening of the nose is leptorhine. The malar bones stand out. The outlines of the mastoid processes project beyond those of the ascending rami of the lower jaw. The upper alveolar processes are very prominent and are partly wanting in the neighbourhood of the incisive fossa of the right side. The lower jaw is massive. There is great width between and eversion of its angles. The right lower incisor teeth are long. The right canine and the left incisor teeth are absent. The anterior wall of the alveolus opposite the fang of the left central incisor is wanting—probably due to an abscess during life.

*Norma occipitalis*.—Fig. 4. The somewhat "sugar loaf" outline of the cranium is well seen. The region of the mastoid and asterion are well developed upon either side. The temporal ridges are plainly visible running parallel with, but in too great proximity to the sagittal suture. The parietal eminences are slightly marked. The parietal foramen exists upon the left side only, and the sagittal suture is almost completely obliterated in its neighbourhood. The inion is large and compressed laterally. The superior curved lines of the occipital bone are well seen. The cerebellar fossæ bulge but slightly.

*Norma basilaris*.—Fig. 5. The various processes which afford muscular attachment are large, *e.g.*, jugular processes, spinous processes of sphenoid, styloid processes and pterygoid ridges of sphenoid. The posterior condyloid foramen is present on the right side only, is very large, and opens directly into the jugular foramen.

The palate is very wide. Its antero-posterior arching is badly marked owing to great alveolar prognathism. Its mesial sagittal length is 5.5 cm. and its greatest breadth, situated between the second molar teeth, is 4.2 cm. (The palatine measurements are taken from the inner lip of the alveolar processes.)

From the above description it is noticeable that the most striking peculiarities of the Fakir skull are the smallness of its cranial capacity and its prognathism.

The skull is of a very low type and approaches that of the Simian in its characters.

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FIG. 1.—NORMA LATERALIS.



FIG. 2.—NORMA VERTICALIS.

SKULL OF A MICROCEPHALIC HINDU ♀.







FIG. 3.—NORMA FRONTALIS.



FIG. 5.—NORMA BASILARIS.



FIG. 4.—NORMA OCCIPITALIS.

SKULL OF A MICROCEPHALIC HINDU ♀.



MAY 8TH, 1894.

Dr. J. G. GARSON, *in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and signed.

The election of EDWYN BARCLAY, Esq., of Fairholme, Ridgeway, Wimbledon; and Hon. N. C. ROTHSCHILD, of Tring Park, Herts, was announced.

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*The TEETH of Ten SIOUX INDIANS.* By Dr. WILBERFORCE SMITH.

[PLATES XIV, XV.]

THE teeth of savages in general have characteristics which are well known to scientific osteologists. (Fig. 1.) They resemble precisely those found in skulls of ancient men, not necessarily savages, and are greatly superior to the teeth of modern civilised races, alike in development and in freedom from decay.

The object of the present communication is to give numerical record to this superiority as found in some living savages, viz., in the Sioux Indians who lately visited London. It was obtained with some difficulty in ten consecutive cases.

The form of the record has been determined by the fact that it was undertaken as a fragment of a larger investigation. The latter has a hygienic purpose hardly within the scope of the Anthropological Institute, but it may be briefly mentioned for the purpose of elucidation. An attempt has been made during some years past, to obtain adequate statistics of the average amount of decay of teeth in our own country, that decay being in amount very large and as some think very disastrous. Several years before learning that Dr. Cunningham of Cambridge and others were engaged in kindred work, I had set myself the task of counting teeth, exclusively from the physician's point of view, viz., as pairs of grinding teeth duly opposed and available for mastication. According to this method, I have counted exclusively molars and premolars; and these, not as individual teeth, but only as they form opponent pairs. Single teeth without opponents have been left out of account. To illustrate non-opposition of teeth, I here show a model taken by a dental friend, from the mouth of a member of my own household, 51 years of age. It shows seven good grinding teeth, molars and premolars, but the missing teeth have been lost in a manner so unfortunate for the owner's mastication, that there remains only a fraction of one grinding pair, calculable as a third of a pair. (Comp. also Fig. 2.)

The precautions adopted to secure accuracy in counting, I

will not dwell upon here, especially as they are of little or no consequence in enumerating the regular well preserved teeth of savages.

When the Sioux Indians brought from America by Colonel Cody ("Buffalo Bill") were performing in London, Sir James Crichton Browne, who had already promoted the above mentioned hygienic investigation, suggested that I might seek an opportunity of examining their teeth, and he kindly obtained for me an introduction for the purpose. I hoped accordingly to have been allowed to examine the whole camp at Earl's Court, and so to have obtained fairly large statistics. On my first visit, after much waiting, and adopting various forms of persuasion with the stubborn and suspicious Indians, I obtained the opportunity of examining ten men, all in one or two tents. Then alarm was taken, and on two visits to the camp on subsequent days, I failed to obtain any additional case. Taking models of mouths, for which purpose I was accompanied by a dental co-worker, was out of the question. The results in these ten men are, as will be seen, so uniform and characteristic, that paucity of cases is of less consequence.

Probably most of the Fellows and visitors present had the opportunity of seeing these Indians. The photographic portrait produced (Fig. 3) of one of the tribe will be recognised as characteristic. Their teeth alone proved them to have led the life of genuine savages.

The perfection of these teeth was almost startling to one accustomed only to daily observation of mouths in a modern civilised community. The jaws, broad and regular in shape, presented massive admirably formed teeth, evenly ranged. There was no absence of any single grinding tooth except where wisdom teeth appeared to be wanting. I have to note that the light within the Indian tent was somewhat dim, and the men intolerant of any prolonged examination, but so far as could be discovered, there was an entire absence of caries. Some doubtful discolouration in the teeth of the oldest man, "Plenty Wounds," may have indicated a beginning of the morbid process. In any case, it was true of him, as of all, that no tooth had by reason of decay, lost its contour. The cusps were in most cases worn down to a level polished surface. (Comp. Fig. 1.) Exceptions were found in the teeth of several younger men, and in some wisdom teeth of the seniors. These exceptions, in regard to the state of the cusps, are instructive and will be again referred to. The Indians made halting statements about their ages, and these must be taken as approximate. There was no case, however the fact may be accounted for, between the ages of 21 and 39. Possibly men of such age could be ill-spared from their Indian homes.

The following are the results in tabular form and in age-succession.

## YOUNGER GROUP.

|              |                                |        |                 |   |
|--------------|--------------------------------|--------|-----------------|---|
| Good Son ..  | 15 years ..                    | 4 mol. | 4 premol. pairs | Cusps but little worn.                            |
| Good Shot .. | 20 " (apparently, or younger). | 4 "    | 4 " "           | Teeth comparatively little worn.                  |
| Good Elk ..  | 20 years ..                    | 4 "    | 4 " "           | Cusps worn down.                                  |
| Lily Boy ..  | 20 " ..                        | 6 "    | 4 " "           | { Cusps but little worn. Incisors rather crowded. |
| Bringset ..  | 21 " ..                        | 6 "    | 4 " "           | Teeth mostly worn down.                           |

## MIDDLE AGED GROUP.

|                |                    |        |                 |  |
|----------------|--------------------|--------|-----------------|--|
| Little Bear .. | 39 years ..        | 6 mol. | 4 premol. pairs | Cusps on wisdom teeth only.  |
| Good Eagle ..  | 39 " ..            | 6 "    | 4 " "           | { Cusps on left upper wisdom tooth and remains of cusps on premolar teeth. |
| Little Wolf .. | 40 " ..            | 4 "    | 4 " "           | Cusps retained on right upper molar only.                                  |
| Good Boy ..    | 40 " (about)       | 6 "    | 4 " "           | Cusps worn down.   |
| Plenty Wounds  | 50 " (apparently). | 6 "    | 4 " "           | Teeth much worn down.  |

No information would be added by giving the sides of the mouth separately, for they were in every case uniform.

Wisdom teeth are seen to be wanting in three out of five men of the age of twenty and under, just as might be observed amongst our own countrymen of similar age. And two pairs of molars are wanting in one man ("Little Wolf") whose age was stated to be forty; it appeared probable that he had never possessed complete wisdom teeth.

Numerical comparison with the teeth of civilised persons can be readily made. Hitherto I have recorded and in part published the results of examining some 300 consecutive cases of dwellers in London, wholly unconnected, excepting one set of out-patients, with medical or dental practice. Amongst these London inhabitants, the essential modifying condition is age. And it occurs conveniently, that eight out of the ten Indians can be divided into two age groups. Against the four younger men of 20 to 21 years, I have arranged all the London inhabitants of the same age, viz., nineteen consecutive cases (none being

out-patients). And against the four older men of 39 to 40 years, I have arranged all London inhabitants of the standard age-period 35 to 45, viz., twenty-two consecutive cases.

Of *molar* teeth, the four younger Indians had an average of 5 opponent pairs, instead of the 6 which they would have possessed if the wisdom teeth had been complete. Against these, the average of nineteen London inhabitants had just half the number of pairs, viz., 2.50. At the older period, the Indians had an average of 5.5 molar pairs, against London inhabitants 1.12. Thus advance of years which had occasioned no loss to the Indians, had left the London inhabitants of 35 to 45 years, with but a small fraction of the normal masticating surface furnished by molar teeth.

Of *premolar teeth*, at the earlier age-period, the Indians had their complete number, viz., 4 opponent pairs against London inhabitants 2.53 pairs. (Amongst the latter the well-known rule thus obtains, that premolars are, on the average, longer preserved than molars.) At the later age-period, the Indians had still the complete number of 4 each. I have no sufficient records of premolar pairs in Londoners at this particular age, but if loss continued *pari passu* from previous age-periods, the number would hardly exceed 1 pair.

The illustration (Figs. 4, 5) shows these results in diagrammatic form for one side of the mouth, it being understood that teeth wholly unopposed are indicated as if non-existent, and that in the Indians there were no unopposed teeth. The oldest Indian ("Plenty Wounds") is placed by his evident years, outside the groups indicated. He could not or would not state his actual age; it could not have been less than 50. But this man had the full normal complement of premolars and molars, wisdom teeth included. At a time of life in which the average masticating capacity of London inhabitants is approaching a vanishing point, our great poet's words, "Age cannot wither," appear to be applicable to the teeth of savages.

But only part of this superiority is indicated by the numbers given. The whole masticating capacity is not shown by counting. If breadth and regularity of grinding surface might be numerically expressed, the Indians' record would be much higher still.

A question may present itself,—were the Sioux brought over to the "Wild West" show, exceptional men with exceptional teeth? But as before noted, when the skulls of savages or of ancient men are compared in any series of museums in this or other countries, such teeth are constantly found, whether derived from ancient sources like British barrows, or from existing savage regions in North or South America, Asia, Africa or

Oceania. Our President for the evening, as a scientific osteologist, will I am sure confirm this generalisation. I here show in illustration savage skulls brought to-night from the collection of the Institute, at my request. (See Fig. 1.) Amongst the skulls in a museum, however, many have been damaged *post mortem*. Others are selected specimens. Hence an object of the present paper is to afford actual numerical record in consecutive cases of living savages at ages approximately ascertained. Moreover an exceptionally powerful frame is not necessarily associated in the same race, with exceptionally good teeth. Information as to the presence or absence of such association is desirable. In the case of twelve of the Horse Guards whom I had the opportunity of examining in 1892, men of magnificent development and muscularity, the grinding teeth were in only a trifling degree better preserved than in average London inhabitants of corresponding age.

Greater wear and better preservation of teeth, may be shown I think, to be linked by no mere coincidence, but by a true causal relationship. The adage applies, that it is better to wear than to rust. The difference between the teeth of savagery and of civilisation, is in part like that between the polished rails of a main line and the rusted metals of a disused siding. All who have undergone the operation of filling a tooth at the hands of a dentist, know by disagreeable experience that his first care is to "prepare" it by grinding away all traces of decay, and polishing the diseased surface. Part of the action of savage feeding is to keep teeth in a constant state of "preparation."

Amongst facts indicating that more wear is associated with less decay, it is seen that amongst the much decayed teeth of our own country, those situated in the front of the mouth, incisors and canines, are on the average far better preserved, but more worn. Their comparatively superior preservation is indicated alike by daily observation and by copious statistics.<sup>1</sup> Such front teeth by their position are exposed to much inevitable friction apart from actual mastication, viz., by prehension of food after it has been lifted to the mouth, by the movements of the tongue and lips, and by the contact of such articles as knives, forks, and spoons. But the important molars and premolars are artificially preserved from wear. Food is rendered soft by cooking, is divided by the implements of the table into morsels small enough for swallowing without mastication and without interruption of table talk. Its progress is quickened by sips of liquid. The results of vomiting show that it is commonly bolted by persons who are quite unaware of their habit. In the lower animals, the conditions are more nearly like those of savage

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Tomes' "Dental Surgery."



human life, and in like manner the cusps of the teeth are worn down, whilst caries is very rare. An exception occurs in the case of pet animals such as dogs fed on food which they, like their owners, can swallow with little or no grinding. In them, caries is common. The deposit of tartar on the less used side of the mouth, is a familiar circumstance of a kindred kind.

The details of attrition processes capable of levelling down tooth crowns, are not sufficiently made out, and it would be interesting to have any information from the Fellows of the Institute. Much has been ascribed to the effect of gritty particles in unwashed food. I propose a little later to offer a reason for believing that this influence has been over-rated. Absence of table knives and forks involves the use of the teeth for dividing the food into morsels and for gnawing meat from bones. Such morsels must usually be large and with difficulty swallowed until masticated. Cracking nuts, use of coarse meal, and lack of conveniences for eating and drinking together, have their influence. The effect of uncooked fruit and vegetables becomes evident if we compare raw apples or turnips with the same foods stewed or mashed. And the texture of raw vegetable foods involves a cleansing, polishing action. Thus sliced raw potato is amongst agents popularly used for cleaning bottles. And apart from eating, there remains the use of the teeth as implements and tools. Even in our own country, it is not uncommon to see twine or thread held or severed by the teeth.<sup>1</sup>

In considering such effects of life habits, I find it interesting to notice that skulls in the museum at Pompeii show teeth worn down, much as in savages. This is noteworthy as occurring amidst a state of advanced ancient civilisation. The effect of using or not using knives and forks at meals may be regarded as important here.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, it is unlikely that amongst such a people, dirt taken with food could be an important factor. This therefore militates against the grit theory.

The skulls of mummies are also instructive. It has been

<sup>1</sup> After this paper was read, a Fellow pointed out amongst exhibits to the Institute upon the table for the evening, a small musical instrument of a savage people, one end of which was intended for fixing between the teeth.

<sup>2</sup> A learned friend, Mr. W. Stevens, kindly sends me the following note: "I looked up Becker's Gallus as an authority on matters of detail, and find that even as late as the first emperors, down to the time of the destruction of Pompeii, the knife at dinner was not much used, except by the carver; knives were still relatively scarce. The fork did not come into use till long after. The first mention of it at the dinner table is in Italy at the beginning of the fifteenth century. It was a part of good breeding to use the fingers with cleanliness." I must add, however, that amongst Pompeian implements contained in the museum at Naples are small two-pronged forks, whatever their purpose. References to Roman authors, kindly furnished by Mr. Prickard, Fellow of New College, Oxford, showing use of fingers, are deferred for lack of space.

stated<sup>1</sup> that the teeth of ancient civilisation as shown by Egyptian remains, resemble those of modern life. But by such skulls as I have examined, this statement is not confirmed. In the Anatomical Museum of Edinburgh in 1892, I carefully noted, by permission of Sir W. Turner, the six mummies belonging to the Henderson Trust Collection. In such skulls as showed grinding teeth the cusps were worn down and no caries could be seen. In the much larger collection of the College of Surgeons in London, the same conditions obtain in the jaws which I have observed. Thus taking at hazard a row of seven mummies' skulls belonging to the Fourth Dynasty, from the collection of Dr. Flinders Petrie, and numbered B 583, d, e, f, g, h, i, and k, the teeth are admirably preserved, with no sign of caries, whilst the cusps are effectually worn down.

The amount and duration of wear required for levelling down the crowns of teeth, are evidently great. This is indicated by the following facts. In civilised persons there is rarely evident, even in advanced years, any approach to such levelling in grinding teeth, notwithstanding that they are exposed to a certain amount of attrition, and although wearing down is often seen in the incisors of adults. And amongst the Indians under consideration, many years were evidently required for its production. Thus in three out of five younger Indians, aged 15 to 21, it has occurred, as noted in the foregoing table, in only slight degree. And even amongst older Indians, it is seen that the wisdom teeth have in several instances had their cusps preserved, evidently because these were the latest teeth, although erupted for many years. Two cases amongst civilised men have, in the course of years, attracted my own attention as presenting some degree of the levelling process in grinding teeth. One of these was a sealing commander (Capt. C.) who had come from Behring's Straits on business with the Hudson's Bay Company. Observing this peculiarity, I enquired of his past life, and elicited that he once spent some years (five or six I think) in the interior of Patagonia, living amongst the natives and partaking of their life. These years had sufficed to produce a degree of wear which, although sufficient to attract attention, was comparatively slight. In another patient (C. M., Esq.) a similar condition noticed in some of the grinding teeth, elicited the fact that he had, as an officer of border police, spent nine years in the Australian bush, so remote from civilisation, that he had used nothing more like the implements of the table, than the sheath knife at his belt. I show a model of his teeth taken by a dental friend.

How far race, apart from habits of eating, may contribute to superiority of teeth in living savages, I have no facts to

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Tomes, *op. cit.*

indicate. It would be of much interest if any could be elicited from anthropological observers, particularly cases of men of savage birth, who had lived from childhood amidst the habits of civilisation. And converse facts would be welcome as to the state of the teeth in any persons of civilised birth, who had, from childhood, lived amongst savages, and eaten after their manner. And still another question of great practical importance presents itself, viz., what habits in eating and drinking may be required by civilised persons from childhood onwards, in order to produce, not such amount of wear as is seen in the teeth of savages, but such as may keep the grinding teeth naturally polished and normally preserved. But the reply is not within the scope of the present paper.

[An additional note to this paper will be given in the next number of the Journal.]

### SEXUAL TABOO: *a Study in the Relations of the Sexes.*

By A. E. CRAWLEY, B.A., F.R.G.S.

THE social relations of the sexes have rarely followed the lines marked out by natural laws. At an early stage of culture man seems to have exerted his physical advantages<sup>1</sup> and to have thus readjusted the balance in his own way. The subjection of the female sex is a general law of human history.<sup>2</sup> The inferior

<sup>1</sup> Darwin, "Descent of Man," 117, 597; Bastian, "Der Mensch in der Geschichte," iii, 292; Letourneau, "Sociologie," 168, 170, 181; H. Ellis, "Man and Woman," 395.

<sup>2</sup> Australia, Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 168, "Journ. of the Anthropol. Inst.," xvi, 205; C. Lumholtz, "Among Cannibals," 100, 163; "Native Tribes of South Australia," 11; Waitz-Gerland, "Anthropologie der Naturvölker," vi, 774, 775; Paumotu (Low Archipelago), Dumont D'Urville, "Voyage pittoresque," i, 520; F. W. Beechey, "Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait," i, 238, 241; C. E. Meinicke, "Die Inseln des Stillen Oceans," ii, 219; uTbuan (Austral Islands), *id. op. cit.*, ii, 198; Rarotonga, *id. op. cit.*, ii, 149; Society and Sandwich Islands, W. Ellis, "Polynesian Researches," iii, 199, 293, 294; Fiji, T. Williams, "Fiji and the Fijians," i, 156, 169; Meinicke, *op. cit.*, ii, 45; Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, vi, 627; New Caledonia, Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 170; Meinicke, *op. cit.*, i, 231; J. Garnier, "Océanie," 186; Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, vi, 626; J. W. Anderson, "Fiji and New Caledonia," 218, 232; New Hebrides, Meinicke, *op. cit.*, i, 203; Queen Charlotte Islands (Santa Cruz), *id. op. cit.*, i, 177; Solomon Islands, *id. op. cit.*, i, 166; Melanesia generally, *id. op. cit.*, i, 67; Duke of York Islands, W. Powell, "Wanderings in a Wild Country," 54; New Guinea, Meinicke, *op. cit.*, i, 127; Rosenberg, "Der Malayische Archipel," 454, 532; Sumatra, W. Marsden, "History of Sumatra," 382; Battas, F. Junghuhn, "Die Battalander auf Sumatra," ii, 81; Bali, *id. op. cit.*, ii, 339; Nias, "Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde," xxxvi, 305; Corea, H. Ploss,<sup>2</sup> "Das Weib," ii, 434; China, M. Huc, "L'Empire chinois," i, 268; Siam, "Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels," ix, 379; Pondichery, D'Urville, *op. cit.*, i, 110; Hindoos, "Missionary Records (India)," xviii; Samoyeds, J. Georgi, "Les Nations Samoyedes," 14, 15; Bastian, *op. cit.*,

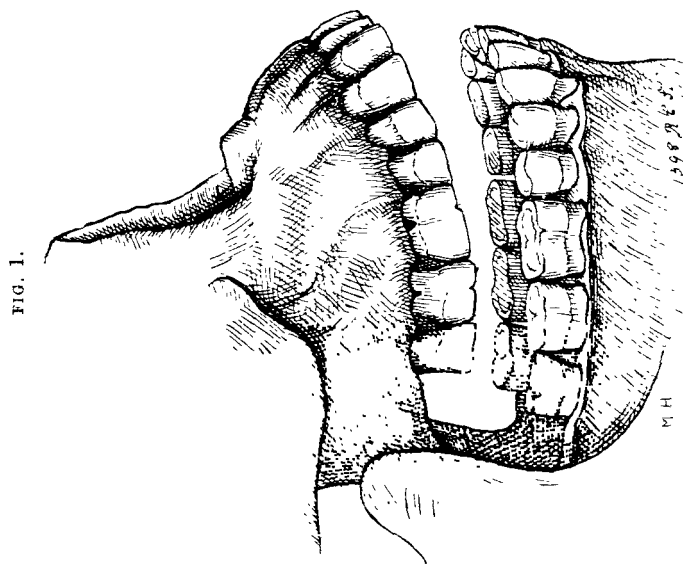


FIG. 1.

JAW OF AVERAGE SAVAGE, indicating wearing down of tooth cusps (from a skull).

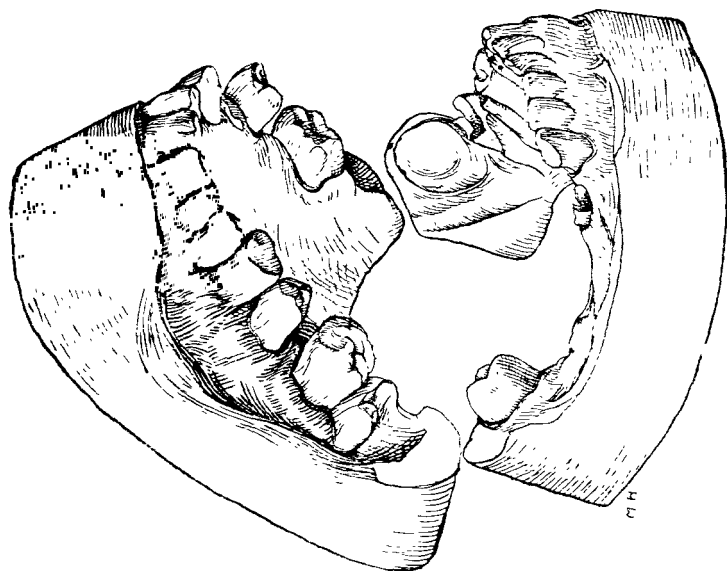


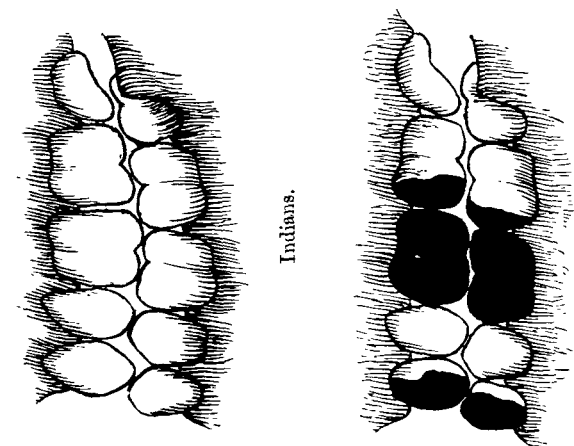
FIG. 2.

JAW OF LONDONER, showing preservation of cusps and mal-opposition of surviving teeth (from a cast).

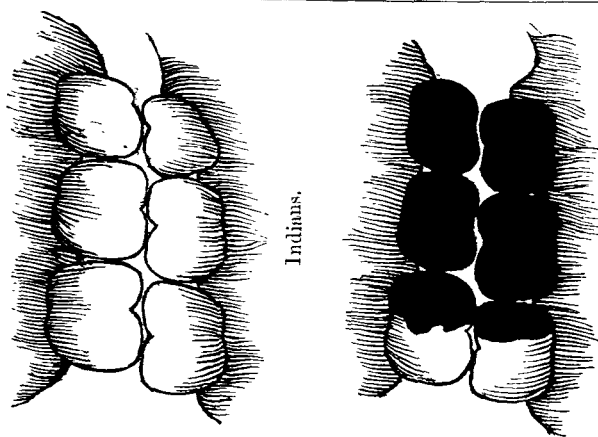




FIG. 3. SIOUX INDIAN—"LONE BULL."  
(Portrait from cabinet photograph.)



Indians.  
Londoners.  
FIG. 4. YOUNGER GROUPS.



Indians.  
Londoners (molars only).  
FIG. 5. OLDER GROUPS.

DIAGRAMS OF GRINDING CAPACITY.



position of women does not however necessarily involve ill-treatment, which is rare, or unfair division of labour,<sup>1</sup> which has perhaps in many cases been mistakenly ascribed. The main result with which I am concerned is the attitude of superiority assumed by man and his contempt for woman as a physical and social inferior.<sup>2</sup> The latter opinion of the female sex is the result of subjection, while the feeling that woman is the "weaker vessel" is universal and may exist independently.

iii, 303; Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 432; Ostyaks, *id. loc. cit.*: Circassia, Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, ix, 142; Anseyreeyah, A. Featherman, "Social History of the Races of Mankind," v, 495; Egypt, Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 455; East Africa, C. New, "Life in Eastern Africa," 359; D. Macdonald, "Africana," i, 137, 141; Darfur, Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 172; Central Africa, P. B. Du Chaillu, "Equatorial Africa," 52, 377; South Africa, Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 426; Zulus, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, ii, 387; Kaffirs, Ploss, *loc. cit.*: West Africa, W. Bosman, "Description of Guinea," 320; Bastian, "San Salvador," 71; "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xiii, 465; C. J. Andersson, "Lake Ngami," 231; Winwood Reade, "Savage Africa," Fuegians, Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 175; Araucanians, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iii, 515; Caribs, *id.* iii, 382; W. H. Brett, "Indian Tribes of Guiana," 353; Mexico, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iv, 130; North American Indians, *id.*, iii, 99; H. H. Bancroft, "Native Races of the Pacific States," i, 511; G. M. Sproat, "Scenes and Studies of Savage Life," 91; Peter Jones, "History of the Ojebway Indians," 60.

<sup>1</sup> It was said by a Kaffir that a woman is "her husband's ox: she has been bought and therefore must labour," J. Shooter, "The Kaffirs of Natal," 79, 80; In New Caledonia chiefs maintain a large number of wives to get more work done, Garnier, *op. cit.*, 186; thus a man's wealth is often reckoned by the number of his wives: Africa, Bastian, "Expedition an der Loango Küste," i, 151; *id.*, "San Salvador," 71; New Britain, R. Parkinson, "Im Bismarck-Archipel," 99; Rajmaahal tribes, "Asiatick Researches," iv, 95.—Woman regarded as a chattel: Bastian, "Der Mensch," iii, 293; Africa, Du Chaillu, *op. cit.*, 254; "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xvi, 86; Maravis and Mpongwes, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, ii, 109, 419; Kabyles, Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 180; Hanoteau et Letourneau, "Kabylie," ii, 148, 169; New Hebrides, B. T. Somerville, "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxiii, 7; New Britain, Parkinson, *op. cit.*, 98; Fiji, Meinicke, *op. cit.*, ii, 45; in Bali they are used as barter, E. Reclus, "Universal Geography," xiv, 200; so in Nepal, Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 366; and Afghanistan,—amongst the Western Afghans, woman is the monetary unit, *id.*, 179.

<sup>2</sup> In Tahiti women were regarded as inferior beings, Meinicke, *op. cit.*, ii, 187; Sandwich and Society Islands, Ellis, *op. cit.*, i, 257; Melanesia, R. H. Codrington, "The Melanesians," 233; Meinicke, *op. cit.*, i, 67; New Hebrides, *id.*, i, 203; where the Tabu deprives them of all privileges, Reclus, *op. cit.*, xiv, 336; in New Caledonia women are put in the second place and are in a position of degradation, Garnier, *op. cit.*, 186, 350; in Fiji women are regarded as inferior, and are restricted by the Tabu, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, vi, 627; B. Seemann, "Viti," 237; in Bow Island (Paumotu Group) they are debased and neglected by the men: "the superiority of sex was probably never more rigidly enforced than here," Beechey, *op. cit.*, 241, 242, 243; New Britain, Powell, *op. cit.*, 84; Saráwak, C. Brooke, "Ten Years in Saráwak," i, 101; an Australian puts his wife on the same level as his dog, and never condescends to mix in women's quarrels, Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 169; Corea, Griffiths, "The Hermit Nation," 245; Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 417; China, Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 178; Huc, *op. cit.*, i, 268; Hindoos, "Missionary Records (India)," xviii, a husband calls his wife "slave," while she addresses him as "master" and "lord," "Histoire Universelle des Voyages," xxxi, 352; in Pondichery, women are the trembling slaves of their husbands: "custom has established an immense line of



Subjection and seclusion have probably stereotyped the feminine characteristic of timidity,<sup>1</sup> forming a more or less

demarcation between man and woman," D'Urville, *op. cit.*, i, 110; Battas of Sumatra, Junghuhn, *op. cit.*, ii, 135; Samoyed women are treated with disdain, Georgi, *op. cit.*, 14; Bastian, "Der Mensch," iii, 295; Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 433; Ostyaks, *id. loc. cit.*; Anseyreeyah women are regarded as inferior beings, Featherman, *op. cit.*, v, 495; the peasants of the Dnieper and Volga regard woman as "a mean creature, born to sorrow," Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 448; the Moors of Senegambia regard woman as an inferior sort of animal, Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 60; Gallas, Harris, "Highlands of Ethiopia," iii, 58; Sakalavas and Hovas of Madagascar, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, ii, 438; Kaffirs regard their women with haughty contempt, Shooter, *op. cit.*, 81; North American Indians, Bancroft, *op. cit.*, i, 511; Charlevoix, "Journal," vi, 44, women are despised: to quarrel with a woman or to beat her is unworthy of a warrior, because she is too far beneath him, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iii, 101; "the Indian men look upon their women as an inferior race of beings." It would be considered great presumption for the wife to walk by the side of her husband: she therefore keeps at a respectful distance. "The men have an idea that it is unmanly and disgraceful for them to be seen doing anything which they imagine belongs to the women's department," Jones, *op. cit.*, 60; Apache and Iroquois boys are taught to pierce their mothers' flesh with arrows, to show them their superiority to women, S. Powers, "Tribes of California," 20 (compare a similar Kaffir custom, Ploss, "Das Kind," ii, 442); Hares and Dogribs, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iii, 100; Indians of California, Powers, *op. cit.*, 20; Nicaragua, Bancroft, *op. cit.*, iii, 494; ancient Mexico, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iv, 130; Eskimo, *id.*, iii, 308; Caribs, *id.*, iii, 382; Araucanians, *id.*, iii, 515; Abipones,—who think it beneath a man to take any part in female quarrels, M. Dobrizhoffer, "The Abipones," ii, 155. Hence certain rules of deportment: in Wassulo, a wife kneels when she asks her husband for anything, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, ii, 471; in Loango, whenever she speaks to him, Proyard, "Loango," 93; in Eastern Central Africa, where women are beasts of burden, a woman always kneels when she has occasion to speak to a man, Macdonald, *op. cit.*, i, 35; a similar rule is found in Bornu, "Histoire Universelle des Voyages," xxvii, 437. In New Caledonia, when a woman meets a man, she runs aside to let him pass, Garnier, *op. cit.*, 354; a Servian woman may never get in a man's way, but must leave the path: when meeting a man on the road, she is obliged to kiss his hand, a salutation to which men never stoop, Ploss, "Das Weib," ii, 486; this salute is in North America an expression of humiliation, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iii, 136; in Egypt, a man kisses the hand of a superior, and then places it on his forehead, a son kisses his father's hands, a wife her husband's, E. W. Lane, "Modern Egyptians," i, 252; in the Ukraine, young people kiss the hands of their parents, Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, "Hochzeits-buch," 37; in the Island of Wetter, a man when asking forgiveness of a chief kisses his hands and feet, J. G. F. Riedel, "De sluik-en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua," 435; in Samoa, Rarotonga, and Mangaia, it is usual to touch with the nose the hand of the person saluted, Meinicke, *op. cit.*, ii, 149; Cook and King, "Voyage," i, 179; some peoples deny women the possession of a soul, for instance, the Anseyreeyah, Featherman, *op. cit.*, v, 495; the natives of Darfur, R. W. Felkin, "Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh," xiii, 218; in the Marianne Islands, women do possess souls, but of less importance than those of men: it is doubtful whether the *mangatchangs* (commoners) have souls of any sort, D'Urville, *op. cit.*, ii, 495; in Tonga, the commoners are soulless, S. S. Farmer, "Tonga," 130; Seemann, *op. cit.*, 398; The Provincial Council of Macon in the sixth century earnestly debated the question whether women had a soul, R. von Krafft-Ebing, "Psychopathia Sexualis," 4.

<sup>1</sup> Examples of greater timidity in women:—Lumholtz, *op. cit.*, 91; Featherman, *op. cit.*, v, 495; Kotzebue, "Voyage to the South Sea," ii, 56; "Asiatick Researches," vi, 82; B. Morrell, "A Narrative of Four Voyages," 397; Garnier, *op. cit.*, 328, 349; W. Coote, "Wanderings South and East," 163, 164;

constant attitude of physical dread towards the stronger sex.<sup>1</sup>

Marital jealousy,<sup>2</sup> which is that of the proprietor rather than the lover, has been responsible for the universal habit of chastity in wives, in some instances by means of absolute seclusion. Marriage by purchase, again, is an obvious concession to the rights of ownership, and here commercial instincts have in some cases enforced chastity upon daughters. It is to be observed, however, that freedom of choice is frequently allowed to the girl in marriage by purchase, and that elopement is another method of sexual selection.

On the other hand, there are cases where woman has asserted herself, sometimes even beyond equality. This is found exceptionally at low levels of culture.<sup>3</sup> I now proceed to illustrate the revolt of woman, and some methods of suppression. The attempts of the Indians of California to keep their women in check show how the latter were struggling up to equality.<sup>4</sup> Another account of the Hottentots represents that the women, though ill-treated and forced to do the harder work, can defend themselves and avenge their wrongs.<sup>5</sup> A Poul (Fulah) governs his wives by force, but they recoup themselves when they get the chance.<sup>6</sup> The Indian of Brazil has a wholesome dread of his wives, and follows the maxim of *laissez-faire* with regard to their intrigues.<sup>7</sup> Amongst the Wataveita, fire-making is not revealed to women, "because," say the men, "they would then become our masters."<sup>8</sup> The Miris will not allow their women to eat tiger's flesh, lest it should make them too strong-minded.<sup>9</sup> The Fuegians celebrate a festival, *Kina*, in commemoration of their revolt against the women, who formerly had the authority and possessed the secrets of sorcery.<sup>10</sup> In the Dieri Tribe of

H. Melville, "The Marquesas Islands," 75; C. Wilkes, "U. S. Exploring Expedition," iii, 232; K. von den Steinen, "Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens," 332; L. M. D'Albertis, "New Guinea," i, 15, 189, 200, 292, 318, 337, 342; Compare Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 181.

<sup>1</sup> Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, vi, 775; Hearne, "Northern Ocean," 310; D'Urville, *op. cit.*, i, 110.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Darwin, *op. cit.*, 119; Girard-Teulon, "Origines du Mariage et de la Famille," 46 ff.; Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 375; Meinicke, *op. cit.*, i, 127.

<sup>3</sup> Amongst the Indians of California, women "wield despotic sway" over childhood and senility, Powers, *op. cit.*, 161; in the Hottentot household the husband "has not a word to say": the woman is the "supreme ruler"—Taras, a title used also of the sex in general, T. Hahn, "Tsun-Goam," 19, 20; amongst the Ainos, wives dictate to their husbands, and make them fetch and carry, Bastian, "Oestlich. Asien," v, 366; the wives of Nootka and Chippeway Indians are consulted on matters of trade, and appear to be nearly on terms of equality with their husbands, though they are the property of the latter, Bancroft, *op. cit.*, i, 196.

<sup>4</sup> Powers, *op. cit.*, 406.

<sup>6</sup> "Hist. Univ. des Voy.," xxviii, 439.

<sup>8</sup> "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xv, 10.

<sup>10</sup> Girard-Teulon, *op. cit.*, 448.

<sup>5</sup> Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, ii, 341.

<sup>7</sup> Ploss, "Das Weib," ii, 424.

<sup>9</sup> Dalton, "Ethnology of Bengal," 33.

South Australia, men threaten their wives, should they do anything wrong, with the "bone," the instrument of sorcery, which when pointed at the victim causes death; this produces such dread among the women, that, mostly, instead of having a salutary effect, it causes them to hate their husbands.<sup>1</sup> The Pomo Indians of California find it very difficult to maintain authority over their women. A husband often terrifies his wife into submission by personating an ogre; after this she is usually tractable for some days.<sup>2</sup> Amongst the Tatu Indians of California, the men have a secret society, which gives periodic dramatic performances, with the object of keeping the women in order. The chief actor, disguised as a devil, charges about among the assembled squaws.<sup>3</sup> The Gualala and Patwin Indians have similar dances, performed by the assembled men, to show the women the necessity of obedience.<sup>4</sup> In Africa, the anxious attempts of the men to keep the women down have been noted.<sup>5</sup> The adult males in South Guinea have a secret association, *Ndá*, whose object is to keep the women, children and slaves in order.<sup>6</sup> The *Mumbo-Jumbo* of the Mandingoes is well known. The same performer, who represents Mumbo-Jumbo, has also the duty of keeping the sexes apart for the forty days after circumcision.<sup>7</sup> Other instances of associations to keep the women in subjection, are, the *Eybo* in Calabar, *Oro* in Yoruba, the *Purro*, *Semo* and varieties of *Eybo* on the West Coast, the *Bundlu* amongst the Bullamers.<sup>8</sup> Women in their turn form similar associations amongst themselves, in which they discuss their wrongs and form plans of revenge.<sup>9</sup> Mpongwe women have an institution of this kind, which is really feared by the men.<sup>10</sup> Similarly amongst the Bakalais, and other African tribes.<sup>11</sup>

Some instances of success, more or less complete, attained by the weaker sex, may conclude this part of the subject. The scene of the victory is naturally the house. In Nicaragua, where women were very "unclean," husbands were treated like slaves, and were made to do all the house-work.<sup>12</sup> Balonda women exercise a veritable tyranny over their husbands, and assist in

<sup>1</sup> "Native Tribes of South Australia," 276.

<sup>2</sup> Powers, *op. cit.*, 154, 161.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, 141.

<sup>4</sup> Powers, *op. cit.*, 193, 224.

<sup>5</sup> Bastian, "San Salvador," 182.

<sup>6</sup> J. L. Wilson, "West Africa," 396.

<sup>7</sup> Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, ii, 118; "Hist. Univ. des Voy.," xiv, 58. Ye. some Mandingo women have influence in politics, Waitz-Gerland, ii, 117.

<sup>8</sup> Bastian, *op. cit.*, 179; Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, ii, 118; "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," vi, 121.

<sup>9</sup> Bastian, "Der Mensch," iii, 294; *id.*, "San Salvador," 180; *id.*, "Loango-Küste," ii, 24.

<sup>10</sup> J. L. Wilson, *op. cit.*, 397.

<sup>11</sup> P. B. Du Chaillu, *op. cit.*, 296.

<sup>12</sup> Bancroft, *op. cit.*, ii, 685.

council.<sup>1</sup> Morotoco men are subject to their wives.<sup>2</sup> Amongst the Kunama, the wife has an agent who protects her against her husband, and fines him for ill-treatment. She possesses considerable authority in the house, and is on equal terms with her husband.<sup>3</sup> Amongst the Beni Amer, women enjoy considerable independence. To obtain marital privileges, the husband has to make his wife a present of value. He must do the same for every harsh word he uses, and is often kept a whole night out of doors in the rain, until he pays. The women have a strong *esprit de corps*; when a wife is ill-treated, the other women come in to help her: it goes without saying that the husband is always in the wrong. The women express much contempt for the men, and it is considered disgraceful in a woman to show love for her husband.<sup>4</sup> Amongst the Dyaks of South East Borneo, wives enjoy great freedom and many privileges. They sometimes lead the men in war, and exercise the authority of chiefs over whole tribes.<sup>5</sup> Dooraunee women govern their husbands and are sometimes found in command of a caravan.<sup>6</sup>

We have thus found that man predicates of woman both weakness and social inferiority. The attribution of feebleness to the female sex, a subjective conception probably due to man's superiority in strength and stature. I have assumed to be universal: it still exists unimpaired in the highest stages of culture, though here it has lost its crudeness and become a chivalrous pity. The idea that woman is an inferior in the social scale I have ascribed to the subjection more or less real to which her sex has as a rule been exposed. This does not however exclude the probability that where no subjection can be premised, this opinion may arise from the mere belief in feminine weakness. It is, moreover, obvious that in many cases no clear distinction can be drawn between these two feelings. In fact, both the reality and the abstract idea of social degradation are ultimately the effects of physical superiority.

There are, lastly, two developments of the psychological relations of the sexes, which have played a subordinate part, namely, the feelings of hostility and awe. These will be considered later.

<sup>1</sup> Girard-Teulon, *op. cit.*, 213.

<sup>2</sup> Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iii, 530.

<sup>3</sup> W. Munzinger, "Ostafrikanische Studien," 387.

<sup>4</sup> Munzinger, *op. cit.*, 324, 325.

<sup>5</sup> Schwaner, "Borneo," i, 161.

<sup>6</sup> Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, ii, 122,—Hence masculine females sometimes assume male attire, simultaneously with male privileges or duties; compare "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxiii, 7; Brooke, "Ten Years," i, 131; G. A. Wilken, "De Indische Gids" (Augustus 1881), 263; W. Reade, *op. cit.*, 364. For Amazons, see the account of Girard-Teulon, *op. cit.*, 309 ff, and Bastian, "San Salvador," 177 ff.

These feelings are undoubtedly the basis of that system of habits and rules of avoidance, which is found with varying intension to prevail universally, and which I have termed "sexual taboo."

Before any satisfactory deductions can be made, it is necessary to obtain a clear notion of the meaning of "social taboo" generally. An inductive study of the facts has made it clear to me that the main determinant of the phenomena of social taboo is to be found in the mutual relations of the two parties concerned, and that the individual in danger is influenced by a fear that the attributes with which circumstances lead him to invest the dangerous individual may through contact or other means react upon himself. Such fear prompts, by reflex action or otherwise, various methods of obviating the apprehended result, which then become habits and rules of avoidance. Ultimately, this subjectivity of mind resolves itself into the sensitive instinct of egoism, the prime factor in human action, which insulates the individual, originally for self-preservation, from others. Nor is it impossible to mark a penultimate step, where a group of individuals is held together by similarity of constitution or environment and insulated from others by the mere fact of differentiation.

The active principle of taboo is the power of self-transmission possessed by the essential properties of the person feared. This transmission can be effected by all the methods of contagion and infection, of which physical contact takes precedence. In the next place, any detachable portion of the organism, for the whole personality is impregnated with the virus, may serve as a vehicle; for instance, excretions and secretions, semen, saliva, sweat, urine, excrement, clothes as containing sweat, food as touched by the hands or lubricated with saliva, blood, hair and nails, breath and bodily exhalations generally. Material infection also results from proximity and from the seeing or being seen by the dangerous individual. With regard to certain details, it is hardly necessary to point out that *a priori* ideas of aversion and disgust must be excluded. The present hypothesis agrees with the facts of physiology, which show, first, that no such feelings are excited in the individual by his own functional effluvia, and secondly, that during the continuance of sexual passion any emanation of the kind from the loved object inspires pleasure. In some particulars the association of ideas is connected with the sense of smell.

Further, there are certain sets of customs in which the transmission of properties is performed with intention, as, for example, in the practice of injecting or sprinkling blood, semen or sweat, in order to impart new life or strength, and in a large

class of love-charms. In another class of love-charms the motive is malevolent, the victim being injured by the contagion of malicious properties.

On the other hand, these secretions, excretions and bodily growths, being regarded by an obvious reasoning as intrinsic parts of the individual, acquire an additional importance from the fact that they are detachable. When they have passed from the body, the loss is equivalent to a loss of essence or even of "life" and "soul," an idea which especially applies where a real loss of physical power is felt, as in the cases of blood and semen. Lastly, these detachable portions of the organism may be used by enemies and ill-wishers to injure the original owner by the methods of sympathetic magic.

It now becomes clear that the main factor in sexual taboo may be a belief, gradually evolved from the estimate which we have found to be held of woman, that feminine properties, especially weakness, timidity and inferiority, are transmissible by contact. With regard to the particular circumstances of menstruation, pregnancy and child-birth, no distinction is to be made; here, as I think, the danger of contagion is simply aggravated by the presence of a functional crisis peculiar to the sex, and, in the cases of menstruation and lying-in, by the additional appearance of blood, the surest vehicle for transmission. It is true, however, that these functional peculiarities have, by the very intensity of the sexual difference, helped to ensure the continuity of sexual taboo.

In the classification of customs, I have not separated from the cases where the principle of contagion is at work, those which spring immediately from the original treatment of woman as inferior. The transition from contempt to the idea that the contemptible property may contaminate by material infection is thus illustrated. It may well be, and I am inclined to think it is the fact, that the principle of contagion extends further back and exists in many cases below the surface. At any rate it is not always possible to draw the line.

Lastly, I have not attempted to differentiate in particular instances the two main premisses of physical and social inferiority; as has been pointed out, the two estimates are closely connected, though the former will be assumed if the latter be excluded. Where, however, a subordinate principle appears, I mention the fact.

Passing to the evidence for the hypothesis of contagion we find the following facts. Amongst the Barea, man and wife seldom share the same bed: the reason they give is that the breath of the wife weakens her husband.<sup>1</sup> In Western Victoria,

<sup>1</sup> Munzinger, *op. cit.*, 526.

a menstruous woman may not take any one's food or drink, and no one will touch food that she has handled, because it will make them weak.<sup>1</sup> Amongst the Dyaks of North West Borneo, young men are forbidden to eat venison, which is the peculiar food of women and old men, because it would render them as timid as deer.<sup>2</sup> A Zulu, newly married, dare not go out to battle, for fear he should be slain; should he do so and fall, the men say "the lap of that woman is unlucky." Accordingly the soldiers of the Amazulu in modern times refrain from marriage "that they may not be afraid."<sup>3</sup> In the two last instances there is a fear of the infection of female timidity. Amongst the Damaras men may not see a lying-in woman, else they will become weak and will be killed in battle.<sup>4</sup> In Ceram, menstruous women may not approach the men, lest the latter should be wounded in battle.<sup>5</sup> In some South American tribes, the presence of a woman just confined makes the weapons of the men weak.<sup>6</sup> The same belief obtains among the Tschuktschoi, who accordingly remove all hunting and fishing implements from the house before a birth.<sup>7</sup> In the Boocandik tribe, if men see women's blood they will not be able to fight.<sup>8</sup> In the Encounter Bay tribe, boys are told from infancy that if they see menstrual blood their strength will fail prematurely.<sup>9</sup> In the Wiraijuri tribe, boys are reproved for playing with girls: the culprit is taken aside by an old man, who solemnly extracts from his legs some "strands of the woman's apron" which have got in.<sup>10</sup> Amongst the Omahas, if a boy plays with girls he is contemptuously dubbed "hermaphrodite."<sup>11</sup> In these two last cases the idea is that contact with females produces a general assimilation to the female character. The Khyongthas have a legend of a man who reduced a king and his men to a condition of feebleness by persuading them to dress up as women and perform female duties. When they had thus been rendered effeminate, they were attacked and defeated without a blow. "That," say the Khyongthas, "is why we are not so brave as formerly."<sup>12</sup> The advice given to Cyrus by Croesus was identical with that of the hillman, and the result was the same.<sup>13</sup> Contempt for female timidity has caused a curious custom amongst the Gallas: they amputate the mammæ of boys soon after birth, believing that no warrior can possibly be brave who possesses

<sup>1</sup> Dawson, *op. cit.*, cii.<sup>2</sup> St. John, "Forests of the Far East," i, 186.<sup>3</sup> Callaway, "Religious System of the Amazulu," 441, 443.<sup>4</sup> "South African Folklore Journal," ii, 63.<sup>5</sup> Riedel, *op. cit.*, 139.<sup>6</sup> Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 26.<sup>7</sup> *Id. loc. cit.*<sup>8</sup> J. Smith, "The Bocandik Tribe," 5.<sup>9</sup> "Native Tribes of S. A.," 186.<sup>10</sup> "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xiii, 448.<sup>11</sup> J. O. Dorsey, "Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology," 266.<sup>12</sup> Lewin, *op. cit.*, 136.<sup>13</sup> Herodotus, i, 155, 156, 157.

them, and that they should belong to women only.<sup>1</sup> Hence the custom of degrading the cowardly, infirm, and conquered to the position of females. At the "initiation" of a Macquarrie boy the men stand over him with waddies threatening instant death if he complains while the tooth is being knocked out. He is afterwards cicatrized: if he shows any sign of pain, three long yells announce the fact to the camp; he is then considered unworthy to be admitted to the rank of men, and is handed over to the women as a coward. Thenceforward he becomes the playmate and companion of children.<sup>2</sup> Amongst the Lhoosais, when a man is unable to do his work, whether through laziness, cowardice, or bodily incapacity, he is dressed in women's clothes and has to associate and work with the women.<sup>3</sup> Amongst the Pomo Indians of California, when a man becomes too infirm for a warrior, he is made a menial and assists the squaws.<sup>4</sup> So in Cuba and Greenland, with the additional degradation of wearing female dress.<sup>5</sup> When the Delawares were denationalized by the Iroquois and prohibited from going out to war, they were, according to the Indian notion, "made women," and were henceforth to confine themselves to the pursuits appropriate to women.<sup>6</sup>

The prejudices of caste are a marked attribute of human nature, and the fear of the contagion of social inferiority is well seen in the attitude of a superior where caste is a developed system. Thus in ancient India, a Brahmin became an outcast by using the same carriage or seat or by eating with an outcast.<sup>7</sup> The touch of an inferior still contaminates a high-caste Hindoo.<sup>8</sup> In Burma a man may be defiled by sitting or eating with a low-caste Sandala.<sup>9</sup> The black Jews of Loango are so despised that no one will eat with them.<sup>10</sup> In Travancore, courtiers must cover the mouth with the right hand, lest their breath should pollute the king or other superior. Also at the temples, a low-caste man must wear a broad bandage over his nose and mouth, that his breath may not pollute the idols. In China it was formerly the custom for the officers of the court to hold cloves in the mouth before addressing the sovereign, that their breath might have an agreeable odour.<sup>11</sup>

*(To be continued.)*

<sup>1</sup> Harris, *op. cit.*, iii, 58. Compare the cauterization of the mammæ by Amazons.

<sup>2</sup> G. F. Angus, "Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand," ii, 224. <sup>3</sup> Lewin, *op. cit.*, 255. <sup>4</sup> Powers, *op. cit.*, 160.

<sup>5</sup> Bastian, "Der Mensch," iii, 313, 314. Compare Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iii, 472 ("Guaycurus").

<sup>6</sup> L. H. Morgan, "The League of the Iroquois," 16. This passage I owe to the kindness of Dr. E. B. Tylor. See also Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iii, 23.

<sup>7</sup> "Laws of Manu" (ed. Bühler), xi, 181.

<sup>8</sup> Ward, "Hindoos," ii, 149. Colebrooke, "Asiatick Researches," vii, 277.

<sup>9</sup> D'Urville, *op. cit.*, i, 173.

<sup>10</sup> Bastian, "Loango Küste," i, 278.

<sup>11</sup> S. Mateer, "Native Life in Travancore," 129.



## ANTHROPOLOGICAL MISCELLANEA AND NEW BOOKS.

### Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia—(continued).

*The chief rites and sacrifices performed by Buryat wizards.*—Thanks to the labours of several local investigators, we are able to make a review of the chief rites and sacrifices performed by Buryat shamans, paying special attention to those ceremonies which are connected with the healing of the sick. First of all we must refer to the *sasalga*, i.e. sprinkling, and the *kkhyryk*. The *sasalga* takes place when the disease is not dangerous, and when there is no evil spirit in the patient; it is performed in the *yurta*. At the time appointed by the shaman, after his arrival, a small fire is kindled on the hearth. The assembled Buryats all sit down round the fire, leaving the place of honour to the shaman and the patient. Wine (i.e., *vodka*), tea, sour-cream, and other delicacies are brought into the hut, and placed in small Chinese cups on a bench, covered with a clean cloth, near the front pillar of the *yurta*. On the bench they lay one or two silver coins. The shaman places himself facing the opening in the ceiling of the *yurta*, turns up the left sleeve of his fur-coat or dressing gown, and taking in his left hand a small whip with a thong, and a small copper bell, he begins with his right hand to sprinkle wine from a Chinese cup into the hole in the ceiling, meantime ringing the bell, and asking the deity to send health to the sick man. After repeating this several times, the shaman lays down the whip and bell, sits by the fire, drinks wine, and gives some of it to the patient; then, having sipped some tea and sour-cream (*smetana*), he makes the patient drink these also. The ceremony concludes by one of the older men taking from the shaman wine, tea, and sour-cream, and giving them to the other Buryats; when the wine is all drunk, the ceremony of sprinkling is considered to be at an end, and all go home.

*Kkhyryk* takes place when the illness is of a severe kind. As we have already said, the Buryats believe that evil spirits in their wrath send down disease. In order to cure it, it is necessary to know which evil spirit has done it, and why, also what sacrifice will appease the spirit. The shaman finds out all this by means of a burnt shoulder blade. For the *kkhyryk*, a bonfire is kindled in the open air, outside the *yurta*. If the sick man is able to walk, they take him out and seat him by the fire. They bring a sheep, some wine, brewed tea, &c. When all is ready, and a sufficient number of Buryats are assembled, the shaman comes; he takes in his right hand a small wooden Chinese cup, ladles out some wine in

it, and, turning to the fire, pronounces various exorcisms in the Buryat tongue. While uttering these he sways from side to side, now approaching the fire, now retreating from it. Frequently he takes himself by the head, and sprinkling wine, from the cup, in the fire, mentions the name of the patient. The longer the *kkhyryk* lasts, the greater becomes his inspiration; the expression of his face changes, his limbs shake, his voice becomes wild and terrible, and is heard for a long way round. Finally he runs up to the fire, and, as if driving somebody out of it, shakes his head, and with a fearful inhuman shriek falls full length backwards, but the Buryats standing behind do not let him fall on the ground. When the shaman has partly recovered consciousness, he takes a little sour-cream and anoints the lamb. The Buryats kill the animal, cut it up, and cook it in a kettle. While it is being boiled, the shaman sits on the ground, drinks wine, and gives drink to the patient; the remainder is handed to some respectable old man, who treats the spectators to it. When the mutton is ready, the shaman throws a few pieces in the fire, eats of it himself, gives a piece to the patient, and the rest to the crowd. At the end of the feast, the bones of the sacrificed sheep are burnt, the shaman receives from the patient the skin and some money, and goes home.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Khangalov has collected descriptions of various shamanist rites and sacrifices of a more special character; here we shall only refer to those connected with the healing of the sick. Among the Balagansk Buryats the *Tarim* ceremony has existed since ancient times. It is employed against internal diseases or fractures of any part of the body, but rarely for sores. There are but few shamans who can perform this ceremony, as boiling water is used in it, and an unskilful operator might scald both the patient and himself. *Tarim* is of three kinds: *Ukhan-tarim*, *Gal-tarim*, and *Ekhon-tarim*, the last consisting of a union of the two others. "When one witnesses an *Ekhon-tarim*," says Mr. Khangalov, "one's hair stands on end, and one's flesh creeps. The danger of the patient and the shaman alike is so apparent that it seems as if they must both be scalded to death, but, somehow or other, the whole thing is safely accomplished." An accident rarely happens, and then only in the case of young and inexperienced shamans; unless he is acquainted with the shaman, a Buryat will not consent to *ukhan-tarim* or *ekhon-tarim*. *Dole*, a ceremony performed by the Buryats when a man is seriously ill, is ordered by the shaman, and consists in offering for the soul of the patient some domestic animal. The shaman selects the sacrifice. If the *zayan* is satisfied with the offering he liberates the soul, and the sick man recovers.<sup>2</sup>

The religious ceremony of *Khushulkha* is performed over those who are suffering from cough or sores. The shaman sucks the diseased part until blood and matter issue; if the patient has a cough, he sucks the breast, and then spits. The treatment is continued until the shaman thinks the disease has all been extracted.

<sup>1</sup> Sidorov: "Irk. Ep. Vyed.," 1873g, 466-468.

<sup>2</sup> Khangalov: "Novye materialy o shamanstve u Buryat," 97-114.

There is also a process called *Khunkhe-khurulkha*. It is intimately connected with the belief of the Balagansk Buryats that a man's soul may be frightened out of his body, and flee away. The soul wanders round the spot where it left the body. Small children are especially liable to have their souls frightened away, and the signs of this misfortune are believed to be at once evident. The child becomes ill, raves in its sleep, cries out, remains in bed, weeps, and becomes pale and sleepy. If many days are allowed to pass after the soul's flight, it becomes wild and alien to the body, and flees far. Grown up people who have lost their souls do not notice the fact at first, and gradually become sick. The kinsfolk apply to the shaman, and learn that the patient has no soul in his body. Then they themselves try to bring back the soul. The patient makes a *khurulkha*, i.e., he summons his soul. If no remedies suffice, the shaman is called in. After sprinkling and prayers, he organises a *khunkhe-khurulkha*. In a pail he places an arrow and something the patient is fond of, e.g., beef, or *salamat*. After this they set out for the place where the soul separated from the body, and ask the soul to come and eat its favourite food and return to the body. When the soul enters the body, the man who had lost it feels a shiver down his back, and is sure to weep; his soul weeps for joy at finding its body. Sometimes the soul is so stubborn that the ceremony has to be repeated three times.

Care for their cattle is one of the leading traits of the Buryat character, and if a householder notices that there is anything wrong with his stock, or if the shaman tells him that they have undergone some change, the religious ceremony of *shurge-shukhe* is performed over the animals. The shaman goes to the courtyard where all the cattle are enclosed, and takes with him a bundle of resinous faggots, and roasted flour. At the closed gates they perform the *shurge-shukhe*, i.e., they bind to the door fragments of a tree which has been struck by lightning. Then they set fire to a faggot, open the door, and drive the cattle out of the yard. While the beasts are passing out, the shaman throws parched flour through the fire upon them. The flour takes fire and burns. When all the cattle have passed out, the remainder of the flour is thrown down in the yard. At the end of the ceremony, the shaman, the people of the house, and other Buryats, go home.<sup>1</sup>

*Organisation and classification of the shamanist profession.*—Manifold are the ceremonies and sacrifices by the help of which the shamans of all the Siberian tribes endeavour to produce the desired effect on the world of mysterious, malevolent spirits surrounding and persecuting the alarmed imagination of the half savage natives. Upon the science of these gloomy wizards, and upon their good will, the life and well-being of everybody depend. The shamans play a prominent part in their tribes, and enjoy enormous influence.

It is difficult to say whether the shamans of Siberia form an organised and peculiar class or not. From such data as we possess,

<sup>1</sup> Khangalov: "Novye materialy," 135-138.

it would seem rather that there is no such separate class of society forming a kind of ecclesiastical caste. Nor are there any hierarchical divisions, although there are differences in the positions of shamans, founded upon their power and their relations with spirits and gods of various kinds. The Yakut shamans are divided into three categories, according to their power. The division into white and black, *i.e.*, shamans dealing exclusively with good or bad deities, does not exist among the Yakuts.<sup>1</sup> According to the power of their *emekhets*, the Yakut shamans are divided into lowest, middle and great. The "lowest" are not properly speaking shamans at all, but various hysterical, half-witted, idiotic and in general eccentric people. They can explain dreams, tell fortunes, cure slight ailments, but they do not perform the great shamanist functions, because they have no guardian spirit. The "middle" shamans have magic power in a certain degree, according to the power of their *emekhets*. The "great" are distinguished by exceptional power; the lord of darkness himself gives ear to their summons. There can only be four such shamans at any given time in all the Yakut land, one for each of the four original Yakut settlements. In each settlement there are particular families endowed with magic power. In such a family a great shaman appears from time to time. In the Namsk settlement, such a great shaman died recently; he was an old man named Fedor, nicknamed "Mychylla," of the Khatinarinsk community of the Arching family. The Yakuts used to tell that Mychylla in his youth was handsome, but in his old age he was as ugly as his protector the devil. The Yakuts narrated wonderful stories about his power.<sup>2</sup> Gmelin mentions another distinction; he says that the older a Yakut shaman is, the greater is the number of names of gods that he knows, and consequently the greater is his power.<sup>3</sup>

Besides shamans, the Yakuts have shamankas. According to Mr. Soloviev, the shamankas are inferior to the shamans; they are only called in when there is no male necromancer in the neighbourhood. They are most frequently employed to foretell the future, or to find lost or stolen things. It is only in the cure of mental diseases that shamankas are preferred to their male colleagues.<sup>4</sup> But there are exceptions to this general rule. Gmelin saw among the Yakuts a shamanka, twenty years of age, who was much respected even by old shamans.<sup>5</sup>

Among the Tunguses of the Trans-Baikal region, both men and women, married and single, may be shamans.<sup>6</sup> Gmelin met among the Tunguses a shamanka who was thought superior to male practitioners.<sup>7</sup> Among the Samoyeds of the Turukhansk district, different shamans use different methods, and know various words

<sup>1</sup> Pripuzov, 64.

<sup>2</sup> S—kin: "Kak i vo chto vyeruyut Yakuty." "Sibirskii Sbornik," 133-134.

<sup>3</sup> Gmelin, ii, 358.

<sup>4</sup> Soloviev, Th.: "Ostatki yazychestva u Yakutor." Sbornik gaz. Sibir, i, 414.

<sup>5</sup> Gmelin, ii, 493-496.

<sup>6</sup> Sibirskii Vvestnik, 1822g, ch. 19, 39.

<sup>7</sup> Gmelin, ii, 82-84.

for invocations; women also shamanize among them.<sup>1</sup> Among the Ostyaks, so near akin to the Samoyeds, shamans and shamankas are equally irritable and impressionable.<sup>2</sup> The Buryats distinguish between shamans belonging to a family in which the gift is hereditary, and those who do not number among their kin any such favourite of the gods. The former may offer sacrifices without consecration, and may appease the spirits; those of the second sort would expose themselves to the vengeance of the spirits if they attempted to do this. There are also among them real shamans, *i.e.*, those who are called to the service by the spirits, and spurious shamans, who assume the vocation without such supernatural sanction. But the chief division of the Buryat shamans is founded on this connection with good or evil spirits. The white shamans serve the former, the black shamans deal with the latter. There is a standing feud of a savage character between them. The Buryats tell how the whites and blacks fight, throwing axes at each other from a distance of a hundred versts and more. The struggle generally ends with the death of one of the combatants; the victor is he who has the most numerous and most famous shaman ancestors.<sup>3</sup> The white shaman, the servant of the good gods, the western *tengris*, the western *khats*, is believed by the Buryats to be a good intercessor for mankind; he performs ceremonies and utters invocations only to protecting deities who give wealth and happiness to men, he is therefore much honoured by the people. In the Balagansk department, in the second Olzoev family, there was a famous white shaman named Barlak. He wore a white silk garment, and rode a white horse. At the place where he was cremated there are still iron memorials of him on the trees, and his descendants offer sacrifices there to their mighty ancestor. The black shaman, as the servant of wicked spirits, brings only evil, disease and death. Some of the black shamans can slay men by eating up their souls, or giving them to evil spirits. They only offer sacrifice to the evil spirits—the eastern *tengris*, eastern *khats*, &c. Among the black shamans, the Obosoisk and Torsoisk are especially famous. The Buryats are not particularly fond of black shamans and shamankas, but are very much afraid of them, lest in their wrath they should do some harm, or kill a man with the aid of evil spirits and their black shaman ancestors. Sometimes the hatred for these necromancers reaches such a pitch that a conspiracy is entered into to murder them. There was once a black shamanka in the village of Bazhir, in the department of Balagansk. Her neighbours wished to get rid of her, and hired two black shamans, who, with the aid of evil spirits and their shaman ancestors, were to eat up this hateful woman. They were promised forty head of cattle for their trouble. According to tradition, these two black shamans, Enkher and Birtakshin, could not get the better of the shamanka, and therefore applied for help to the black shaman Khagla. The three of them

<sup>1</sup> Tretyakov, 213.

<sup>2</sup> Velyavskii: "Poyezdka k Ledovitomu moryu," 114.

<sup>3</sup> Shashkov, 82.

with great difficulty at last succeeded in eating up the witch, and were rewarded with the forty head of cattle. The shamanka died, and her neighbours buried her in the following manner. The coffin was made of aspen, and the shamanka was put in it face downwards. Then a deep trench was dug, the coffin was lowered into it, the deceased was nailed to the ground with aspen stakes, aspens were squeezed down upon her, and then the grave was filled up with earth. The Buryats look upon the aspen tree as unclean, and for this reason the shamans do not use it as fuel, lest they be defiled. The aspen coffin signified that the shamanka had become unclean, her position, face downwards, and her impalement with aspen stakes prevented her from doing any hurt to mankind.<sup>1</sup> There are also among the Buryats a few shamans who serve both good and evil spirits.<sup>2</sup>

Such are the chief classes of shamans among the various tribes inhabiting Siberia. The distinctions arise from the very essence of shamanism, but they have nowhere acquired a strictly defined form or developed into a hierarchical system.

*Position of the shamans among their own people.*—These people, remarkable for their mysterious powers, are intimately connected with those features of native Siberian life, which comprise the most important interests of tribes in a low state of development. In the simple life of the races inhabiting the north of Asia, the shaman must play a prominent part. In fact, the shaman, with but few exceptions, occupies a position of special importance among his fellow countrymen. Only among the Chukchis, according to Litke, are shamans not respected, and their functions are limited to healing diseases and performing tricks.<sup>3</sup> The Yakuts have implicit faith in their wizards,<sup>4</sup> whose mysterious performances, taking place amid the most disturbing surroundings, strike terror into those semi-savage people,<sup>5</sup> and it is no wonder that they are afraid of shamans and shamankas.<sup>6</sup> But fear predominates over feelings of respect, and the Yakuts are convinced that their shamans, possessed by spirits, do not die by the will of the gods, and are unworthy of having the angel of death sent to them. They kill one another, by sending their demons for the purpose.<sup>7</sup>

The Tunguses, neighbours of the Yakuts, despite the extending influence of Christianity, now, as in the days of Wrangel,<sup>8</sup> exhibit great confidence in their shamans, and the latter are present at the burial of Christian Tunguses.<sup>9</sup> The Ostyaks show a very great deal of respect to their medicine-men and soothsayers.<sup>10</sup> In the

<sup>1</sup> Khangalov : "Norve materialy," 85-86.

<sup>2</sup> Agapitov i Khangalov, 46.

<sup>3</sup> Erman, 1843, H. 3, 459.

<sup>4</sup> Shchukin : "Yakuty, Zh. M. Vn. Dyel. 1854," 7, 21.

<sup>5</sup> Klark : "Vilyuisk i ego okrug." Zapiski Sib. Otd. I. R. G. O., 1864, kn. vii. 139.

<sup>6</sup> Soloviev : "Ostatki yazychestva u Yakutov." Sbornik gaz. Sibir. 1876g, t. i, 414-415. <sup>7</sup> Pripuzov, 65.

<sup>8</sup> Wrangel, "Reise," ii, 27.

<sup>9</sup> Mordvinov : "Inorodtsy obitayushchie v Turukhanskom kraye." Vjestn. I. R. G. O., 1860, No. 2, 36.

<sup>10</sup> Velyavskii, 113.

south of Siberia, the Buryats give honour to their shamans,<sup>1</sup> the white shamans are universally esteemed and loved, the black shamans and shamankas are disliked but greatly feared.<sup>2</sup> But, according to some authorities, a medicine man loses his prestige in case of the death of a patient he has treated.<sup>3</sup>

The respect and fear inspired by the shamans must necessarily express themselves in a purely external form: honours are paid to them, they fulfil the most important duties, and receive from their timorous fellow-countrymen great material advantages corresponding to the pretended benefits they bring. At Yakut festivals the shamans occupy the highest position; on such an occasion, even a prince kneels before an *oyun* and receives from his hand a cup of *kumys*.<sup>4</sup> In spite of this the Yakut shamans have no special privileges in everyday life, and are in no way distinguished from their fellows; they have a family, a *yurta*, cattle, they mow hay, and do other work.<sup>5</sup> They make, by their professional functions, sums varying from one to five and twenty roubles. When they are unsuccessful they are deprived of their fee. Besides money, the *oyun* gets a share of the sacrificed flesh, and takes it home with him.<sup>6</sup> Gmelin says that one shaman was the *zaisan* (head man) of his kin.<sup>7</sup>

In the Turukhansk country, among the Samoyeds, the famous shaman Tynta was *starosta* of the local board, and shaman and princeling by inheritance.<sup>8</sup> Adrianov met among the Altai Tatars *kams* who held the office of *starosta*, e.g., Stepan, on the river Kandom, Ivan, *bashlyk* of Shelkansk, on the river Lebed,<sup>9</sup> and Helmersen, during his travels on Teletsk Lake, was accompanied by the *zaisan* of the Kergeisk canton, who had been a famous *kam* among the Teleuts.<sup>10</sup> Buryat shamans have a certain distinctive headdress and *coiffure*: among the Alarsk Buryats they wear a silk tuft on the hat; there is a tradition that shamans formerly wore plaits, these were replaced by *queues*, then they took to wearing the hair long on the crown of the head; at present their hair is of equal length all over.<sup>11</sup> Thus in every part of Siberia the shamans have occupied an exceptional position, and have succeeded in acquiring considerable apparent influence, though it frequently happens that their vices and ignorance, or their lack of desire to profit by their advantages, have reduced some of them to an isolated, poverty-stricken condition; e.g., a certain Yakut *oyun* spent the last years of his life, after his wife's death, in loneliness, abandoned by all, excepting a decrepit old witch dog.<sup>12</sup>

*Belief in the supernatural power of the shamans.*—The Siberian necromancers themselves, on the one hand, in order to maintain

<sup>1</sup> Gmelin, ii, 183.

<sup>2</sup> Khangalov: "Novye materialy," 84-85.

<sup>3</sup> Khangalov: "Predaniya i povyeriya Unginskikh Buryat," 21.

<sup>4</sup> Gmelin, ii, 360-363, 505.

<sup>5</sup> Shchukin, "Yakuty," 21.

<sup>6</sup> "Poyezdka v Yakutsk," Izd. N. Shch., 202. V. S.—kii: "Kak i vo chto vyeruyut Yakuty," 130.

<sup>7</sup> Gmelin, ii, 82.

<sup>8</sup> Tretyakov, 113.

<sup>9</sup> Adrianov: "Puteshestvie na Altai i za Sayany," 184, 205.

<sup>10</sup> Helmersen, 57.

<sup>11</sup> Potanin, iv, 56.

<sup>12</sup> V. S.—kii, 134.

their influence, and their credulous fellow-countrymen, on the other hand, employ various means, and invent special beliefs, in order to surround the shamanist profession with a halo of mystery and sanctity, to attribute to its adepts supernatural power.

The shamanist ceremonies of consecration and *kamlanie*, described above, sufficiently exalt these spirit-possessed necromancers; various beliefs connected with the person of the shaman contribute to magnify their sway over the minds of the natives. The Yakuts are convinced that everyone of their *oyuns*, however weak and insignificant, has his *emekhet*, or guardian spirit, and his bestial image, *ie-kyla*, sent down from above; this incarnation of the shaman in the form of a beast is carefully concealed from all. "Nobody can find my *ie-kyla*, it lies hidden far away in the stony mountains of Edzhigansk," said the famous shaman Tyusypyt. Only once a year, when the last snows melt and the earth becomes black, do the *ie-kylas* appear among the dwellings of men. The incarnate souls of shamans in animal form are visible only to the eyes of shamans, but they wander everywhere, unseen by all others. The strong sweep along with noise and roaring, the weak steal about quietly and furtively. Often do they fight, and then the shaman, whose *ie-kyla* is beaten, falls ill or dies. Sometimes shamans of the first-class engage in a struggle, they lie locked in deadly embrace for months, and even years, powerless to overcome each other. The weakest and most cowardly shamans are those of the canine variety; they are wretched in comparison with those who have a wolf or a bear as their animal form: the dog gives his human double no peace, but gnaws his heart and tears his body. The most powerful wizards are those whose *ie-kyla* is a stallion, an elk, a black bear, an eagle or the huge bull boar. The last two are called "devil champions and warriors," and confer great honour upon their possessors.

The *emekhet*, or special spirit, generally a dead shaman, occasionally a secondary deity, always stays near the man it protects. It comes at his call, helps him, defends him, and gives him advice. "A shaman sees and hears only by means of his *emekhet*," declared the Yakut *ayun* Tyusypyt, "I can see and hear over three settlements, but there are some who can see and hear much farther," he added. The Tunguz shamans tell that they only get their power by union with demons. Besides the chief spirit, or devil, to use Gmelin's terminology, the wizard has a host of secondary spirits in his service; he that has most is most powerful. In one finger of the highest devil there is more power than in a multitude of lesser spirits.<sup>1</sup>

Among the Yurats and Ostyaks, the medicine men treat their spirits without ceremony, and even buy and sell them. When the seller has received the price agreed upon, he plaits a few small braids of hair on his head, and appoints a time when the spirits are to go to the purchaser. The proof of the fulfilment of the contract is that the spirits begin to torment their new possessor; if they do

<sup>1</sup> Gmelin, ii, 45-46.



not, it is a sign that the shaman who has purchased them does not suit them.<sup>1</sup> In the same region, that of Turukhinsk, the Samoyeds believe that every shaman has his assistant spirit in the form of a boar. This boar is somewhat like a reindeer, and its lord leads it by a magic belt, and gives it various orders. If the spirit finds the task impossible or dangerous it declines to execute it. On the death of the boar the shaman himself dies; hence the tale of the combat between hostile wizards, who first send their spirits to fight. When the shaman lacks confidence in the power of his familiar he himself goes to fight. The battles of wizards take place by night on high mountain ranges; during these cruel contests huge stones fly from the crags and roll into the abyss. Besides their spirits, the Samoyed shamans also possess magic weapons with which they slay their enemies from a distance. It is by the blow of such an arrow, shot by another shaman, that a sudden fit of illness is explained.<sup>2</sup>

Both among the Teleuts of the Altai and the Buryats, there are tales about the extraordinary power of *kams* and shamans. The first *kam* was a woman. Bogdokhan, in order to test the reality of her power, commanded that an arrow should be shot at her; the woman was not killed, but went on *kaming* more energetically than ever. The Teleuts say that this woman had a child, from whom succeeding *kams* descended. The Buryats of the department of Alarsk have a tradition that the shaman Makhunai was so powerful that when he sat in a sledge it ran without horses. At one time the chief authority of Irkutsk summoned all the shamans, and ordered them to prove the truth of their faith. Makhunai said he was incombustible. He was placed with his tambourine on a stone, and buried under seventy cart-loads of straw, which were then set on fire. When the straw was burnt up the famous shaman emerged unhurt, shaking the ashes from himself. Henceforth the authorities of Irkutsk have allowed the shamans to carry on their profession.<sup>3</sup>

*Funeral of a Buryat shaman.*—The funerals of shamans, and their life in the other world, show clearly that these elect personages, favoured by the gods, must not be classed with other mortals. The Buryat wizard foretells his own death, declares what disease he will die of, and why the gods have punished him thus. After his death, old men of the same village wash the corpse with water consecrated by the addition of juniper and thyme, then they put on a dressing gown, and over that a coat, sometimes both made of silk. Above the coat is placed the *orgoi*, a kind of dressing gown, blue for a black shaman and white for a white one. This sacred garment can only be made by men, women dare not touch it. By the corpse they lay the signs of his profession. All this time the nine "sons of the shaman," young Buryats more than twenty-five years of age, selected from among those who are experienced and acquainted with the rites, sing a funeral song; in this song, which is improvised by the precentor, all the life of the deceased is

<sup>1</sup> Tretyakov, 223-224.

<sup>2</sup> Tretyakov, 212.

<sup>3</sup> Potanin, iv, 288-286.

described, and his virtues are eulogized. The funeral is attended by other shamans, and by the dead man's *naizhis*, i.e., spiritual children, whom he has healed, and to whom he has given amulets. All the amulets are restored to the dead shaman. The *naizhis* also bring various eatables for consumption at the funeral.

The assembled shamans declare the will of the deceased as regards his place of burial, and point out the horse which must be prepared for him. During the three days that the corpse remains in the village it is fumigated with *ledum*, thyme, and fir-bark, while the old men take it in turns to ring the bells on the horse-sticks and beat the tambourine. On the third day an entertainment is got ready, the eatables are packed in bags, and carried to the place where the shaman is cremated.

The horse on which the corpse is carried is ornamented, and caparisoned with a four-cornered piece of blue or white cloth, according to the class the deceased belonged to. At the edges this cloth or *orgoi* is hung with little bells. The horse-cloth is sewed by the same old men who make the funeral *orgoi*.

After three days, the dead man is taken out of his *yurta* and placed upon the horse, an old man sitting behind the corpse; another old man leads the horse. Meantime the nine sons sing, while the old men and the shamans ring little bells and beat the tambourine. The procession moves solemnly along, with halts and various ceremonies.

When the funeral train reaches the grove where the burial is to take place, the corpse is lifted from the horse and seated on a felt carpet, so that it be not defiled by contact with the ground. The "sons" walk round the corpse singing. On the way, an arrow is shot in the direction of the house, and when the return takes place the arrow is picked up and hidden. On a pile of fir logs they lay the saddle-cloth, the horse's *orgoi*, then the dead man with his bridle, his bow and quiver with eight arrows by his head, and his saddle under his head; the pile is then set on fire. The arrows are put there so that the dead shaman may defend himself against hostile men and evil spirits.

On the neighbouring trees they hang the signs of the shaman's profession, and various other objects. At the top of one tree they fix a copper teapot or ladle full of wine, on another a bottle of wine; the shamanist emblems are put in a special wooden box about a foot long, which is fastened by iron bands to the upper part of a tree. Skins of beasts are fastened to the nearest birches, either singly or in groups. After the *trizna* (funeral feast) and the sacrifice of the horse on which the corpse was carried, the mourners depart without looking round, for fear the shaman might carry off to the sky with him anyone who was guilty of curiosity.

For three days the nine sons of the shaman stay in the *yurta* of the deceased, and chant funeral songs as they walk round the table, on which a candle is kept burning all the time. At the end of three days the *naizhis*, kinsfolk, and shamans of the same settlement again assemble, the *naizhis* bringing provisions. They ride to the

burial place and collect the shaman's bones, beginning with the skull, and put them in a blue or white bag, according to the character of the deceased's functions. The bag containing the bones is deposited in a box-shaped hole hewn out in the trunk of a big fir, and the aperture is so skilfully closed up again that it is impossible to find the resting place of the shaman. This tree is called the shaman's fir, and is looked upon as his dwelling place. Whoever cuts down such a fir will perish with all his household. During the ceremony they decide, by various signs, what sort of power the shaman will have, and the shamans present offer prayers to the gods and to the dead man, who is also honoured as a deity: the sons sing songs and make a feast; the remnants of the meat are burnt on camp fires. With this ceremony the funeral of the shaman ends.

In districts inhabited by Buryats in a treeless region, especially on hills, there are often isolated clumps of trees visible from afar. These shamanist groves, the burial places of their medicine men and soothsayers, are called by the people *aikha*, i.e., they are declared to be holy and inviolable; it is forbidden to cut down a tree of them. Any violation of the sacredness of the place is severely punished by the dead shamans, and sometimes brings death on the guilty person. Every tribe, and sometimes even an *ulus* (or village settlement) has its shamanist grove.<sup>1</sup>

*Worship of bokholdois.*—The cult of dead shamans and shamankas occupies an important place in Buryat beliefs. The dead magicians become *bokholdois*, sacrifices are offered to them, they are prayed to for protection against the clutches of other *bokholdois* to whose attacks men are exposed. *Bokholdois* differ in power according to the tribe or *utkha* they belong to. The dead shaman *bokholdoi* protects his own tribesmen and faithfully remembers his kin.<sup>2</sup>

*Shamanist tricks.*—The travellers of the eighteenth century, Gmelin, Pallas, &c., paid particular attention to those performances of the shamans which are of the nature of conjuring tricks, and serve as a manifest proof of the delirious state into which a man passes when he is possessed by a deity. In these tricks it is difficult to distinguish abnormal physiological conditions and self-delusion from conscious simulation and charlatanry.

According to Krasheninnikov, the Koryak shamans thrust knives into their stomachs, and drink their own blood, but these tricks are badly done and are evident impostures. Gmelin also declares that when he asked an old Tungus shaman to perform one of his usual tricks, the shaman refused to pierce himself with a dart in the presence of the sceptical German, and acknowledged the fraud.<sup>3</sup> The severe examination conducted by this traveller frightened a young Yakut witch who enjoyed universal credit, and forced her to reveal the tricks she used in pretending to wound

<sup>1</sup> Agapitov i Khangelov, 53-55.

<sup>2</sup> Batarov: "Buryatskiya poveriya o bokholdoyakh i Anakhayakh." Zap. V. S. O. I. R. G. O. po etnografii, ii, vyp. 2, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Krasheninnikov, ii, 153-159.

herself with a knife; she even slightly wounded herself in reality.<sup>1</sup> Shchukin describes the primitive means employed by the Yakut magicians to convince their uncritical fellow-countrymen of their power. They use a piece of gut filled with blood, and cut it with a knife so that the blood flows out; they put on the stomach several layers of birch bark, and then walk about with a knife thrust into this up to the handle.<sup>2</sup> The ordinary Yakut shamans swallow sticks, eat hot coals and glass, spit out of their mouths a piece of money which has disappeared from their hands in the sight of the spectators; but some of these spirit-possessed people are said, by the Yakuts, to do still more wonderful things. A good shaman will stab himself in three places: the crown of the head, the liver, and the stomach. Sometimes the end of the blade passes through and is seen at the back, and then the "sun," i.e., the iron circle that hangs on the wizard's back, disappears, and is spat out with the knife. Some shamans cut off their heads, laid them on the shelf, and danced about the *yurta* without them. Of one powerful shaman it is said that he had a struggle with a Russian wizard. The Russian, during a *kamlanie* performed by the soothsayer Dzherakhin, cast a charm on his antagonist to prevent him getting up from his seat on the ground. Dzherakhin traced a circle round himself with his drum-stick, and, raising himself from the ground, with the circle, began to leap and kick; his foot struck his Russian enemy so violently that it threw him up against the ceiling. It was only at the earnest entreaties of the defeated Russian that the Yakut wizard let him go. The anonymous author from whom we have borrowed the above facts says that, in his experience, though the Yakuts marvel at such tricks and are glad to see them, yet they do not attach much importance to them; a true shaman is recognised by very different signs. Thus in the Kolymsk district an old shamanka who could do no tricks was much esteemed, while a clever young wizard who could perform the most complicated shamanist miracles was of no repute.<sup>3</sup> The Samoyeds of Tomsk, in addition to the ordinary trick of a shaman allowing himself to be shot in the head with a bullet, a performance which sometimes leads to loss of life, take part in mysterious magic performances, reminding one of spiritist séances. The wizard orders the spectators to bind him hand and foot, and close the shutters; he then summons his familiar spirits. In the dark *yurta* all sorts of voices and sounds are heard. When the noise is at an end, the door of the hut opens, and the shaman enters from the yard, with his feet free.<sup>4</sup>

In a certain Buryat song, the belief that a man in a state of ecstasy, and endowed with miraculous power, can without injury endure torture and wounds, is expressed very clearly. In former times, in Irkutsk, they used to catch young people whose bodies had therapeutic virtue. A Buryat was caught and crucified, and

<sup>1</sup> Gmelin, ii, 493-496.

<sup>2</sup> "Poyezdka v Yakutsk," 202.

<sup>3</sup> V. S.—kii. "Kak i vo chto vyeruyut Yakuty," 134-135.

<sup>4</sup> Castren, 297-298.

pieces of his flesh were cut off with razors and clasp knives for medicinal purposes. The lacerated Buryat felt no pain, and sang.<sup>1</sup> The Buryat shamans wash in fire, walk over a fire bare-footed,<sup>2</sup> and, during a ceremony at the healing of a sick person, perform the following dangerous trick: a red hot ploughshare and axe are taken out of the fire, the medicine man stands with one foot on the hearthstone, and with the other foot rubs the red hot instruments, and then applies this foot several times to the diseased part.<sup>3</sup>

*Belief of the shamans in their vocation.*—There is no doubt that many of the tricks of the shamans may be classed with those of our conjurers, but all their performances cannot be thus explained. The fact that the wizards make use of purely external means, closely connected with various artifices intended to deceive the spectators, does not exclude the possibility of a profound conviction on the part of the shamans that they are chosen for the service of the spirits, have intercourse with them, and possess a mysterious power over the forces of nature. Of course, the belief in their mission must be weakened as foreign influences become more predominant in Siberia. We have already seen how the natives themselves acknowledge that the shamans of former years were stronger, and shamanism naturally deteriorates every year, and some of its representatives become mere charlatans.

The famous Yakut shaman, Tyusypyt, *i.e.*, he who fell from the sky, at the age of twenty became very ill; he began to see and hear things hidden from other men. For nine years he concealed his gift from all, and strove against the tendency, fearing that he would not be believed, and would be laughed at. Tyusypyt went so far as to endanger his life by this self-restraint, and only got relief when he began to *kam*, and now he falls sick if he allows much time to pass without shamanizing. This Yakut *ayun* is passionately devoted to his profession, and has often suffered on this account; his dress and tambourine were burnt, his hair was cropped, he was forced to go to church and make the usual prostrations: he was made to fast. "This is not a trifle to us; our lords (the spirits) are angry with us every time, and it fares ill with us afterwards, but we cannot give it up, we cannot help shamanizing!" was the complaint made to a Russian enquirer. An old blind Yakut, who had formerly been a shaman, affirmed that when he became convinced of the sinfulness of *kamlanie*, and gave up the profession, the spirits were angry, and destroyed his sight. In the village of Bayagantaisk there lives a much esteemed young *ayun*; the Yakuts say that when he shamanizes "his eyes jump out on to his forehead." He is well off, cares nothing for the profits of shamanism, and took an oath to give it up, but every time he met with a "difficult case" he broke his vow.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Zlatoplyav: "Nyekotoryya povyeriya Alarskikh Buryat." Zap. V. S. O. I. R. G. O., i, v. 2, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Gmelin, iii, 72.

<sup>3</sup> Khungalov: "Novye materialy o shamanstvye u Buryat," 111.

• V. S.—kii, 128-129.

Tretyakov describes the physical and mental condition of a soothsayer among the Tunguses of the Turukhansk country. "Gifted with a sensitive nature, he had an ardent imagination, a strong belief in the spirits and in his mysterious intercourse with them; his philosophy was of an exclusive character. Yielding himself up to the creations of his imagination, he became unquiet, timorous, especially at night, when his head was filled with various dreams. As the day appointed for his *kamlanie* approached, he lost his sleep, fell into fits of absence of mind, and looked at one object for hours at a time. Pale, languid, with sharp, piercing eyes, the man produced a strange impression. Nowadays there are few true shamans."<sup>1</sup> The Teleut *kams* are profoundly convinced that their power has been granted from on high. Gmelin says that the devil torments them at night to such an extent that they jump up in their sleep and cry out.<sup>2</sup> The Altaian *kam* Tumchugat narrated that the devil was wont to appear to him during the *kamlanie* in the form of a dark cloud like a ball. While this cloud was present he was unconscious of everything, and said things he knew nothing about. When a missionary advised him to make the sign of the cross he replied, "If I crossed myself the devil would choke me."<sup>3</sup> The Buryat shamans have such a belief in the curative power of their ceremonies that when they are ill they call in their colleagues and have a *kamlanie* performed over themselves, libations of *tarasun* offered to various gods, &c.<sup>4</sup>

Sufficient examples have been given in support of the view that the rise of so complex a phenomenon as shamanism cannot be explained by mere trickery. It is only a profound belief in their vocation that could have created a conviction of the miraculous power of the shamans, and endowed them with that enormous influence which they enjoyed and still enjoy among the Siberian tribes.

*Remains of shamanism in European Russia.*—The tribes of European Russia have naturally been unable to preserve in all their completeness and purity their former heathen beliefs, and it is only from the surviving fragments of old religious opinions that we can form any conclusions as to the character and signification of almost extinct deities, worships, and performers of heathen rites. From the nature of the materials at our disposal, it is impossible to give a full account of shamanism among those tribes; we are therefore obliged to group our facts under the head of the various nationalities rather than attempt an exhaustive general inquiry.

*Samoyed tadibeis.*—Two nationalities, inhabiting the extreme north of Europe, near the polar regions, the Samoyeds and the Lopars, occupy the most prominent position among European shamanists. The Samoyed shamans, called *tadibeis*, are mediators between mankind and the *Tudebtzi*, spirits to whom Num has entrusted terrestrial affairs.<sup>5</sup>

*Johnson's account of a kamlanie.*—Richard Johnson, one of the companions of Stephen Borrow, Chancellor's assistant, who

<sup>1</sup> Tretyakov, 209-210.

<sup>2</sup> Gmelin, i, 278, 285.

<sup>3</sup> Potanin, iv, 76.

<sup>4</sup> Agapitov i Khangalov, 53.

<sup>5</sup> Islavin: "Samoyedy," 109.

made an independent journey in 1556 to the mouth of the Obi, gave such a detailed and picturesque account of the *kamlanie* of a Samoyed *tadibei*, seen by him at the mouth of the Pechora, that we think it indispensable to quote this story by an English traveller of the days of Ivan the Terrible. The Samoyeds, subjects of the Russian Emperor, when they intend to migrate to another place, offer a special sacrifice, the eldest of them acting as priest. A wizard, wearing a peculiar headdress, with his face covered, beat with a stick on a great tambourine and sang with wild cries, the Samoyeds present responding loudly. This went on until the priest became apparently delirious. Finally, he fell on his back, and lay there like a corpse. Johnson asked why he lay there, and was told that the deity was then telling the wizard what the Samoyeds were to do, and whither they were to turn their steps. Then the audience cried out thrice "Ogu!" and the priest rose and continued his chant; in the meantime five reindeers were killed, by his orders, and then the shaman began to do tricks. He stabbed himself with a sword, leaving no wound, he made the sword red hot and thrust it through his body so that the point protruded at the back, and Johnson was able to feel it with his finger. Then the Samoyeds boiled water in a kettle, set up in the *chyum* (hut) a rectangular seat on which they placed the priest, sitting cross-legged, like a tailor, and took the kettle of boiling water over to him. After these preliminaries, the wizard firmly tied round his neck a rope of reindeer skin four feet long, and gave the ends of it to two men who stood at the sides of the seat. When they had covered the shaman with a long garment, the Samoyeds who held the ends of the rope began to pull it in opposite directions, and the English traveller heard the noise of some objects falling into the boiling water; the audience told Johnson that these were the head, shoulder and left hand of the wizard, which had been severed by the rope, but they would not allow him to examine these objects, saying that whoever saw what was hidden from human eyes must die. Soon the shouts and songs of the natives began afresh, and the Englishman twice saw somebody's finger thrust through the garment that covered the shaman; the Samoyeds said that this was not the wizard's finger, for he was already dead, but some unknown animal. Johnson could not find any hole in the garment, though he examined it carefully. The performance concluded with the appearance of the wizard, quite unhurt, who went over to the fire and informed the Englishman that nobody could find out the secrets revealed by the deity during his fit of unconsciousness.<sup>2</sup>

*Conjuring by a Samoyed shaman.*—This ancient description, given by an eye-witness, may be compared with Castren's account of a shaman's intercourse with a *tadebtzi*. A Samoyed is seeking a lost reindeer, and the wizard enters into communication with a spirit. He begins as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Adelung: "Obozryenie puteshestvennikov po Rossii," i, 135, 136.

<sup>2</sup> Certain notes imperfectly written by Richard Johnson, "Hakluyt's Collection." A new ed., 1809, vol. i, 317-318.

"Come, come,  
Spirits of magic,  
If ye come not,  
I shall go to you.  
Awake, awake,  
Spirits of magic,  
I am come to you,  
Arise from sleep."

To this the *tadebtzi* replies :

"Say for what  
Business thou hastenest hither ;  
Why dost thou come  
To disturb our rest ? "

Then the *tadibei* explains his request :

"There came to me  
Not long ago a *nenetz* (Samoyed) ;  
This man  
Persecutes me ;  
His reindeer has run away,  
For this cause  
Behold I am come to you."<sup>1</sup>

A simple, artless melody, somewhat monotonous in sound, appeals to the hearts of the unsophisticated Samoyeds, and helps to make them receive submissively the mysterious decisions communicated to them by the expounder of the will of those spirits that stand between mankind and the supreme deity, Num.

*Dress and implements of the tadibei.*—During his performances, the Samoyed wizard dons a special dress, and makes use of certain magic instruments. The *penzer*, or tambourine of reindeer skin, is always indispensable. The *tadibei* makes his own tambourine, according to certain rules ; he kills a perfectly healthy young male reindeer, prepares its skin in such a way that no veins are left, and dries it over the fire. During all these processes the shaman's *inka* (i.e., wife), as an unclean thing, must keep out of the way.<sup>2</sup> The *penzer* is adorned with copper rings and tin plates ; it is round, and is made of various sizes. The biggest tambourine that Castren saw was a cubit and a quarter in diameter and an eighth of a cubit in height. On it is stretched a thin transparent reindeer skin. The mighty sounds of the magic tambourine penetrate into the dark world of spirits, and cause them to submit to the shaman's will. The *tadibei*'s dress consists of a shirt made of chamois leather, and called *samburtsiya*. It is decked with a border of red cloth. All the seams are covered with red cloth, and on the shoulders there are things like shoulder-straps of the same material. The eyes and face are masked with a rag, because the *tadibei* must enter the spirit world by his inward vision and not with his bodily eyes.

The shaman's head is not covered ; only a band of red cloth is twisted round the nape of the neck, and another round the top of the

<sup>1</sup> Castren : "Reiseerinnerungen," 193-194.

<sup>2</sup> Islavin : "Samoyedy," 112-113.



head. These bands serve to hold up the rag over the face. An iron plate is put on the breast.<sup>1</sup> In some places the *tadibeis* wear a hat with a visor, and deck their chamouis shirts with rattles, pieces of cloth of various colours, &c., making great use of the number seven.<sup>2</sup>

*Origin of Samoyed shamans, and their consecration.*—It is not every one who can become a *tadibei*, generally the post is hereditary, but even in this case the wizard must be chosen by the spirits. In youth he is marked out by the *tadebtsis*, and is sent to learn his art under an experienced shaman.<sup>3</sup>

But the study of the methods of the magic art does not seem to be of much importance, and Castren could not find a single Samoyed able to say in what the instruction of these *tadibei* tutors consisted. One Samoyed told the Finnish scholar that on reaching the age of fifteen he was sent to study under a wizard, because there had been many famous shamans among his kin. Two *tadibeis* tied up the pupil's eyes with a handkerchief, gave him a tambourine, and told him to beat it with a drum-stick. At the same time one wizard clapped the novice on the nape of the neck, while the other clapped him on the back. In a short time the young man's eyes were flooded with light, and he saw a multitude of *tadebtsis* dancing on his arms and legs. We ought to add that the *tadibeis* had first excited their disciple's imagination by various wonderful stories about the Samoyed spirit world.<sup>4</sup>

*Various phases of the tadibeis' professional life.*—The Samoyeds use their wizards chiefly as surgeons and diviners. If, for instance, a credulous inhabitant of the *tundra* has lost a reindeer, he applies to the wizard, who sends his subject spirit to follow the missing beast. "Lie not, for if thou liest it will be bad for me," says the Samoyed soothsayer, "my comrades will laugh at me; tell what thou hast seen, concealing nothing, be it good or ill." The *tadebtsi* mentions the place where he has seen the reindeer, and the shaman sets out with the owners for that place. But it often turns out that the reindeer has already run away, or that another *tadibei*, with the help of his familiar spirit, has blotted out the footprints. Before beginning the *kamlanie*, the wizard enquires carefully into the circumstances under which the reindeer was lost, when and where this happened, whether the Samoyed does not suspect somebody of having stolen it, &c. Gradually a definite opinion is formed, and when the *tadibei* falls into the ecstatic fit, it seems to him that the *tadebtsi* expresses this opinion and enables him to solve the question. A profound knowledge of the simple life of their neighbours, the habit of solving obscure questions by a logic of their own, peculiar talents—all these make it possible for a clear headed man to divine, and to satisfy the demands of the credulous savages.

Castren describes in detail the medical processes of the *tadibeis*. When a Samoyed falls sick, however dangerous the disease may be,

<sup>1</sup> Castren, 192-193.

<sup>2</sup> Islavin, 113.

<sup>3</sup> Castren, 191. Islavin, 109-110.

<sup>4</sup> Castren, 191-192.

nothing is done till the dawn of the next day. During the whole night the shaman takes council with his spirits. If the patient feels a little better in the morning, the wizard may take his tambourine and begin, but if he is no better, it is necessary to wait till the seventh dawn. If by this time no improvement is manifest, the *tadibei* pronounces the patient to be incurable, and does not even try to cure him. When the symptoms are more favourable, the wizard asks the sick man whether he does not know of anybody who might have sent him the disease. A long enquiry takes place, to find out if the patient has fought or quarrelled with anybody, and it is only when the operator has discovered the cause of the illness, asking the *tadebtsi*, if the patient cannot communicate anything, that the *tadibei* decides to begin his treatment. When the infirmity has been sent by the supreme deity, the Samoyed shaman refuses to oppose the divine will, he only combats diseases proceeding from wicked men. He then asks his familiar spirit to help him. The person guilty of the sufferings of the Samoyed who has called in a *tadibei*, himself falls ill. In a song quoted by Castren, the shaman first sends a *tadebtsi* for help to Num. "Do not abandon the sufferer," says he to the spirit, "go up to the deity and ask his aid." The *tadebtsi* does as he is told, but comes back with the answer that Num will not promise his help. Then the *tadibei* asks the spirit himself to give his assistance, but the spirit replies, "How can I help? I am lower than Num, I cannot give any relief." The sorcerer continues to ask the *tadebtsi* to go up again, and persuade Num to grant salvation. The spirit demands that the sorcerer himself should make the journey. The *tadibei* refuses. "I cannot attain to the abode of Num, it is too far for me; if I could approach him myself, I would do it without applying to thee. Since I cannot approach Num, go thou to him." The *tadebtsi* agrees, and says, "I shall go for thy sake, but the deity continually scolds me, and says he will give no promise, &c." In order to test their ability to heal the sick, the *tadibeis*, in addition to a verbal examination, undergo various physical tortures. These latter tests are described in exactly the same way by Richard Johnson and Islavin. If the *tadibei* comes through this ordeal safe and sound, it is taken as a sign that he is possessed by the supreme power, and then his success as a doctor is indubitable.<sup>2</sup>

The Samoyeds are of opinion that internal diseases are frequently produced by the presence of a worm in the belly. In order to find the spot where the cause of the illness lies hidden, they poke about the body with a sharp pointed knife until they find the diseased place. Then the shaman applies his lips and pretends to call the worm, sucks it out, and, taking it from his mouth, shows it to the patient.<sup>3</sup> Lepekhin says that the *tadibeis* take out an external disease with their teeth, while an internal disease, "like a worm having movement," is taken out with the hands, after cutting the body with a knife.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Castren, 194-198.

<sup>3</sup> Islavin, 111.

<sup>2</sup> Islavin, 110.

<sup>4</sup> Lepekhin, iv, 266.

Apparently the Samoyed shamans are not divided into black and white, as among the Buryats; their familiar spirits are not classed as good and evil, but, according to circumstances, they do sometimes good and sometimes ill.<sup>1</sup> The belief in the shamans and their miraculous power is boundless among the Samoyeds, and their influence is very great. They are as a rule the most intelligent and cunning of the whole race. Both men and women may be *tadibeis*.<sup>2</sup>

*Belief of the tadibeis in their own power.*—As regards the belief of the Samoyed shamans in their own power, the opinions of eye-witnesses of their magic differ. Thus, Mr. Maksimov is convinced that in every case the *tadibei* is a cheat, who cleverly abuses the simplicity of his countrymen, and hoaxes them merely to get *vodka*. During a *kamlanie* in presence of the Russian traveller, the sooth-sayer was slightly in his cups, and Mr. Maksimov saw in his face a roguish smile and a treacherous twitching of the left eye. Castren affirms that the *tadibei* thoroughly believes in the miraculous origin of the soothsayings proceeding from the mouth of a *tadebtsi*, created by his own fancy. A proof of the honesty of the *tadibeis* was their quiet religious tone, and the complete unanimity of all those with whom Castren spoke. He says that the *tadibeis* very often acknowledged that they cannot call their *tadebtsi*, or, that when the spirit answers the summons they cannot get a satisfactory response. This happens even when the *tadibei* would be at no loss to invent some sort of answer. I. I. Maksimov and Castren, notwithstanding their apparent disagreement, are both quite right. If the *tadibeis* were merely cheats, then, in those times when the Samoyed race was subject to no foreign religious influences, we must suppose that the wizards did not share the religious beliefs of their fellow-countrymen, but, in the midst of savages sunk in superstition, were a sort of rationalists, alien to the religious philosophy of the other Samoyeds. Such an explanation cannot be held to be scientific, and Castren correctly analyses their mental condition of the *tadibeis*, when he represents them as deceiving themselves as well as others. When the Samoyed race came into contact with more cultured peoples, professing Christianity, their former, coarse, naive faith was naturally shaken; shamanism degenerated, and the modern *tadibeis*, being men gifted with relatively stronger mental powers, gradually approached the type of cunning cheats described by Mr. Maksimov.

*Shamanism among the Lopars.*—The Lopars of the present day have hardly preserved any of their former heathen beliefs. Shamanism among them can only be studied in books; in writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we find many interesting facts relating to the religious ideas of the Norwegian and Swedish Lopars. Concerning the Russian Lopars we have but few historical data, and we are therefore obliged to study Lopar shamanism in foreign sources, especially Scandinavian; still there are a few shamanist survivals among our Lopars. Johann Scheffer,

<sup>1</sup> Lepekhin, iv, 262.

<sup>2</sup> Maksimov, 501-505.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

a German *savant* of the seventeenth century, published, in 1764, a Latin work on Lapland and its inhabitants. This book contains rich material collected from the writings of Scandinavian travellers, referring especially to the ethnography of the Swedish Lopars. The chief authority for the Norwegian Lopars is the Danish jurist Henrik Jessen, whose book on the heathen religion of the Norwegian Finns and Laplanders was printed in 1767. Klemm, in his "Culturgeschichte," has reproduced all the essential part of Jessen's work.

*Kamlanie of the Lopar noids.*—The Lopar shamans, *noaids* or *noids*, were so famous that Lapland was looked upon in olden times as the school of witchcraft. The neighbouring people sent their children to the Laplanders to learn magic.<sup>1</sup> Nowadays, *noids* only exist among the Russian Lopars; they are feeble descendants of the former magicians, mere wizards who have, however, preserved the ancient shamans' name.<sup>2</sup>

The Lapland wonder-worker prepared himself for *kamlanie* by fasting one day; in cases of exceptional importance several shamans assembled in one tent. Sometimes the ceremony was repeated, especially when they wished to know to what deity sacrifice must be offered. If sacrifice was of no avail, a journey had to be undertaken to the land of shadows (*yabme aimo*). For such an expedition a famous *noid* was selected, possessed of the best magic instruments. In the holy place the shaman asked a *yabmekka*, or dead kinsman, to protect the reindeer. But the chief object of the journey was to conjure the gods, dwelling in *yabme aimo*, that they should postpone their summons, to the kingdom of shades, of a sick man lying on his death-bed, and allow him to remain some time longer among the living. When the journey was about to begin, the *noid* assembled as many men and women as possible, and taking his tambourine, began to beat it with all his might, meanwhile singing, accompanied by all who were present. The noise, and his wild movements, put the wizard into a delirium. Resting the tambourine on his knees, he leaped with extraordinary agility and rapidity, making the strangest motions, till he fell down insensible, like a dying man. He lay thus for an hour, till another *noid*, who had made the same journey, roused him. The *noids* unanimously affirmed that the snake *Saiva Guelle*, frightened by their cries, appeared before them, and carried them on its back to *yabme-aimo*. In case the spirits would not fulfil the demands of the shaman, he entered into a dangerous struggle with them.<sup>3</sup> Regnard, a French traveller of the seventeenth century, thus describes a *noid's kamlanie*: "The magician's eyes rolled, his face changed in colour, his beard became disordered. He beat his tambourine with such force that it seemed ready to break. Finally he fell rigid as a stick. All the Lopars present took great

<sup>1</sup> Schefferus: "Lapponia," 120-121.

<sup>2</sup> N. Kharuzin: "O Noidakh u drevnikh i sovremennykh Loparei." Etnogr. Obozr., kn. i, 63.

<sup>3</sup> Klemm: "Culturgeschichte," iii, 85, 76-77.

care that nobody approached the diviner when he was in this condition; even flies were driven away and not allowed to settle on him. . . . The Lopar lay like a corpse for a quarter of an hour, and then he gradually came to himself, and began to look at us with a wandering gaze. After looking at us all, he turned to me, and said that his spirit could not obey him, because I was a stronger magician than he, and my spirit was stronger than his." Another traveller, the Italian Acerbi, who visited Lapland at the end of the eighteenth century, quotes a fragment of a song sung by the shaman and his male and female assistants. The shamanist songs had their words strictly defined, and to forget one word would lead to the death of the shaman. "Cursed wolf, go hence, and stay no longer in these woods! Get thee to the uttermost parts of the earth; if thou wilt not depart may the huntsman slay thee!" This song had the power of protecting a flock from wolves.<sup>1</sup>

*The Lopar tambourine.*—The tambourine, which was once among the chief instruments of the Lapland wizards, is now a great curiosity. According to Samuel Ren, the tambourine was generally used for four purposes: by its help they found out what was going on in distant lands, it indicated the successful or unsuccessful issue of an enterprise or a human illness; it was also used to heal diseases; it taught the Lopars what sacrifices to offer and what kind of animal ought to be immolated to the gods.<sup>2</sup> The tambourine (*Kannus, Kvobdas*) was made of spruce, fir or birch wood. The tree from which the wood was taken must grow in a certain place; this showed that it was agreeable to the sun and the heavenly deities. There were two kinds of tambourine: one was a wooden hoop strengthened with two crossed beams and covered with skin, the other was an oval flat box hewn out of a piece of a tree trunk, and also covered with leather. Klemm gives the external description of several tambourines in his collection. The most important feature of the Lopar tambourine is the drawing executed on it with red paint prepared from alder bark. The pictures vary according to the character of the owner of the instrument. Generally they represent celestial deities, spirits, the sun, the stars, various animals, e.g., bears, wolves, otters, foxes, also lakes, forests, and men. On the tambourine sketched by Jessen, forty-five subjects were represented. On an instrument preserved in the Royal Museum at Dresden, one sees, in the upper division, the chief celestial deity Radien Attie and his only son Radien Kidde; to the left of these are the three persons of the Christian trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; in the middle is Baive, the sun, a ring girt with rays, in the midst of which is an indistinct human figure. The sun is connected by a stroke with a line which cuts off a special region, possibly Lapland. In this region is delineated a figure whose head is protected by two, apparently shamanist, instruments, as well as two fishes representing animal guardians; the feet stand

<sup>1</sup> N. Kharuzin: "O Noidakh," 55-56.

<sup>2</sup> Schefferus: "Lapponia," 133.

on bars leading from the terrestrial to the upper world; the left foot is on a road, showing the shaman how he may penetrate thither; there are two fishes and two birds by the man, and on his left stands a wolf representing the dog of the evil spirit Rutu. The right foot of the *noid* points to a road leading to the three good spirits placed near Radien Attsie. This man united with Baive, the good spirits, and Rutu, in all probability was a symbol of a powerful *noid*, having intercourse with the spirit world. Besides the chief figures, many animals are to be seen on the widest part—foxes, a pig, a goat, an arrow aimed at a young seal, eight circles representing stars, perhaps the constellation of the little bear, and a large double circle for the moon.<sup>1</sup>

• With each tambourine there is an indicator and a hammer. The indicator consists of a large iron ring on which smaller rings hang. There are indicators made of copper, some of bone, and some plain metal rings. The hammer is made of reindeer horn. The Lopars treat their tambourines with the greatest respect, and wrap them up, with the indicator and hammer, in fur. No woman dares to touch a tambourine.<sup>2</sup>

*How men become noids.*—The profession of *noid* was not open to all. When a young Laplander had an exceptional liking for this occupation, it meant that the *tonto*, or spirit, had called him to be a shaman. The *tonto* appeared to its worshippers in lonely walks, after sleep or excessive drinking. The underground spirit instructed the adept, and when he was sufficiently skilled in the magic art the ceremony of consecration took place.<sup>3</sup> Ionn Tornei says, "If the devil find any man fit to serve him, he afflicts him with disease from childhood, so that there appear unto him divers shapes and visions; and he learns what pertains to his art."<sup>4</sup>

At the present day also, the power of necromancing among the Russian Lopars may come by nature, but it is generally inherited. When a wizard dies, he "blesses with witchcraft," as the Lopars say, his son or daughter.

In the parish of Notozersk there lives a Lopar woman named Afimya Egorovna, who was born in the parish of Pazryelsk; to her is attributed the power of practising witchcraft. When her father lay dying he asked her, "With what shall I bless thee, Afimyushka?" She was silent. Something fell down outside in the street; the man started, began to rave and shamanize. When he came to himself she said, "What frightened thee? It was only something that fell in the street." He replied, "With this alone do I bless thee—there is nothing else with which I can." Henceforth she began to be excitable, and knows a little about witchcraft.<sup>5</sup>

Concerning the way in which the devils themselves select shamans, there is a tale current at Lake Paias. Not very long ago there lived on the shore of the lake a Lopar and his wife. They had three sons. The father and mother went out fishing on the

<sup>1</sup> Klemm, iii, 90-95.

<sup>2</sup> Klemm, iii, 98-99.

<sup>3</sup> Klemm, iii, 83.

<sup>4</sup> Schefferus: "Lapponia," 122.

<sup>5</sup> N. Kharuzin: "O Noidakh," 63-64.

lake and left the children alone. In the absence of their parents, three handsome youths used to come every day to the children. When it was time for the parents to return, the youths went away, saying, "When you grow up we shall all live together as inseparable comrades. But you must not tell your father and mother that we come to you, and what we say to you." Once the youngest son, for some reason or other, told his parents what took place in their absence. The parents were alarmed lest somebody should steal their children, and therefore moved to the other side of the lake. The youths never appeared again. But soon afterwards the three boys died. Then the parents guessed that under the form of the three youths there had come devils, left after the death of some *noid*, and had wished to serve the boys, but since the parents had moved away the spirits had left them.<sup>1</sup> These two stories are characteristic of the various ways in which shamans acquire their magic power. Some wizards gain it by belonging to a certain family, others by the choice of the spirits. But in every case, in older times, it was necessary that the *noid* should be fully developed physically and mentally, and a man more than fifty years of age, or who had lost his teeth, could not be a wizard and servant of the spirits.<sup>2</sup>

One of the most sacred rites of the heathen Lopars was christening, *lyaugo*, i.e., bathing, as they called it. It was then that the Lopar child received his name. Women performed the ceremony. Every time the child fell ill, the christening was repeated and the name was changed. There were adult Lopars who had been christened three or four times. Every *noid* was solemnly subjected to this rite before he assumed his rank. The christening of the *noids* was called *odde-nabma-tsiadtset*. The consecration of shamans was not accompanied by any solemn ceremony; it was limited to an assembly of old *noids*. One of them sat down on the ground at the door of the tent, and interlaced his legs with the legs of the candidate. The former sang and beat his tambourine, and the spirits penetrated into the tent, through the legs of the *noids*, only visible to the newly consecrated shaman. When the other *noids* were convinced of the presence of the spirits, the newly consecrated man was declared to be a shaman, and with this the ceremony ended.<sup>3</sup>

*Divination*.—We have already shown how the Lapland shamans healed the sick, but their duties were not confined to this. A very important part of their business was divination of every kind, and the sending of misfortunes to men. For divination they took a tambourine, put on it the ring-indicator, called *arpa*, and, by the blows of the hammer on the tambourine, set the ring in motion. It passed from one finger to another, and thus indicated what it was desired to know.<sup>4</sup>

During the ceremony the wizard knelt. If it was necessary to find out whether an enterprise, e.g., a hunting expedition, would be

<sup>1</sup> N. Kharuzin: "O Noidakh," 72-73.

<sup>3</sup> Klemm, iii, 77-78, 84.

<sup>2</sup> Klemm, iii, 85.

<sup>4</sup> Schefferus, 130-131.

successful, several rings were placed on the tambourine; if the ring followed the course of the sun it was a good omen, if it went to the left it was unfavourable. They also found out in this way what animals were to be killed, and the easiest road to a place.<sup>1</sup>

When choosing animals for sacrifice, the shaman beat the tambourine, and all the men and women present sang, "What sayest thou, great holy god? Wilt thou take the sacrifice I have appointed for thee?" In the song they mentioned the hill on which they wished to offer the sacrifice. If the deity desired the sacrifice, the ring stopped motionless where he was delineated, if not, they addressed another, until the ring indicated a god who wanted a sacrifice.<sup>2</sup>

*Sacred animals of the noids.*—All the cures, and all the mysterious rites of the *noids* were performed with the aid of three kinds of animals, *Saivo*, dwelling in the realm of shadows. These were: the bird *saivo-lodde*, the fish or snake *saivo-guelle* or *guarms*, and the reindeer *saivo-sarva*. The appellation common to them all was *vuoige*. The birds were of different sizes—swallows, sparrows, partridges, eagles, swans, &c. They were of every possible colour: some were black and some white, some black on the back, white underneath, others were reddish, tawny, green and variegated. Among these birds, the most remarkable were called *vuornis lodde*; these were especially harmful to mankind. On their wonderful birds the *noids* were conveyed from place to place with great rapidity. The fishes and snakes were also of various sizes; the snakes were symbols of the power and art of the shamans their possessors. The snakes were often 9 feet long; they were used for doing harm to people, and for journeys in the heavenly regions. The reindeer was sent by the shaman to fight, on behalf of a sick man, with the reindeer belonging to the wizard who had sent the illness. The stronger the reindeer was, the stronger was its master the *noid*.

*The sending of diseases.*—The Laplanders portrayed in a vivid manner the method in which the mischief-making birds produced trouble among men and beasts. They flew to the *noid*, sat down by his side and shook out of their feathers a multitude of poisonous insects, like lice, called magic flies, *gan*. If these flies fell on men or beasts they brought sickness and other misfortunes. The *noids* carefully gathered up these insects, but never touched them with bare hands, and kept them in boxes, using them to do injury. It sometimes happened that the *gans* crawled out of the boxes; in this case the *noids* borrowed from one another these poisonous insects, and repaid the loan when the birds came back again. But the Lapland wizards did not often oblige one another in this way. Another engine was a magic mace. This was made in the form of an axe, and imbued with a powerful poison. The shaman had only to touch with it a man or beast to make them ill, and a disease thus caused could only be cured by the *noid* who caused it.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Klemm, iii, 99.

<sup>2</sup> Klemm, iii, 74-75, 84, 101.

<sup>3</sup> Schefferus, 109-110.



*Classification of the noids, and belief in their power.*—There was no division into exclusively good and bad shamans among the Lopars. Both men and women were allowed to enter the profession. But all *noids* were not equally respected, and their power varied. A clever shaman could by the help of his magic do easily what an inexperienced novice performed with difficulty. The spirits sent by the former produced more serious diseases, and he made larger profits by exercising his healing power.<sup>1</sup> Modern *noids* also are of different value. Whilst some Lopars are only "slightly wizards," others are famous over a large extent of country, and their services are asked for in distant parishes, for healing or divination.<sup>2</sup>

The profound belief of the Lopars in the miraculous power of their wizards is illustrated by various traditions, quoted by Mr. Kharuzin in his book on "The Noids among the ancient and modern Lopars." Opposite a fishing bank lie the Ainov Islands, famous for their splendid cloudberryes (*moroshka*). The Lopars of Pazryetsk tell a story about the origin of these islands, to the effect that there lived once, in the days before Christianity was introduced, in the parish of Pechengsk, three giant brothers who were *noids*. They had but few reindeer, and they told their mother they would go to Norway, cut off a piece of land, and bring it away with reindeer and other wealth upon it. A long time after they had left home, their mother in a dream saw them returning. She ran out of the hut, and, hearing a noise, cried, "See! my children are coming, they bring goods, oxen, young reindeer; they spoke truth." But strict silence is indispensable while the *noids* are engaged in sorcery; the violation of this rule was punished by the spirits: the woman, for crying out, was turned into stone, the whole parish turned into stone; the *noids* and the reindeer were drowned in trying to swim ashore, and the piece of stolen ground formed two islands.<sup>3</sup>

*Story about Riz.*—The *noids* are feared by the Lopars even after death. "There once lived in Notazar a *noid* named Riz. He did much good and much ill to men. At last he grew old and fell sick. All thought he would recover, but it was not so. Soon he died, yet men came to fear him more than when he was alive. A coffin they made, and laid him therein, but no man was found to bear him to the grave, for he, being a wizard, might arise by the way and devour the other. His sons, even, dared not carry him to burial. At last, one of his own kind, a *noid* to wit, agreed for a reward to take away the body. He drove away with him in the evening, so that the funeral might happen next day. At first the reindeer went very well, but suddenly, at midnight, they took fright. The driver looked in front and to the sides, but nobody could he see or hear. Then he looked back, and saw the corpse sitting behind him. Fear fell upon him, but, being himself a wizard, he cried out, 'Since thou art dead, lie down!' The corpse lay down as it was bidden. Some time after, the reindeer again took fright. He looked behind him and saw the *yammii* (corpse) sitting up again.

<sup>1</sup> Klemm, iii, 85.<sup>2</sup> Kharuzin: "O Noidakh," 163.<sup>3</sup> Kharuzin, 66.

He leaped out of the *kerezhi* (sledge), took from his girdle a knife, and said, 'Lie down or I shall cut thy throat.' At sight of the knife the dead man's teeth became iron, and the *opas* (driver) was sorry he had shown the knife. He should have shown a stick or log, and then the teeth would have become wooden. Yet the corpse once again lay down. The driver went on, but he knew now that if the dead man rose a third time he would be eaten, so he drove to a fir tree, jumped off the sledge, tied up the reindeer, and then climbed the tree as fast as he could. At last he reached the top, but just then the dead *noid* had risen and come out of the sledge. The corpse gnashed his glittering iron teeth, but his hands remained crossed on his breast; he came to the fir tree, walked round it several times and began to gnaw it. First he gnawed the branches, and this did not take long. Then he gnawed the trunk. He gnawed like a glutton, and large chips flew away from his sharp teeth. At last the fir tree began to shake. The driver saw that he was in a sad plight, and began to break off branches and throw them down. The corpse, seeing this, thought the tree was falling, and ceased to gnaw. Thus the driver several times interrupted the corpse's work; this he did knowing that if he could not prevent the fir from falling before dawn he would be safe, for at dawn the corpse would lie down and die. The corpse, however, guessed the trick at last, and went on gnawing without paying any heed to the falling branches. Then the driver began to crow like a cock, so that the dead man would take fright, thinking the morning was come. He crowed several times, but the corpse only looked towards the east, and, seeing no sign of dawn, went on gnawing. Seeing that his efforts were vain, the driver was afraid. He decided to go down quietly, so that the corpse might think he was yielding of his own free will. The corpse ceased to gnaw, and waited. The man crawled slowly down. At last the dawn appeared, and the driver cried out, 'Day dawns; get into thy coffin!' The dead *noid* saw the dawn, was terrified, went back to the sledge, and lay down in his coffin. The driver came down from the fir tree, shut up the coffin, harnessed the reindeer, and drove to the burial place. On his arrival he dug a grave, and let the coffin down into it sideways, so that the corpse should not rise; he knew that if the *noid* were buried on his back or face he would walk by night. He filled up the grave and hurried home. When he reached the village he told all that had happened, and the people feared greatly. For six or seven years few dared to pass the grave, and they that did, heard as it were the voice of one weeping and howling.<sup>1</sup>

*Votyak shamans. The tuno.*—Among the other tribes of European Russia we only find survivals of shamanism, and information about former times is scanty. Among the Votyaks, there is a complex spiritual hierarchy which includes the following: *tuno* or *usto tuno*, wise, knowing wizard, *pellyaskis*, and *vedin murt* or *ubir*.<sup>2</sup> The *tuno*,

<sup>1</sup> Kharuzin: "O Noidakh," 73-75.

<sup>2</sup> Buch: "Die Wotyaken," 126-127.

or fortune teller, plays a leading part in Votyak society. He heals diseases, finds things that are lost, gives advice about changes of residence, and other perplexing circumstances of life. Through him the gods communicate their dissatisfaction with individuals or whole villages. The *tuno* decides what sacrifice will appease the gods, and selects the priests agreeable to particular deities. The fortune-teller indicates the disrespectful behaviour which leads ancestors to take vengeance on their descendants; he alone knows how to protect men from this vengeance. He can foretell the future, and experienced *tunos* can even struggle with the gods. Thus, in a certain village a *tuno* fought with Keremet, one of the most terrible of the gods. First of all the *tuno* was victorious, and made the god withdraw his demand for sacrifice. but afterwards they made peace; the Votyak sorcerer acknowledged Keremet's power, and agreed that the villagers should offer sacrifice, but the value of the latter was reduced.

The *tunos* find out the will of the gods directly from the latter by visiting their sanctuary, or falling into an ecstatic trance.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bogaevskii describes the *kamlanie* of a *tuno* on the appointment of new priests (sacrificers). The *tuno* must live a long way from the village in question, and thus be an unprejudiced person entirely unconnected with the village needing priests. Immediately on his arrival, the *tuno* is taken into the bath, and the people assemble in the room where the ceremony is to take place. When all is ready, a musician appears, and begins to play on the *gusli* (psaltery). There is a special sacred melody for this rite, and the *gusli* is the only musical instrument allowed. On the table, which is covered with a white cloth, there are three loaves and bottles of *kumys* brought for the ceremony by every family. After the bath, the *tuno* is dressed in white raiment. As he enters the room, a white cloth is put on his head, a silver coin is dropped in a wooden cup full of *kumys*, and then the *tuno* begins his work. Former priests surround him, and gird him with a white cloth. After some conjuring, the *tuno* stands up and, to the sound of the *gusli*, begins to dance, holding in his hands a sword, and a riding whip the handle of which must be of *tubylga*, i.e., meadow-sweet, for the Votyaks believe that unclean spirits are afraid of this plant. Kirillo, a Votyak peasant of the village of Kurchum, told Mr. Bogaevskii that the dance takes place round a sword which is stuck in the ground in the middle of the hut. During the dance, the *tuno* becomes delirious, and cries out the names of the future priests. If the names mentioned are not correct, i.e., if there are no such people in the village, the dance is renewed.<sup>2</sup> The delirium becomes so violent that several strong men have to hold the *tuno* while he is inspired. The words chanted by the wizard are an invitation to the deity to come down to him and

<sup>1</sup> Bogaevskii: "Ocherki religioznykh vozzrenii Votyakov." Etnogr. Obozr., iv, 123-124.

<sup>2</sup> Bogaevskii: "Ocherk byta sarapulskikh Votyakov." Sbornik materialov po etnogr. izd. pri Dashkovskom Etnogr. Muzeye., V. iii, 28-29.

Speak through his lips : " Come down and be gracious to us, Inva ! We, Votyaks, assembled together pray to thee."<sup>1</sup>

*How the rank of tuno is attained.*—The *tuno's* art is handed on from father to son, and it is only specially gifted persons who can have intercourse with the gods without this inherited qualification. There are Votyak traditions showing how a wizard gains his supernatural knowledge. The spirit who instructs generally appears at night, in the form of a grey-haired old man in a long robe, and demands strict secrecy, under pain of various diseases. The science consists in the repetition of words from a certain book. In the story there are very ancient features mingled with others which are quite modern. Kylchin Inmar himself, the supreme god, instructs some *tunos*. Inmar appears to the favoured person at night, in company with a wizard who has already been enlightened, leads out the pupil, to the sound of the *gusli*, either into the fields, or to a deep ravine, or to rivers of enormous breadth over which strings are stretched. In the field, the pupil of the mysteries sees seventy-seven firs, the needle-shaped leaves of which are being counted by many wizards. He that can count them all in an hour is allowed by Inmar to cast spells and ruin men. At the ravine, which is seventy-seven *sazhens* (*sazhen* = 7 feet) broad, the god gives to those who can fill the ravine with water from their mouths in one year power to do harm. To test his abilities, the future *tuno* is made to dance on tight strings several times ; he that does not fall once will be the cleverest.<sup>2</sup> In these Votyak tales it is probable that reminiscences have been preserved of those visions which surrounded the shamanist adept during his solitary meditations, and his secret interviews with the *tuno* who instructed him in the magic art.

*Position of the shaman.*—At first sight it is difficult to reconcile two statements by different ethnographers regarding the degree of respect shown by the Votyaks to their *tunos*. Buch says that the *tuno* is generally some drunken rascal, or a poor, despised peasant, and therefore is not respected.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Bekhterev, quoted in Mr. Bogaevskii's article, affirms that, " to transgress the orders of the *tuno* is to transgress the sacred law, and the neglect of his instructions may bring the greatest misfortune and misery."<sup>4</sup> But there is no contradiction in these two statements ; it is only necessary to remember that the Votyak wizards are a decaying institution of that ancient heathenism which is breaking down under Russian influence. Besides this, it is necessary to distinguish the relations between the Votyaks and their wizards in everyday life from those which exist during the *kamlanie*, when all present believe that the deity himself speaks through them, and reveals commands which cannot be neglected. At the present time, it is only a man who can be chief shaman. The power of the *tunos* is

<sup>1</sup> Bogaevskii : " Ocherki religioznykh predstavlenii Votyakov," 124.

<sup>2</sup> Bogaevskii : " Ocherki religioznykh predstavlenii Votyakov," 126-127.

<sup>3</sup> Buch, 126.

<sup>4</sup> Bogaevskii : " Religioznyye predstavleniya," 124.

not identical, it depends on their abilities, and the power of the god they serve.<sup>1</sup>

*Pellyaskis and vedin*.—The shamanist functions among the Votyaks, as among some other peoples, are distributed. Besides the chief wizard, or *tuno*, there are inferior wizards called *pellyaskis* and *vedin*. Not only a man, but a woman, young or old, may be a *pellyaskis*; the *pellyaskis* heals diseases, finds lost property, but has not direct intercourse with the gods, and cannot do all that the *tuno* does. In pronouncing his magic utterances the wizard blows, and from this the name is derived. The *vedin* is exclusively malicious and harmful; he receives his power from evil spirits: sends diseases, and can turn human beings into animals. This black shaman can metamorphose himself, flies in the air, and even attacks the sun, the god of health, who is at enmity with the spirits of sickness, he darkens the sun, and produces eclipses; but his triumph is short-lived; the sun always emerges victorious from the struggle.<sup>2</sup>

To acquire and maintain influence over their fellow-countrymen, the Votyak *tunos* employ various methods; their forms of divination are especially interesting. A *tuno* named Grigorii told Mr. Bogaevskii that in order to discover the cause of a disease he usually looked at silver; if the silver was tarnished, the illness was due to the evil eye; if a spell had been cast over the patient, two roads were visible on the silver. F. Miller mentions two methods of divination: the wizard takes forty-one beans, and by moving them about on a table finds out the place, day, hour, and beast for sacrifice to an offended deity. Sometimes the *tunos* place on the hand a little snuff, or pour wine on to it, mix it up with a shovel or a knife, look into it for some time, and then give their responses.<sup>3</sup>

*Votyak charms*.—Mr. Bogaevskii copied down from a *tuno* several charms. We quote one against the evil eye (*urok*), and another against the wilful sending of illness:—

1. "Blue eyes, green eyes, black eyes, have cast the spell of the evil eye. *Urok* (evil eye)! . . . If thou canst cause new leaves to grow on the tree that has fallen to the ground and rotted, then cast thy spell! There are seventy-seven birds; kiss all the children of all these birds, and then cast thy spell. There are seventy-seven ants' nests; when thou hast kissed the children of all the ants, then cast thy spell. In heaven plays Kylchin-Inmar; he plays with a golden ball in his hands; if thou canst throw this ball out of the hands of Kylchin-Inmar, then cast thy spell!" (Copied down from the Yushinsk *tuno*, Grigorii.)

2. "If thou canst twine together seventy-seven mountain ashes growing through an ant's nest, then only canst thou eat and drink this man. Until thou unitest seventy-seven trees killed by lightning, I shall not let thee eat and drink me. I shall not give myself to be eaten up by thee till thou pourest seventy-seven

<sup>1</sup> Bogaevskii, *ibid.*, 125, 127.

<sup>2</sup> Buch, 127.

<sup>3</sup> Bogaevskii: "Religioznyiye predstavleniya Votyakov," 125.

baths into one. Venture not to touch me till thou turnest seventy-seven millstones into one. Venture not to eat and drink me till thou causest seventy-seven stripped lime trees to grow with new bark and branches. I shall not yield to thee till thou makest a thousand big stones into one pebble. I shall not yield till thou makest seventy-seven cross-roads into one. I shall not yield to thee till thou causest all the rivers in the world to run back to their sources. There are seventy-seven hidden gold rings; till thou findest all these rings I will not yield . . . When thou hast kissed thine ears and the back of thy head seventy-seven times, then thou mayest eat and drink me up. I shall not yield to thee until thou canst turn the dust flying in the air into an endless gold chain. None of these things hast thou done, therefore touch not this man." (From a *tuno* of Vaminsk.)

*Shamanist survivals among the Cheremises and Chuvashes.*—The remains of shamanism among the Cheremises and Chuvashes have much in common. The Cheremisian wizards foretell the future, heal diseases, cast spells, and decide what sacrifice should be offered to any god.<sup>1</sup> Their methods vary; they cast beans, or look into water poured out in a vessel<sup>2</sup>; they pour water on the back of the victim, and if it trembles it is fit for the god.<sup>3</sup> Phthisis and death are sent by means of a powder made of the hair of men and beasts.<sup>4</sup> Some spells are handed down as secrets from father to son; if they are discovered they lose their power. One of the spells quoted by Father Mikhail Krovovskii preserved some traces of a shamanist *kamlanie*. The wizard, taking a glass of wine, turns with it to the sun, whispers some unintelligible words, at the same time blowing and spitting on the glass, and to the sides. Occasionally he stretches himself, as if he were sleepy, or mixes his ingredients with a knife, which he then throws behind him. After all these ceremonies the wizard gives the patient medicine.<sup>5</sup> The Cheremis wizards produced the impression that they were the most cunning and intelligent of their race.<sup>6</sup> Among the lowland Cheremises they bear the Tatar name *kart*, i.e., old man, among the highlanders they are called *muzhan*, and, like the Siberian shamans, don a special dress during the performance of their rites. Their dress consists of a long white blouse without folds, with a red piece of fustian let in to the breast, and a black piece on the back. The Cheremisian wizards wear on their heads a tall hat of birch bark.<sup>7</sup>

Among the Chuvashes, wizards are called *iemzya*. Both men and women become *iemzyas*.<sup>8</sup> They are at once wizards, priests, and leeches; they heal with herbs, and tell fortunes by means of

<sup>1</sup> Nurminskii: "Ocherk religioznykh vyerovaniï Cheremis." Pravos. Sobyes., 1862g, kn. xii, 273-274.

<sup>2</sup> Rychkov: "Zhurnal ili dnevnyia zapiski," 86.

<sup>3</sup> Smirnov: "Cheremisy," 155.

<sup>4</sup> Nurminskii, 274.

<sup>5</sup> Krovovskii: "Gornye Cheremisy." Zh. M. Vn. D., 1853g., ch. 41, 233-324.

<sup>6</sup> Rychkov, 85.

<sup>7</sup> Zolotnitskii: "Kornevoi Chuvashskorusskii slovar," 165.

<sup>8</sup> Zolotnitskii, 165.

coals, salt, and bread.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Magnitskii gives a long list of *iemzyas*, with a description of their occupations. Thus, in the village of Maslovo, there lives Aunt Tatyana, the chief *virusse*, i.e., enchantress, who blows while uttering her charms. She mends broken legs and arms, reclaims young men from drunkenness, and knows how to stimulate and chill love. Another, Aunt Vasilisa, possesses the art of casting spells on the stomach. Two others, Aunt Ustinya and Natalya Maksimovna have the power, one, of knowing a person's destiny by the eyes, the other of uttering a charm against the *domovoi* (house spirit, brownie), and against paralysis. In the village of Semenchin is a blind man named Arkhip Andreev; he defines the names of spirits, appoints the sacrifices, and knows all the ritual for sacrifices. In the village of Kovaly, in the district of Tsivil, dwells Stepan Egorov, who foresees all that will happen, both good and ill. All these *iemzyas* inherit their profession, but there are some who become wizards even against their will, without this hereditary qualification. It is sufficient for a Chuvash to make a lucky guess as to the issue of some event, and people flock to him for advice from all parts, frequently Russians as well as Chuvashes. The ability to tell fortunes is accompanied by tempting advantages; it brings honour, and awakens fear. We cannot wonder that many who involuntarily become *iemzyas* at first, are afterwards absorbed in the profession.<sup>2</sup>

Sboev says that the Chuvashes show great honour to their wizards, and have a boundless belief in their supernatural power; they are invited to weddings, because people fear that an offended *iemzya* might destroy the bride or bridegroom.<sup>3</sup> According to Mrs. Fuks, the Chuvash wizards have no special dress for *chuklyanie*, i.e., the ceremony of sorcery.<sup>4</sup> They drive out diseases, sent by the malevolent, in the name of a certain old woman. The Chuvashes fear the *iemzyas* even after death; thus, in the district of Cheboksar, in a certain village, in former times, there stood by itself a granary which excited universal dread; nobody would go near it. In reply to the priest, the Chuvashes said that this building had belonged to an old maid, long dead, who was a *iemzya*, and that her things were preserved in the granary; they believed that anybody who touched them would die; even the sight of these objects might make a man blind.<sup>5</sup>

*The Mordvins.*—Mordva is now almost completely Russified, and does not preserve any noteworthy traces of shamanism, but in a manuscript article of Mr. Minkh, sent to the Ethnographical Section of the Society of Students of Natural History, there are some interesting facts referring to survivals of shamanism which were apparent some little time ago. The article deals chiefly with

<sup>1</sup> Aleksandra Fuks: "Zapiski o Chuvashakh i Cheremisakh Kazanskoi gub.," 98-99.

<sup>2</sup> Magnitskii: "Materialy k obyasnieniyu staroi chuvashskoi vyery." Kazan, 881, 12-16.

<sup>3</sup> Sboev: "Chuvashi," 36.

<sup>4</sup> Fuks, 98.

<sup>5</sup> Zolotnitskii, 168-169.

the year 1840, and the information is extracted from the report of Timothei Leontiev, a soldier's son of Mordvin origin, to Jakov, arch-priest of Saratov. Of course we cannot expect to find, even in 1840, an organised paganism, with a definite class of mediators between men and gods, among the Mordvins dwelling in the northern part of the government of Saratov, but there are traces of the existence of such a class at one time. Various shamanist functions fell to the lot of persons who took upon themselves the duties of the earlier wizards, and possessed certain qualities. The worship of the dead occupies a prominent place in the beliefs of the Mordvins. They are convinced that on the feast (*pominka*) in commemoration of a dead man, the latter invites all his dead kinsmen and friends to the banquet. There are people, especially women, who can see the dead guests of the deceased hero of the festival, so, during the *pominka*, some old woman sits on the threshold, and, as long as the entertainment lasts, keeps her eyes fixed on the table. Afterwards, she tells the surviving kinsfolk what dead people she saw at table, what they spoke about, and what they did.

When the Mordvin women hear of the death of anybody who lives in their village, they prepare special dishes, and carry them to the house. On her arrival, the woman places the food on the table, and falls on her face before the corpse. *An old woman especially appointed for the purpose* takes the dish, and addressing the dead, says: "Lo! so-and-so (naming the woman) has brought thee cakes, eggs, beef and so on; eat heartily thyself that thou be not hungry, and regale thy guests; pray to God that all so-and-so has brought may be found among us, that corn may increase and that cattle may thrive."

On the feast of the Intercession of the B.V.M., October 1st (O.S.), or within a few days of it, the Mordvins have a special *molyan*. Not far from the village, they assemble at the sacred oak; on the hillside they lay down cloths, and spread great tables with the food and drink they have brought. *Three or four of the old men don dresses of white cloth*, and one after another, they walk three times round the feast, touching all the viands with their hands and saying, "White feet, Keremed, walking in the woods, Keremed, walking in the fields, Keremed, we worship thee, guard thou us!" The people standing behind, and a multitude of women, do what the ministers command. Pieces of food, cut off by the old men who are officiating, and by other persons, are buried in the earth, some of them are placed in the great hollow of the oak, some on the tree itself, while the old women bow before the oak and scrape copper coins with a knife; the money is thrown into the hollow of the tree. The women also apply to the tree, linen they have brought with them, and this linen is used for the cure of pains and griefs during the next two years, after which time it is made up into costumes for the ministering old men. At the end of the *molyan*, the sacred garments are taken from the old men, and laid aside till next year for the new masters of the feast.



*The Kirghizes.*—Pallas, in his "Travels in Various Parts of the Russian Empire," speaks at some length about the wizards among the Kirghizes of the government of Astrakhan. There are five kinds of wizards; some of them, called *falcha*, divine by certain books, and by the celestial luminaries, the others, *yaurunchi*, foretell the future by the shoulder-blade of a sheep. The wizards of the third category are called *baksha*, and are especially credited. When they are applied to for advice, these Kirghiz wizards appoint a sacrifice, consisting of a horse, a sheep, or a goat. After choosing the victim, the *baksha* sings magic hymns, beats a tambourine hung round with rings, and leaps and makes other motions. Half an hour later he kills the animal, and collects its blood in a vessel destined for the purpose; then he takes the skin for himself; the flesh is eaten by the company present; the bones are collected, and the wizard, after painting the bones red and blue, throws them away to the westward. In this direction also he pours away the blood. After the sacrifice, the divination begins again, and the *baksha* gives the response required. There are also two other varieties of diviners: the *kamcha*, who foretells according to the colour of the flame of oil or fat burning in the fire; and the *dzhaadugars*, witches who seek out runaway serfs or prisoners; but the latter do not enjoy any respect among the Kirghizes,<sup>1</sup> and consequently we must regard the *bakshas* as the chief representatives of shamanism among the European Kirghizes.

*Universality of shamanist phenomena among the tribes of Russia.*—Throughout the vast extent of the Russian Empire, from Behring's Strait to the borders of the Scandinavian Peninsula, among the multitudinous tribes preserving remains of their former heathen beliefs, we find in a greater or less degree shamanist phenomena. Despite the variety of races and the enormous distances that separate them, the phenomena which we class under the general name of shamanism are found repeated with marvellous regularity. In order to throw light on this regularity in a scientific manner, and explain more clearly the performances of the shamans of Siberia and European Russia, we must glance at the analogous institutions existing on that continent which is separated from Asia by Behring's Strait.

### Notes on the Aborigines of Australia.

The collection of the following valuable notes on the aborigines of various parts of Australia is due to the zeal and energy of Dr. E. C. Stirling, of Adelaide, South Australia, who sent copies of my anthropological questions to the various writers. Dr. Stirling kindly allows the notes to be published in this Journal, reserving to himself the right to make what use he may think fit of them in a larger and more systematic work which he hopes to publish on the native tribes of Australia. Every student of anthro-

<sup>1</sup> Pallas: "Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reichs."

pology and folk-lore will heartily wish him success in carrying out this important enterprise. For the convenience of readers the questions to which the notes are answers are reprinted below in full.—J. G. FRAZER.

QUESTIONS ON THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS, RELIGIONS, SUPERSTITIONS, &c., OF UNCIVILISED OR SEMI-CIVILISED PEOPLES.

*Tribes.*—1. Are the natives divided into tribes, clans, or castes? Are these tribes, clans, or castes subdivided? Enumerate the tribes, &c. 2. Are the tribes, &c., distinguished by differences in dress, in the mode of wearing the hair, &c.? 3. What kind of names are borne by the tribes, clans, &c.? Are the names ever the names of animals, plants, or other natural objects? 4. Do the members of the tribe, clan, or caste regard as sacred the animal, plant, &c., from which they take their names? Do they refuse to kill and eat the animal or plant from which they take their name? (*N.B.*—The animal, plant, &c., which gives its name to a tribe, clan, or caste, and which is held sacred by the members of that tribe, clan, or caste, is called a *totem*.) 5. What do they think would happen to them if they were to kill or eat such animals or plants? 6. Have they any stories as to the origin of the tribes, clans, or castes? and as to the connection of the tribes, &c., with their totems?

*Birth, Descent, Adoption.*—7. What ceremonies are observed at birth? 8. Is the mother secluded? Has she to observe any rules as to diet, &c., during pregnancy or after the birth? Is she regarded as unclean? and has she to perform any ceremonies before being re-admitted to society? 9. Has her husband to observe any rules, as to diet, &c., before or after the birth? Does he behave in any special way, or is he subjected to any special treatment at such times? 10. How is the child named? Is there any ceremony like baptism? Any god-father or god-mother? 11. Are there any special observances in regard to infants whose elder brothers or sisters have died previously? 12. Are children ever killed at birth? Is there a regular custom of killing the first born or last born children? Are female infants killed rather than male infants, or *vice versa*? 13. When the father and mother belong to different tribes, clans, or castes, do the children take the name of the father's tribe, &c., or of the mother's? Are they reckoned to the tribe, &c., of the father, or to that of the mother? 14. Is adoption practised? With what ceremonies is it accompanied?

*Puberty.*—15. Are any ceremonies performed on lads at puberty? Describe such ceremonies fully. 16. Is there any pretence at such rites of killing the lad and then restoring him to life? 17. After these initiatory rites, are the lads forbidden to see women for a certain time? If so, why? 18. Do they at these or other times circumcise, knock out, chip, or file the teeth, bore the nose, distend the ears, insert rings in the lips, &c.?

What reasons do they give for such practices? 19. Do they tattoo or raise cicatrices on their bodies at puberty or on other occasions? What patterns are tattooed or incised? On what parts of the body are they made? Drawings of the tattoo marks would be useful. 20. What ceremonies accompany the tattooing? 21. Are both men and women tattooed, or only men, or only women? 22. Do the tattoo marks serve as badges to distinguish tribes, clans, or castes? 23. Are any ceremonies performed on girls at puberty? 24. Is a girl secluded at her first menstruation? What rules has she to observe at such times? Is she allowed to see the sun or fire? 25. Are women generally secluded at menstruation? What rules have they to observe at these times? 26. What do they suppose is the cause of menstruation? What do they think would be the effect if a man were to see or touch a menstruous woman?

*Marriage.*—27. Is a man compelled, or is he forbidden, to marry a woman of the same tribe, clan, or caste as himself? 28. In the case where persons of the same tribe, clan, or caste are not allowed to marry, are they allowed to have sexual intercourse without marriage, or would this be equally wrong? 29. Are any natural ill effects supposed to follow a breach of these sexual rules? Is any punishment inflicted on the offender by the members of the tribe, clan, or caste? 30. What are the forbidden degrees of consanguinity in relation to marriage? 31. May a man have several wives? (polygamy). 32. May a woman have several husbands? (polyandry). 33. What reasons do they give for the practice of polygamy or polyandry? 34. How does a man obtain a wife? By purchase, capture, or how? 35. Does a man take his wife to his own home, or does he live with his wife's family? 36. Do bride and bridegroom prepare for marriage by fasting, bleeding, keeping awake the night before marriage, or in other ways? 37. Describe the marriage ceremonies fully, including the ceremonies observed at bringing the bride into the house or hut of the bridegroom. 38. Is the bride veiled? Are there any ceremonies at veiling or unveiling her? 39. Is the bride or bridegroom ever represented at the marriage ceremony by a proxy or dummy? 40. Is there anything corresponding to bridesmaids and best men? 41. Are any ceremonies observed by bride and bridegroom on the day after marriage? 42. Does a man cohabit with his wife immediately after marriage, or does he refrain for a certain time, say several days or months? 43. Does he visit his wife only by stealth for some time after marriage? If so, why? 44. Is it required or permitted that the wife should be deflowered by a person other than her husband? or that after the marriage ceremony she shall have connexion with other persons before she may cohabit with her husband? Are there occasions on which men abstain from cohabiting with women, as during menstruation, pregnancy, after child-birth till the child is weaned, previous to and during hunting, fishing, war, or other occasions? 46. Are there occasions when men exchange wives? 46A. What becomes

of a widow? is she free to marry as she likes? have the relations of her late husband any rights over her? 47. May a man look at or speak to his mother-in-law? May a woman look at or speak to her father-in-law? 48. May brothers and sisters speak to each other?

*Disease and Death.*—49. What do they think are the causes of disease and death? 50. How do they try to cure disease? 51. If disease is thought to be caused by the presence of a demon or spirit in the sick person, how do they expel the demon or spirit? 52. What ceremonies take place at death? 53. How are the dead disposed of? 54. Is the ghost of the departed feared? Are any steps taken to propitiate the ghost or to prevent its return? 55. Are the persons who have handled the corpse regarded as unclean and obliged to purify themselves by means of fire, water, &c.? 56. Have the relations of the deceased (particularly the widow or widower) to observe any special rules for some time after the death? What is the mourning garb? 57. Are there any special customs or superstitions about the bones of the dead?

*Murder.*—58. Is a murder avenged by the relations of the murdered person? Are all members of the victim's tribe, clan, or caste bound to avenge his death? And are all members of the murderer's tribe, clan, or caste responsible? 59. Is compensation for homicide allowed? To whom is it paid, or how is it apportioned? 60. Is a murderer regarded as unclean, and has he to undergo purification before he is re-admitted to society? Are there any special rules as to his eating and drinking, his dress, the vessels he uses, &c.?

*Property and Inheritance.*—61. Is tribal or individual property in land recognised? 62. What are the rules of the descent of property? Does a man's property descend to his children, or to his brothers, or to the children of his sisters? 63. Do women inherit property? 64. Does the youngest child ever succeed in preference to the elder?

*Fire.*—65. How is fire obtained? Is it lighted when required or kept always burning? 66. Is it solemnly extinguished on certain occasions (as after a death, during a drought, at harvest, midsummer, &c.), and a new fire made? 67. Have they any superstitions regarding fire? Any story of its origin?

*Food.*—68. Do they eat everything? Or are certain foods forbidden? Are some foods forbidden (a) to every one without distinction; (b) to members of particular tribes, clans, or castes; (c) to women but not to men, or *vice versâ*; (d) on certain occasions, as after a death, during pregnancy, war-time, hunting, fishing, harvest, &c.; (e) at certain periods of life (childhood, puberty, adult years, &c.)? What are the foods thus forbidden? What reasons do they give for the prohibitions? 69. Do men and women eat together? And if not, why not? 70. Do children eat with grown-up people? 71. Does each person eat apart? And if so, why? 72. Is cannibalism practised? Do they eat their enemies or their friends? 73. What reasons do they give for the

practice? 74. Are there any special ceremonies at cannibal feasts? Are special vessels or implements used at such feasts? 75. Is the use of human flesh confined to any class or sex? 76. What is done with the bones of persons who have been eaten? 77. Do they ever drink the blood of men or animals? Or do they specially avoid the blood? 78. Are there occasions when they avoid even the sight of blood? *e.g.*, are men prohibited at times to see the blood of women, or women to see the blood of men? 79. Do they ever fast? On what occasions, and why? 80. Do they think that by eating the flesh of certain animals or persons they acquire the qualities of the animals or person eaten? *e.g.*, that by eating the heart of a lion or of a brave man they become brave; by eating the heart of a hare or a deer they become timid, &c.?

*Hunting and Fishing.*—81. What customs and superstitions have they in connexion with hunting and fishing? 82. Do the hunters and fishers prepare themselves for hunting and fishing by any observances or ceremonies? Do they observe any special rules as to eating, speaking, silence, &c., during hunting and fishing? Do they scarify themselves, and why? 83. Do the women and children left at home observe any special rules while the men are out hunting and fishing? 84. Do the hunters and fishers observe any special ceremonies on returning from the chase and from fishing? 85. Are any ceremonies observed for the purpose of appeasing the spirits of the animals and fish which have been killed? What do they do with the bones?

*Agriculture.*—86. Do they till the ground? What customs and superstitions have they in reference to agriculture? 87. Have they ceremonies at sowing, ploughing, and harvest? 88. Have they special rules as to eating the new corn and fruits, and as to the fire used to cook them? 89. Do they sacrifice to obtain good crops? Or to save the crops from blight, hail, &c.? 90. Have they ceremonies for keeping vermin (mice, caterpillars, birds, &c.) from the crops? 91. Have they any superstitions about the first corn cut or the last corn cut? 92. Is there any portion of the crop preserved with special ceremonies till the next sowing or the next harvest? What reasons do they give for these customs? 93. Are there any ceremonies practised on the harvest field, such as wrapping up persons in the sheafs, rolling on the ground, &c.? 94. Are there any ceremonies or superstitions about threshing, winnowing, &c.? 95. Are persons engaged in agricultural operations (as sowing, reaping, threshing, gathering the fruits, making oil, &c.), regarded as sacred or tabooed in any way? Have they to observe any special rules during the operations? 96. Mention any superstitious uses of agricultural implements as the plough, winnowing basket, sieve, pestle for pounding corn or rice, &c.

*War.*—97. What ceremonies are observed before going to war? 98. Have the warriors on the war-path to observe any special rules as to diet, sleeping, scratching themselves, wetting their feet, touching their heads, &c.? 99. Are the persons left at home

bound to observe any special rules as to diet, sleeping, &c., while the warriors are out on the war-path? 100. Do they mutilate their slain enemies? And how, and with what object? 101. What ceremonies are observed on the return of the war party? 102. Is a man who has slain an enemy obliged to perform certain ceremonies or to observe any special regimen before he may associate with his fellows? In particular, are there special rules affecting his eating, drinking, costume, and the vessels and implements which he uses?

*Government.*—103. Have they any form of Government? Are there chiefs? and what is their power? 104. Is the chieftainship elective or hereditary? If hereditary, does it descend to the chief's children, or to his brothers, or to his sister's children, or to whom?

*Oaths and Ordeals.*—105. Have they any ceremonies at the making of friendships, covenants, peace, alliances, &c.? 106. Have they any special forms of oaths or judicial ordeals?

*Salutations.*—107. What are their forms of salutation?

*Arithmetic.*—108. Up to what number can they count? 109. Do they count on fingers and toes, and in a particular order, beginning with a particular finger? 110. Do they use pebbles, sticks, &c., in counting? 111. Do any of their numerals show that they are borrowed from the custom of counting on fingers and toes? *e.g.*, does 'hand' stand for five? 'hands and feet' or 'man' for twenty? 112. Is any particular number also used in the indefinite sense of 'many'?

*Writing.*—113. Do they send messages or make records by any methods like writing, as by notching sticks, carving or painting figures on wood or stone, tying knots on a string, &c.?

*Measurement of Time.*—114. How do they measure time? 115. How do they tell the time of day? 116. Do they reckon by days or by nights? 117. Do they reckon by phases of the moon? 118. How do they determine the year? By seasons? By the growth or ripening of certain plants or fruits? By the number of the moons? By the constellations which rise just before sunrise, or which set just after sunset? By the position of the sun's rising or setting at different times of the year, as indicated by natural landmarks? 119. Have they names for the months, and what do these names mean? 120. If they recognise both the lunar and solar year, how do they harmonize them? 121. Have they observed the solstices and equinoxes, and if so, how? 122. When does their year begin? Have they any ceremonies at the end of the old year and the beginning of the new one? 123. Have they any artificial time-keepers in the nature of sun-dials, water-clocks, pillars for determining the length of the sun's shadow at different times of the year, &c.

*Games, Dances.*—124. What games and amusements have they? 125. Describe their dances. Are any of their dances imitations of animals? What is the object of such dances? Are their dances ever of the nature of a religious rite?

*Magic and Divination.*—126. Do they practise magic and witchcraft? Describe the methods employed. 127. Are there professional magicians, sorcerers, doctors, medicine-men, or witches among them? Do they inflict and cure disease, bewitch enemies, &c.? Describe their modes of operation. 128. How does a man become a sorcerer, doctor, or medicine-man? 129. Are there rain-makers? How do they procure or avert rain, hail, thunder and lightning? 130. Do the sorcerers or medicine men ever dress as women? 131. Do the sorcerers or the people generally draw omens from living animals, birds, the entrails of animals, voices, &c.? 132. Have they any other modes of divination, as by the use of lots or dice.

*Religious and Political Associations.*—133. Have they any associations for religious or political purposes? Describe the object of these associations, the mode of admission to them, the ceremonies performed by them, the privileges enjoyed by their members, the badges of membership, &c.

*Men as Women, Women as Men.*—134. Besides the case referred to above (No. 130), are there any other occasions on which men dress as women, and women as men, as at childbirth, marriage, and mourning? Are boys ever dressed as girls, and girls as boys? 135. What reasons do they give for such exchanges of dress?

*Sleep forbidden.*—136. Are there any times when they are not allowed to sleep, e.g., when sick or wounded, after circumcision, after child-bed, before marriage, &c.?

*Ceremonial Uncleaness.*—137. Besides the instances already referred to (see Nos. 8, 24, 25, 55, 60, 102), are there any other cases in which persons, things, or places are regarded as ceremonially unclean or impure? Describe the various modes of lustration or purification employed.

*Doctrine of Souls.*—138. Do they think that human beings have souls? What is the nature of the soul? Does it resemble a shadow, a reflection, a breath, or what? 139. Is the soul supposed to depart from the body at death, in disease, sleep, dreams, trance, &c.? 140. Does the soul pass out of the body by the mouth, the nostrils, or how? 141. What is their theory of dreams? Do they believe in the reality and truth of what they see in dreams? 142. When a man is sick because his soul has departed from him, do his friends try to bring back his soul and restore it to his body? 143. Do his enemies try to catch and detain the wandering soul, in order that the man, deprived of his soul, may die? 144. Can a man's soul be extracted or stolen from his body? Can he lose it by accident? 145. Are souls driven away by noises, beating the air with sticks, &c.? Can they be bottled up, let out at holes, &c.? 146. Is the soul of a person who has just died recalled in the hope that it will return and reanimate the body? 147. What becomes of the soul after death? Is there a spirit land where the souls of the dead gather? Where is this spirit land? How do the souls reach it? 148. Do souls transmigrate into animals, plants, &c.?

When a tribe or clan is called after and reveres a certain species of animals or plants (which is the totem of the tribe or clan, see No. 4), are the souls of the members of the tribe or clan supposed at death to transmigrate into the totem animals or plants? 149. Are animals, trees, and plants supposed to have souls? Are they ever treated like human beings, spoken to as intelligent creatures, dressed in human dress, married to men and women, &c.? 150. Are animals and plants thought to possess language of their own? Are any persons supposed to understand the animal or plant language? How do they acquire such knowledge? 151. Are inanimate things, such as weapons, clothes, food, &c., supposed to have souls which are separable from the things, and which exist after the things are destroyed? 152. Are the souls of the dead worshipped with prayer, offering, &c.?

*Demons and Spirits.*—153. Do they believe in demons and spirits, such as spirits of rivers, lakes, the sea, mountains, winds, clouds, trees, corn, rice, &c.? 154. Do they pray or sacrifice to these spirits? 155. Are the demons or spirits ever driven away from the house, camp, or village? Is there a periodical (*e.g.* annual) expulsion of demons or spirits?

*Scapegoats.*—156. Do they ever employ anything like a scapegoat? *i.e.*, do they lade any person, animal, or thing with the disease, misfortunes, and sins of an individual, village, or tribe, and then kill, expel, throw away, or turn adrift the person, animal, or thing so laden, in the hope that the disease, misfortune, or sin will thus be carried away? 157. Do they on certain occasions solemnly kill animals which at other times are sacred and inviolate, *e.g.*, the totem animals? What are these occasions? What ceremonies are observed in killing them? What is done with the skin, flesh, blood, and bones of the animal thus killed? Is it, or any portion of it, eaten by the worshippers? What reason do they give for these customs?

*Guardian Spirits.*—158. Does each man believe that he has a guardian spirit? 159. Do they think that their life or fortune is bound up with some special object (*e.g.*, an animal, plant, tree, stone, &c.), and that if this object is killed, lost, or destroyed, they will die? 160. Are such patron objects acquired at birth, puberty, or when? What ceremonies are observed in choosing them? 161. How does the man treat his patron object in ordinary life and on special occasions, as in sickness, danger, at marriage, &c.? 162. When the patron object is an animal does the man ever dress in a skin, &c., of an animal of that species?

*Resurrection.*—163. Do they believe in any form of resurrection? Under what conditions is it supposed that a dead body may be resuscitated?

*The Heavenly Bodies, &c.*—164. Do they worship or show respect to the sun, moon, and stars? Have they any ceremonies at the new moon, sunrise, sunset, the solstices, equinoxes, &c.? 165. Have they any myths about the sky, earth, sun, moon, and stars? 166. What do they think becomes of the sun at night? 167. How



do they explain the phases of the moon? Also eclipses, thunder, lightning, rainbows, rain, wind, and earthquakes? 168. Have they any myths about animals, plants, the sea, rivers, mountains, clouds, origin of death, &c.? 169. Give as many of their fables, nursery tales, and traditions as you can.

*Sacrifice.*—170. Are sacrifices offered? Of what nature, and to what spirits or gods? 171. Are human beings sacrificed, and on what occasions? Are the victims captives or slaves, or the sacrificers' own children? 172. Are substitutes sometimes employed in sacrifice? *e.g.*, will a common animal be sacrificed instead of one which is difficult to procure? a part of an animal instead of the whole? an effigy or imitation instead of the real animal or thing? 173. Do persons ever sacrifice parts of themselves, as hair, finger-joints, blood, &c.?

*Miscellaneous Superstitions.*—174. Have they any superstitions about shadows and reflections in the water? 175. About sneezing and yawning? 176. About stepping over persons or things? 177. About keeping silence at certain times? 178. About the use of the right or left hand or foot? 179. About footprints or the impress of their body in sand, on grass, &c.? 180. About numbers? 181. About animals and plants? 182. About cutting hair or nails? 183. About excrement? 184. About spittle? 185. About names? Do they object to tell their own names? or to mention the names of any of their relations, of chiefs, the dead, &c.? 186. Are the names of persons changed at different epochs of life, or on various occasions, as during sickness or after a death? Are the names of common objects ever changed? What reasons do they give for these customs? 187. Describe any other curious customs or superstitions which you may have observed.

*Supplementary Questions on the Manners and Customs of Savages.*

*Pastoral Life.*—188. Do they keep cattle? and what kind of cattle? Does every one keep cattle, or only the chiefs? 189. Do they live on the flesh of their cattle or on the milk, or on both? Are cattle killed regularly for food, or only on special occasions? What are these special occasions? If they object to killing their cattle for food, have they any objection to killing and eating game? 190. How are the cattle killed? Is there one way of killing them when they are to be sacrificed, and another when they are to be eaten? 191. Is the killing of a head of cattle always or generally the occasion of a feast? Have other persons besides the owner of the cattle a right to share in such a feast? 192. Are the cattle regarded as sacred in any way? What marks of respect are paid to them? 193. Are the cattle milked and tended by men or by women? if by men, are the women rigorously forbidden to enter the cattle-yards and to meddle with the cattle? 194. Is any special sanctity attached to the dairy, and to the dairymaid or dairywoman? Has he or she to undergo any special training for the office? or to perform any ceremonies before or after milking the cattle? 195. Are there any superstitious customs or beliefs

about milk? Are any persons, in any circumstances (*e.g.*, when wounded), forbidden to drink it? Is it forbidden to boil the milk? and why? 196. Is drinking milk together a bond of union between the persons drinking? Does it constitute a bar to marriage between a man and a woman? 197. Is any special use made of the dung and urine of the cattle in religious or other ceremonies? are they used as a means of purifying the person, house, utensils, &c.? 198. Is any sanctity ascribed to the grass, or in general to the fodder of the cattle? Is it used in ceremonial or religious rites? 199. Are the cattle ornamented in any way? are their horns twisted into special shapes?

*Agriculture.*—200. Are there any ceremonies or superstitions at clearing land for cultivation? at cutting down trees? 201. Any superstitious customs at digging wells or bringing water for irrigation? 202. How are the lands distributed for purpose of cultivation? has each man his own field, or are the fields owned and tilled by all the people in common? is there a periodical redistribution of land? 203. Are the same fields tilled year after year, or are they allowed to lie fallow for some years after cultivation? 204. If the cultivation shifts periodically from one district to another, is the site of the village shifted with it? or does the village remain permanent? 205. Does each man enjoy the produce of his field? or is the produce of all the fields thrown together, and then divided amongst all the people? 206. Is the beginning of the New Year determined by agricultural operations, as harvest or sowing? Is there a period of general licence and lawlessness at the New Year or at any other time?

*Miscellaneous.*—207. Any superstitions about the birth of twins? 208. Any peculiar ceremonies at the reception of strangers, especially foreigners or people of a different tribe? 209. Any superstitious customs at building or occupying a new house? 210. Have the natives any kind of money, or anything that passes as money, such as cattle, cowries, salt, &c.? 211. How is the succession to the chieftainship or kingdom determined? What ceremonies are observed at the election or inauguration of chiefs and kings? 212. Is the daily life of the king or chief regulated by special rules? Has he to perform any sacred or priestly duties? Describe all such rules and duties. 213. How are priests elected? What rules of life have they to observe?

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*Of the Tribes, Dieyerie, Auminie, Yandrawontha, Yarrowurka, Pilladapa, Lat. 31° 0' S., Long. 138° 55' E. By SAMUEL GASON, Beltana, South Australia.*<sup>1</sup>

*Tribes.*—1. Divided into clans, Yandrawontha, Yarrowurka, Dieyerie, Auminie, Pilladapa. 2. No distinction of dress or mode of wearing the hair. 3. Canaarra (a vegetable seed),

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Stirling observes that Mr. Gason "was for a long time a mounted constable in the interior. No man living has been more amongst blacks, or knows

Thulraa (rain), Poontha (mice), Woroocathie (emu), Chookooroo (kangaroo), Miaroo (rat), Purdie (grub), Murkara (fish), Cappirrie (iguano), Kintala (dog), Cowalka (crow). 4. No, don't regard the plants or animals as sacred, will kill and eat the animal or plant. 5. Same answer as No. 4, except with regard to their creation, as it is related they walked as the animals did, with tails on them, the tails were cut off and they stood erect. They having promiscuous intercourse with their near relatives, it was not pleasing to the sight of their god (Moora Moora). The "Moora Moora" is held by the tribes as being their creator, and who is always revered by them. Not being pleasing to his sight he decided that they should be divided into clans such as in No. 3, calling the members of the tribes together he divided them into different families, that no dog should marry a dog or emu marry an emu, and to this day it is religiously carried out.

*Birth, Descent, Adoption.*—8. The women seclude themselves, no rule or diet, she is given whatever is going: only at the last stage of pregnancy, and for a short time after birth of child is she considered unclean. 9. No, he treats the matter indifferently and not until the wife brings her babe back to the camp he makes a fuss over his new-born son or daughter. 10. By the old women (or nurses): no ceremony. 11. The senior always takes precedence, both male and female. 12. Yes, frequently, especially the unmarried girls, and those that are married kill all children who appear to be puny, or in any way deformed at time of birth, preference is generally considered for the males. 13. Take after father's tribe and clan. 14. Yes, frequently to the orphan, and great affection is shown.

*Puberty.*—15. Yes, his two front teeth of the upper jaw are knocked out, and afterwards when the hair begins to show, he is circumcised—the knocking of the two teeth out is called "Chirrin-chirrinie." 16. No. 17. The lads are forbidden to see women immediately before and sometime after the initiatory rites, viz., "Chirrinchirrinie," (two teeth knocked out) "Kurliewonkuna," (circumcision) "Willayaroo," (mutilation of back part of neck) the reason for so doing merely traditionary. 18. Circumcise, then knock out two teeth of upper jaw, perforate partition of nose, traditionary practice. 19. Tattoo on arms and breast parallel lines incisions made by sharp piece of flint just through the skin, immediately after incision is made red ochre is put on the wounds and beaten by a flat stick for a few seconds; these tattoo marks at, and before puberty. 20. All young people, males and females separate, gather together generally after rain, and one or more tattoos the others, the operators singing a commonplace ditty about the fruitfulness of the result of the rain, no signs of pain are shown, and all seem to be merry and encouraged or congratulated after by the elders. 21. Both women and men. 22. No.

more of their ways." A valuable monograph on the Dieyerie tribe, by Mr. Gason, was published in "The Native Tribes of South Australia" (Adelaide, 1879). It supplements the information here given by him.—J. G. F.

23. Yes, barbarous custom, at puberty no girl without exception is a virgin, it being a national custom to take her virginity at that age by force. The *modus operandi* being not by the natural means, but by binding the fingers round with human hair and using them to force the passage. 24. Yes, merely as a child, no rule or custom. 25. No, strict seclusion. 26. Punishment for their adultery, a man would be considered a beast to have intercourse with her.

*Marriage.*—27. A man cannot marry a woman of his own clan, (Murdoo). 28. Yes, equally wrong. 29. Yes, the man is tabooed. 30. Forbidden to have intercourse with blood relations, mothers, sisters, first and second cousins, this religious law is strictly carried out and adhered to under penalty of death. First and second cousins are acknowledged, sisters and brothers and her blood relations, same names are given to both first and second cousins as brothers and sisters. The greatest curse that can be spoken by either man or woman, and that only while in a state of frenzy or passion, is to call their opponent during a quarrel "Booyoolooparchuna," the meaning of this great curse from "Booyooloo," near relative, "Parchuna," all; translation, sexual intercourse with all near relatives, including first and second cousins. During my many years' experience amongst the tribes in their uncivilized and wild state, I have never known a case of "Booyoolooparchuna;" admitting that they are a low and degraded race, no tribe could be lower in their manners and customs, yet the above law is strictly carried out. Woe unto the man or woman who should infringe the above sacred law. 31. Yes, according to his influence in the tribe, i.e., if his clan (Murdoos) is strong in the tribe he as a natural consequence has numerous relatives, therefore can easily exchange sisters or cousins. Influential men have always more than one wife. I have seen as many as six, and have noted that the more wives a man has the more indolent he becomes; as they do not till the soil, each wife has to go daily in search of food, gather seeds, roots, and other vegetable products according to the seasons; the men with plurality of wives stay at home making weapons, ornaments, and fishing nets from rushes grown on the banks of the lakes. 32. Yes, sometimes eight to twelve (besides?) their own natural husbands what is termed "Pirraoora." A Pirraoora takes precedence after the natural husband, or natural wife, and it is set down by the law of the tribe that no jealousy shall be shown or exist under pain of "Noolieethie" (strangulation); yet with this strict law I am positive from observations that nearly all their quarrels (spring?) from the men and women "Pirraoora." The offspring of the Pirraoora are affectionately looked after and recognised as if they were the natural offspring of the real husband and wife. 33. The more wives, the more food, with the less work for the husbands. 34. Given by the elders and chief of the tribe, after consultation with the near relatives; presents are always given, viz.:—weapons, ornaments, &c., to the father and brothers and near relatives of the girl. 35. Takes his wife to his own camp or "Wurlie."

Sometimes the wife is allotted when a mere child, and when she comes to puberty he takes possession of her. 36 to 38. No ceremony. 39—41. No. 42. Yes, he cohabits (see question No. 23). 43. Openly, without stealth, recognised by all. 44. Refer to question No. 23. 45. During menstruation and immediately after childbirth this custom is strictly adhered to; from my long personal observations I have found that the above is strictly carried out. 46. Yes, continually their wives are lent for prostitution, the husband receiving presents, this barbarous custom is carried on by all and quite common. 46A. The elder brother claims her as she is the wife of his brother, if no brother then she is given away by the elders to some man of the tribe, under no circumstances has a woman any say or choice for a partner. 47. Certainly, they are thought a lot of. 48. Certainly, would sacrifice their lives for one another, if called upon.

*Disease and Death.*—49. No person dies a natural death, death is supposed to be caused by some evil-disposed person of their own or neighbouring tribe, they religiously believe this superstition, it is called "Mookoelieduckuna," translation: Mookoo "bone," Duckuna "to strike," *i.e.*, struck by a bone. Many an innocent man has been condemned to death through this superstitious custom, believing that he had in his possession the small bone of a human leg. Wild and excited harangues are held at nights regarding the Mookoelie Duckuna, and warnings to the tribe not to keep them, or use them under penalty of death. Yet I know for certain that no bone is kept or used by any one of the tribe, it is purely imaginary. 50. To each tribe there are several doctors (Koonkie), these doctors have received power from the devil (Cootchie) to heal all sick, they are generally of peculiar and eccentric temperaments, entirely wrapped up in superstition, and at times reveal some absurd dream to the horror and wonder of the tribe; when a man or woman is very ill the "Koonkie" is called in when he examines the affected parts, he does a few legerdemain and palm tricks with a lot of hanky panky foolery, disclosing to the wonder of all long pieces of twine made from human hair, pieces of charcoal chips and stones from the affected parts; the patients have such faith in their doctor that they seem to get relief. 51. No native contracts a disease or complaint from natural causes, the disease is supposed to be caused by some enemy, and (in) any serious case the "Koonkies" or doctors are called in, to beat out the devil of the camp "Cootchie." This is done by the stuffed tail of a kangaroo, by beating the ground in and out of the camp, chasing him away for some distance. This causes a great deal of merriment amongst the juveniles; all faithfully believe the devil is chased out. 52. Camp is removed and a fresh one selected after death. 53. The two toes and two thumbs are tied together, with the face covered over. The grave is sunk to a depth of about 4 feet. At the grave the corpse is placed on the backs of two natives in kneeling posture (not relatives); the chief or elder of the tribe holds an enquiry by asking questions to the

corpse, the other natives around answer him, *i.e.*, Who killed you? For what reason? You never did anyone any harm? At what place you took ill? All these questions are answered by those around the grave generally denouncing some unfortunate innocent man, and if the deceased is of any great influence, the accused is condemned. The body is lowered into the grave and covered in with earth, loose logs are placed on the top; if very cold weather, fires are lighted for a few nights, and food placed near the grave. All near and dear relatives go into mourning, by smearing themselves over the body with white clay; the husband or wife of the deceased are not allowed to speak nor utter a word for several months after, they making signs for everything they want. 54. Yes, the ghost of the departed is feared, no means are taken to prevent its return. 55. Yes, they are unclean for a few days, presents must be given by the relatives to all those who take a leading part on the inquest. 56. Yes, go into mourning for several months, never speak, painting themselves with white clay. 57. Yes, the bones of the dead must never be handled, except by more than one and then only to cover them up, should they become exposed at any time.

*Murder.*—58. When a murder is committed the accused must suffer death from the "Pinya," a properly constituted armed party who prepare themselves some weeks beforehand, the party consists of all able-bodied men of the tribe, they surround the camp where the victim is without any intimation, and he is killed. 59. No, death for death, that is their motto. 60. No, refer to No. 59 answer.

*Property and Inheritance.*—61. No, the boundaries are defined by water holes or prominent land marks. 62. The tribes of which I write about have no property except a few weapons or ornaments, they are generally buried or destroyed. 63. No property exists. 64. Same answer as 63.

*Fire.*—65. When required. 66. No. 67. Power was given them, as the legend runs, by the "Mooroo Mooroo" to afford heat when they were cold and to partially cook their food.

*Food.*—68. Yes, almost every thing they eat, *i.e.*, that is nutritious. (a) Yes, fish are forbidden to women during menstruation. (b) No, all clans. (c) to women. (d) fish in season. (e) young men who have not gone through the ceremony of "Will-yaroo" are forbidden to eat emu eggs. The reason assigned for not allowing women to eat fish when they have the courses on or to bathe in the waters, is that the fish would all die, and the waters dry up. A red ochre mark round the mouth of a woman indicates that she has the courses, and no one offers them any fish. The reason assigned for the boys not being allowed to eat emu eggs is that all the emus would die. 69. Yes, eat together. 70. Yes, certainly. 71. No. 72. Yes, but not for the purpose of food, it is for strength and to prevent habitual sorrow; only the fatty portions of the breast, arms, and legs; it is eaten raw just before burial and in very small quantities. A black mark of charcoal and fat is made around the mouth of all who have

partaken of the human flesh. The reason they assign for this barbarous custom is that should the relatives not eat they would be perpetually crying and become a nuisance to the camp; when they eat the fatty portions of an enemy their reason is different, they think it will impart strength to them. 73. Answered in question 72. 74. The elders address the younger branch of the tribe, and tell them to eat as it would give them strength; the old men hand the portions of the human flesh to all assembled. 75. When not the enemy, only near relatives partake of the dead as related in question 72. 76. See question 72. 77. When a man is condemned by the properly constituted armed party "Pinya,"<sup>1</sup> kills the condemned man, the weapons used in slaying him are washed in a small wooden vessel "Pirra," and the contents are portioned out, to all those of the Pinya, in this way: all lie down on their backs and the elders pour some of the bloody mixture into the mouths of those lying down; this is supposed to give them double strength, courage, and great nerve for any future occasion. 78. Under no circumstances. 79. No, eat at all times. 80. No, they do not believe, but at times crack a joke.

*Hunting and Fishing.*—81. As each family has its own fishing nets, warnings are given by the elders at night, generally in an excited manner, to all young men, not to go out poaching, as it was cowardly and they would be punished if caught. I have seen some terrible quarrels over poaching, many of the men maimed, legs and arms broken and mortal wounds inflicted. Great precautions are taken in the hunting of the emu, the hottest days are selected, scouts are sent out and after surrounding the emus, one man returns to the camp, describing the locality where the emus are; the men then carry water for drinking purposes in bags made from the skins of Wallaby. A mineral stone which is found in a quarry about the size of a pigeon's egg and smaller named Absydiem<sup>2</sup> and called by them Worocathiemilkie = Worocathie (emu) Milkie (eye), emu eye; these stones have six sides to them, brown colour, light, and almost transparent. These Absydiems are wrapped in feathers and fat, and when within a few hundred yards of the birds they commence throwing them towards the emus, believing there is a charm about the stones and that it prevents the emu from running. After killing, the flesh is distributed amongst the men, and their feathers carefully collected, and made up into ornaments. There is great rejoicing when they return to camp; generally dancing and singing are kept up to a late hour by the young men. 82. See No. 81. 83. Prepare wood for cooking. 84. Yes, yelling and dancing, all appear very jolly. 85. The bones are thrown away as waste.

*Agriculture.*—86. Don't till the soil, absolutely no idea of agriculture. 87. See No. 86. 88. No, agriculture. 89. No. 90-96. No knowledge of agriculture.

<sup>1</sup> Some words such as "and the Pinya," seem wanting in the manuscript before "kills the condemned man."—J. G. F.

<sup>2</sup> The writer probably means obsidian.—J. G. F.

*War.*—97. Firstly, greatest of secrecy, firmness, councils of war, many times amongst men only, their schemes are never divulged to women. 98. Decorating with feathers and painting their body in a hideous way. 99. Yes, the old and infirm men are left behind to protect the women, their time is passed in singing for the safe return of the war party. 100. No, do not mutilate the dead. 101. Great rejoicing by the women, the warriors relate the fight, if any of their party should be killed there is great lamentation for several days. 102. No.

*Government.*—103. Yes, recognised form of government acknowledged by heads or chiefs. These chiefs make, with the consent of the tribe, alliances, peace, friendships or war, send ambassadors, and on very important occasions send ambassadresses to treat with the neighbouring tribes; great apparent kindness is shown to them and no offer of treachery when on a mission of dispute. These ambassadresses are prostituted by the enemy as a matter of custom and as a sign of friendship. 104. Elective, according to the influence of their clan (Murdoo), oratory power.

*Oaths and Ordeals.*—105. Promiscuous sexual intercourse, jealousy strictly forbidden, low animal intercourse without fear or favour, on these special occasions. 106. Yes, terrible obligations unknown to child or woman, promising never to divulge what they see or hear to child or woman. This oath is carried out solemnly. I have never known it to be broken, in fact it is impossible for any Aborigine to divulge their secret ceremonies. Before I was initiated to all their horrible secret ceremonies, circumcision, &c., I had to promise in the presence of over 100 natives that I would not divulge what I heard and saw to child or woman. The sign or penalty is a motion of the right hand pressing slightly on the throat, meaning strangulation, "Noolieethie." When I was first allowed to see the first secret ceremony, I had no trouble after, as they had confidence in me, and frequently invited me to their more important secret ceremonies.

*Salutations.*—107. No notice at first, until he or she sits down, when the friends or relations sit around, and the news is whispered, whatever it may be, and repeated in a loud voice to the whole camp. Dear friends and relatives always embrace, women wail or partially cry.

*Arithmetic.*—108. Three (3). Coornoo Mundroo Parcoola. 109. Generally on hands, very seldom go beyond five. 110. Not for counting, but sticks or marks on the ground are used to illustrate. 111. No. (e.g.), yes, and stand for five, but must be spoken, viz., twice two and one, i.e., Mundroo, Mundroo, Coornoo. 112. Marpoo, meaning many, a great many, a lot.

*Writing.*—113. Not as messages, carving weapons, ornaments, and shells, but never used as messages. All messages are sent verbally. There are many sticks notched and carved, for the purpose of indicating certain signs or customs.

*Measurement of Time.*—114. By the sun. 115. Speak of the different times of the position of the sun. 116. Both. 117. Yes,



when anticipating a grand ceremony they refer to the first or last quarter of the moon. 118. Beyond their comprehension. 119 to 121. No. 122. No, they have no year. 123. No.

*Games, Dances.*—124. Dancing, singing, playing with the ball, "Chuboochuboo," sham fighting, racing, swimming and diving, and many other simple games of amusement. 125. "Chuboochuboo" is a wallaby skin, stuffed with grass, and about the size of a football. Men, women, and children play the game by throwing it up in the air and catching it with their hands. The principle of it is to keep it going in the air and not let it fall to the ground; there is great merriment over the game and never any quarrelling. "Kurdiewonkana." This dance men and women only take part in, regular form and position, keeping splendid time to the rattle of the beat of two boomerangs; some of the women keep time by clapping their hands between their thighs; promiscuous sexual intercourse follows after the dance, jealousy is forbidden. "Sham-fighting." All men take part, throwing their weapons lightly in good part, humorous and never any quarrelling, and on this occasion young men who are to be circumcised are announced after the dance. "Mindarie." Dance or peace festival, all the tribe and neighbouring tribes are invited to attend. Great preparations are made some weeks before. There is great rejoicing at the coming festival, which is generally held at the full of the moon, and kept up all night. The men are artistically decorated with down and feathers, with all kinds of designs, crosses, diamonds, circles and parallel lines. The down and feathers are stuck on their bodies with blood freshly taken from their penis; they are also nicely painted with various colours, tufts of boughs tied on their ankles to make a noise while dancing. Promiscuous sexual intercourse is carried on *secretly*: many quarrels occur at this dance. I have seen as many as 1,000 take part on a hard clay flat; lit up by fires kept burning by the women. The dancing is very artistic with precision and regularity; all have wild savage appearance and heinous expression. "Mobierrrie," the making of a harvest of rats. Many weeks' preparation before the dance comes off, no quarrelling is allowed, promiscuous sexual intercourse during the ceremony. "Cuttaunna," dance during moonlight nights, generally in good seasons. Men sit around in circles, the women dance and sing around the men, causing a great deal of amusement to the younger folk. This dance and many other dances, which carries no matter of importance to the government of the tribe, is only kept up for two or three hours. In very bad seasons with long droughts, feeling the pinch of poverty, no amusement of any kind is resorted to. No dances of a religious nature occur. Special dances in the making of rain, harvest of iguanas, bountiful supply of fish, rats, snakes, &c.

*Magic and Divination.*—126. Yes, the doctors "Koonkie" palm pieces of charcoal and small pieces of sticks and string. They do it so quickly that the ignorant look on with wonder, and thoroughly believe it. These pieces of charcoal, &c., are supposed to be taken

out of the bowels, heart, and brain of the sick patient, whom they are treating, man, woman, or child. 127. Professional doctors, "Koonkie," cure and bewitch enemies. 128. By a dream he is supposed to receive the power from the devil "Cootchie." 129. All take part in the rain making; they avert the thunder and lightning by calling on their Mooramoor, "their creator or good spirit," to drive away the devil, "Koonkie." These wild and excited cries are painful to hear. 130 to 132. No.

*Religious and Political Associations.*—133. No.

*Men as Women, Women as Men.*—134. Never, either with males or females. 135. Never happens.

*Sleep Forbidden.*—136. No, under no ceremony or rite, sleep is not forbidden.

*Ceremonial Uncleaness.*—137. None other.

*Doctrine of Souls.*—138. No, the soul as breath ascends to the heavens, at times turns into old trees, large rocks, &c. They have no future. 139. Yes, it departs at death. 140. By the mouth. 141. Caused by being in the presence of the devil "Koonkie," it is considered an evil omen to have a bad dream, they become frightened, believing in the reality of what they see in the dreams. 142. No such thought. 143. Same answer as 142. 144 to 146. No. 147. To the heavens "Purricwillpanina," no spirit land, no future hunting land. 148. No, do not change. 149. No. 150. Yes, they think that all and everything was (has ?) a language. No, they do not understand their languages, but are great botanists and naturalists, not a herb, bush, grass, flower, tree, and creeping vermin, or animals, but what they have a name, and the different families to which they belong. 151 and 152. No.

*Demons and Spirits.*—153. Yes, a gigantic demon called "Kurdiemurkara" is supposed to live at the bottom of the lakes and large water holes. Children are warned against wading or swimming in the lakes without protection. They are wrapt in superstition. 154. No. 155. No, it is perpetually located, or live (lives ?) even when the waters of the lakes dry up.

*Scapegoats.*—156. No, there is no scapegoat. All afflicted, infirm, diseased, imbecile, blind, deaf, or otherwise afflicted, are *never put away*. On the contrary, the greatest sympathy is shown, while the greatest care and attention is paid the infirm and sick. This is one of their grand points of character, and one that the civilised white man must admire. 157. Certainly not.

*Guardian Spirits.*—158. No, they believe the "Mooramoor" created them, and will look after their future. 159 and 160. No. 161. Has no portion. 162. No.

*Resurrection.*—163. Don't believe in the resurrection.

*The Heavenly Bodies, &c.*—164. No form of worship or respect; looked upon with wonder at the moon and stars. No ceremonies. 165. The milky way is supposed to be the largest creek or river, "Kirriepinua," Kirrie, "creek," Pinna, "large," i.e., the largest river. The Aurora Australis when it appears is a supposed warning that some of the tribe is condemned to death by some neigh-

bouring tribe, and great fear is shown. The matter is talked about for several days. 166. Fresh one every day. 167. By the prevailing course of the wind and prevailing quarter of the rain. Eclipses, rain, thunder, lightning, rainbows, wind, and Aurora Australis,—all these are supposed to be the works of the evil one, and a general warning to be good. 168. No, they will relate mad and absurd nursery and tall yarns, how a man appeared to them as a magpie, hawk, &c. This generally originates in a dream. 169. At times an old man, when in good humour, will relate some wild tales to the younger folk, *i.e.*, how he killed some wild black fellow when he was a young man, and how he was speared through the body, and left no wounds visible. These childish stories are listened to with the greatest interest and wonder, and believed.

*Sacrifice.*—170. No sacrifices are offered. 171 to 173. No.

*Miscellaneous Superstitions.*—174 to 176. No. 177. Yes, at certain times silence is required under pain of strangulation. 178. No. 179. Yes, it is unlucky to tread on an old footprint, either in sand or stone. 180 and 181. No. 182. Yes, long hair should not be cut unless by the consent of the elders, as they believe the hair would not grow again. The hair is preserved and used in many important ceremonies by spinning it and making bags and girdles, worn as ornaments around the waist of young men immediately after circumcision. 183 and 184. No. 185. Yes, no name of the departed should ever be mentioned. This superstitious custom is strictly observed; they shudder when a white man mentions the name of any departed native and carries with it "bad luck," Uthabutha. 186. Yes, at birth the child gets a name, either male or female, and after a male is circumcised and the female comes to puberty, then they are re-christened by the father, who is supposed to be inspired by their creator "Mooramoor." 187. The hair of both male and female person is burnt off for purposes of cleanliness; the whiskers are plucked out.

*Pastoral Life.*—188 to 199. No cattle are kept by the aborigines of Australia. 200 to 206. No agriculture. In no part of Australia is the soil tilled by the aborigines, except what they have learnt from the white man. The only race, I believe, on earth who do not till the soil.

*Miscellaneous.*—207. Yes, they are destroyed; to keep them would be a disgrace, likening them unto dogs. 208. Received in silence, no outward show until their mission is told; then at night they argue over the presence of the strangers, generally in a peaceable manner.

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*On the Habits, &c., of the Aborigines in district of Powell's Creek, Northern Territory of South Australia.* By the STATIONMASTER, Powell's Creek, Telegraph Station.

*Tribes.*—1. They are divided into tribes only. The local tribe is known as "Tchingalees," those to the south as "Warramungas," to the east as "Kooringeas," and westward as "Kakaringas."

2. No distinguishing difference in dress or mode of wearing hair. (3, 4.) 5. No story or legend as to origin of the tribes; the old men say blacks first came here from the westward direction.

*Birth, Descent, Adoption.*—7 to 9. No ceremony of any description observed at births by either father or mother. 10. The child is named by the father and takes his name or name of a dead relative. No godfather or godmother or any special observances. (11.) 12. Children are often killed at birth. If the mother is ailing, or in poor condition, the child is usually strangled immediately after birth. No regular custom of killing the first-born or last born. They would preferably rear a male child, but lack almost all maternal feeling. 13. When father and mother belong to different tribes, the child would be reckoned to the father's tribe. (14.)

*Puberty.*—15. Lads at puberty are taken to any adjoining tribe, and after one day's palaver and corroboree, they are circumcised at daylight the following morning. Sub-incision is performed when lads attain manhood or hair grows on face. (16, 17.) 18. Two front upper teeth are also then knocked out. The teeth are distributed to the relatives or friends to be used as ornaments or to play with. 19. Cicatrices raised on breast, abdomen, arms and shoulders of lads at puberty, as ornaments, and also to prepare them for the more painful operation of circumcision and sub-incision. (20.) 21 to 22. Both sexes have cicatrices raised, more or less, over the body, and it is common to all the tribes. 23 to 25. No ceremony performed on girls at puberty, nor have special or any rules to be observed at first menstruation. 26. Explanation of cause of menstruation is that the lubra (girl) dreams that a bandicoot scratched her vagina, causing the blood to flow.

*Marriage.*—27. It is usual to marry a woman of the same tribe, but numerous cases where the woman has been captured from adjoining tribe. 28. Unmarried men having sexual intercourse with women of the tribe, if found out would lead to a "growl" more or less serious, by relatives of the woman or by the old men of the tribe. (29, 30.) 31. Polygamy is common, more so amongst the old men, who find a plurality of wives useful in hunting for them, and as carriers when shifting camp, &c. 32. A woman can have only one husband. (33.) 34. A wife may be purchased from her relations by presents of spears, womeras, boomerangs, &c. 35. After being purchased or captured, the woman is generally taken away to a distance and kept more or less isolated with her husband for some months until she contentedly settles down to the new order of things. They would then both gradually rejoin the tribe and live as man and wife. (36.) 37 to 41. No marriage ceremonies of any sort. 42 to 44. A man would cohabit with his wife immediately if old enough, if not he may prefer to wait a time, or by the use of a stone knife enlarge the vagina sufficiently to have connexion. The latter mode is not uncommon amongst them. 45. A man would not

cohabit with women during menstruation, pregnancy, or shortly after childbirth. 46. Wives are sometimes exchanged. 46A. A widow is free to marry, the relations of her late husband would probably be consulted in the negotiations. 47 to 48. Men and women related may speak to and look at each other. If not related it is not usual to.

*Disease and Death.*—49. Cause of death or illness is ascribed to some strange blackfellow, belonging to another tribe, who has doomed a certain man or woman to die, or suffer from ill-health. It is not unusual, such is their superstitious belief that a man apparently in good health, will, in a very short time lose condition and die, under the impression that he has been doomed by a member of some other tribe. 50. The remedy usually attempted is for the old man of the tribe to place his mouth on or near the seat of pain, and continue singing in an imploring manner for some time at intervals. Fat of any sort is also rubbed into the painful parts. (51.) 52. After death a general wailing ensues and may continue for two or three days, the women score their heads and thighs till blood flows freely. The older women may refuse to speak for two or three months, expressing their wishes by hand signs, a species of deaf and dumb language, in which both men and women are wonderfully proficient. The men score their thighs only. 53. Shortly after death a stage consisting of boughs is built in the branches of a tree, the corpse placed thereon and covered with boughs. Decrepit old gins or men are sometimes buried in the ground. Reason given for planting body in tree, is to allow those interested to examine the body at any time, and try to discover any marks which would enable them to find out what blackfellow caused the death, and by so doing retaliate on him or his friends. 54. The ghost of the departed is greatly feared and would eat anyone on the slightest provocation. Nothing done to propitiate the ghost, but he is given a very wide berth. (55.) 56. No special rules or mourning garb after death. (57.).

*Murder.*—58. All members of a victim's tribe are expected to avenge his murderer. Only close relations of the murderer are responsible. 59. No compensation allowed. 60. A murderer would not be regarded as unclean or be under any special rules.

*Property and Inheritance.*—61. No tribal or individual property in land. 62. Worldly goods would descend to and be shared amongst a man's father, mother, and children. If neither were alive, goods would be burnt. 63. Man's wife or brother cannot participate. (64.)

*Fire.*—65. This is obtained by placing on the ground a piece of flat dry wood, in which a small hole has been made. The point of a round piece of dry wood about 9 inches in length is inserted in the hole, and rapidly revolved by being rubbed in the palms of both hands causing friction, which in a short time causes the wood to smoke, and set alight small fragments of dry bark, &c., placed round the hole in the wood. (66.) 67. No story of origin of fire.

*Food.*—68. Women, youths, and children cannot eat certain food, such as bandicoot, snake, iguana, the reason being that they are not good for making strong bone and flesh, and would probably cause sores to break out on the body. \* Kangaroo is common food to all. The exceptions quoted are always reserved for the full grown men of the tribe, and the old men in particular. The real reason for debarring women and youths from certain foods is because it is not so plentiful as kangaroo, and therefore considered more of a treat and so reserved for the adults. 69. Men and women eat separately. In camp men invariably keep together and the women likewise. The married ones at dusk choosing separate camps and pairing off. 70. Children eat with grown up people, mostly with the mother. (71.) 72 to 76. Cannibalism not practised locally, but tribes in back country occasionally indulge in it. (77, 78, 79.) 80. By eating the flesh of the kangaroo or emu they are enabled to jump or run faster in consequence.

(*Hunting and Fishing.*—81 to 85.)

*Agriculture.*—86 to 96. None whatever, nor will they benefit themselves by the experience gained from the Whites.

*War.*—97 to 99. Before going to war and on return a corroboree is held. 100. Slain enemies not mutilated. 101, 102. No special rules are observed in connection with war.

*Government.*—103, 104. None whatever, the oldest man in the tribe would usually carry most sway in tribal matters.

*Oaths and Ordeals.*—105, 106. None.

*Salutations.*—107. No form of salutation.

*Arithmetic.*—108. Any number up to ten can be counted on the fingers. 109 to 112. Anything over that quantity usually described as "plenty" or "many" and explained by opening and closing the hands several times. No other form of counting.

*Writing.*—113. When a messenger is sent from one tribe to another, he usually carries a symbol of some sort with him, more as a credential from his tribe as their representative or ambassador. He would explain the nature of his business by word of mouth.

*Time.*—114 to 123. Is reckoned by "moons," and seasons (wet and dry). No other measurement of time.

*Games, Dances.*—124. Corroborees appear to be their only form of amusement, that is singing and dancing. Wonderful time is kept by beating two womeras or other sticks together. A hollow bamboo about 3 or 4 feet in length is blown into, causing a booming, humming sound, accompanying the singers. The lubras (women) are debarred from most corroborees. Those in which they are allowed to join, they assist the singers, and keep time by striking their thighs with the palm of their hand. 125. On no occasion do they participate in the dancing. Some of their dances are imitations of animals such as the kangaroo, emu, and frog. No special object in it, merely a pastime. Lubras, however, are not allowed to attend these corroborees. The men lead them to understand there is something mysterious in connection there-

with, but in reality there is not. It is a very slightly varied repetition of the ordinary corroboree. No dances ever of the nature of a religious rite.

*Magic and Divination.*—126 to 132. Not practised in any shape or form.

*Resurrection.*—Their belief is that death means being finally disposed of. Have no idea of any form of resurrection.

*Victoria River Downs Station, Northern Territory, South Australia.*

By LINDSAY CRAUFORD.<sup>1</sup>

*Tribes.*—1. Yes, the natives are divided into tribes, and every tribe speaks a different dialect, and very few of the different tribes are linguists and able to understand one another.

*Birth, Descent, Adoption.*—7. No ceremonies observed. 8. No. (9 to 12.) 13. Children take the name of the father's family. The tribe being divided into families, viz., on Pt. Darwin, in the Larrakeeyal tribe, there is the Mungylah family, and Miranda family, and several other families in this tribe. (14.)

*Puberty.*—15. Yes. The only tribe that do not practise circumcision or other rites is the Larrakeeyah tribe at Pt. Darwin and Southport. All other tribes outside of Pt. Darwin to Pene Creek (some seven or eight different tribes), and then on from Pene Creek to Daly Waters practise circumcision. From Newcastle Waters to Tennant's Creek as far as my knowledge extends the natives split the tube of the penis right from the testicle bag to the point straight open, the penis is then quite flat. When the man makes water he sits on his haunches, holds the point of the penis up, and the water runs down the outside of the bag. In these tribes the women stand up and spread their legs open to make water. The usual order of things is reversed. The rite is performed at about the age of twelve. The lad is held down by five or six strong men and then the penis cut open. After this ceremony the lad is considered a young man and has to go through other rites before he is considered a man. Of course a great corroboree takes place during the making of young men. Natives from other tribes are allowed to cross the boundary of their country and attend, all hostilities between two tribes are deferred. (16.) 17. About seventeen years ago, in Southport, I had a young man of the Larrakeeyah tribe working for me. He was to be made a man, and the ordeal he had to go through was, that he must not go near water for a month, and must not look at, or be seen by a

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Stirling in a note states that the writer is the manager of a very large cattle station on the Victoria river. He adds, "Blacks in the neighbourhood very hostile—constant attacks and reprisals." The writer (Mr. Crauford) mentions that he has lived among the blacks for twenty years, but that "during the last ten years, in fact since the first white man settled here, we have held no communication with the natives at all, except with the rifle. They have never been allowed near this station or the outstations, being too treacherous and warlike."—J. G. F.

woman during this time; at the end of three weeks you could smell him! I used to try my best to make him see a woman but he did not, and got made a man. He used to camp with other young men away from the main camp. I forgot to mention in answer to No. 15 that all the Victoria River country natives split the penis. 18. The Newcastle Waters tribe knock out the two front teeth (top side), also all tribes bore a hole through the nose. 19. All tribes have large marks cut on the breast, shoulders, and thighs. Women, when a baby or husband dies, have a lot of marks scored on their backs. Also if any woman or young man has any great friend, the friend makes a mark, generally on the thigh. They know of no reason why this is done. I imagine it is done purely for ornament. (20.) 21. Yes, both men and women. 22. No. 23. 24. Yes, the Larrakeeyah tribe used to cover the girl up with dirt for the three days, at her first menstruation, but this has, I think, died out since civilization spoilt them, I do not know if other tribes do the same. 25. With civilized boys (men), their women generally sleep away from the men during menstruation. 26. They reckon a man would get diseased if he had connection during a woman's menstruation.

*Marriage.*—27. As a rule the members of a tribe intermarry. As soon as a female child is born she is given to a young man. He has to wait until she is fit before he can marry. At other times an old woman is given to a young man. Occasionally a man will steal a woman from another tribe and keep her. I do not think they care what relation the female of the tribe is that they marry, so long as she is not a sister. 28 to 33. After about thirty years of age a man is allowed to have as many women as he likes, and the older he gets the younger the girls are that he gets, probably to work and get food for him, for in their wild state the man is too proud to do anything except carry a woomera and spear. (34 to 36.) 37. There is no marriage ceremony. (38 to 41.) 42. Yes, at once. (If a strange woman is captured from another tribe or from the whites, all the men have connection with her, one after the other until, as a rule, the woman dies.) (43 to 44.) 45. Men do not cohabit with the women during menstruation. (46.) Relative to questions 47, 48, the following came under my notice during my residence at Powell's Creek. The first man and woman I got to come in were two old people with three youngsters. I found the woman could not or would not talk, and that she communicated with her husband and children by signs. I imagined she was deaf and dumb, until I got other women, and found them the same. After some time, I found out from these natives that when a woman is married and has children she is not allowed to speak at all until she has done breeding. I found that all the unmarried girls and old women were allowed to talk. Also that young boys (only certain ones) were not allowed to talk when certain chief men of the tribe were present. After a lot of persuasion I got the first old man to let his lubra speak, after that he could never stop her again. She is still at Powell's Creek. Her name



Numigilly. This is the only tribe I know of that has this custom.

*Disease and Death*—49. They have no idea. 50. On the upper Victoria, in a creek running into the Victoria, there is a hot mineral spring. We caught about fifteen women sitting in this, at daylight, some of them had nasty sores, a sort of skin disease, and I fancy they cure themselves in this way. There is also a hot spring in the Douglas River, twenty-five miles from Pine Creek, where the natives do the same thing. 51. In some tribes the natives think, that if any member of the tribe gets sick, that it is caused by a member of another tribe, and that this man comes in the shape of a bird and steals the sick man's kidney fat, and if the man dies the relatives of the dead man fix on some unfortunate in the other tribe, and wait until they get an opportunity of sneaking on him, and kill him. I knew this to occur in Southport, when the relatives killed three young men that had come down country with a teamster. 53. In the more northern tribes the dead are buried. On the Victoria they put them in a tree. On the Tableland they make stages and cover them with the bark of the ti-tree. They often carry bones of children about with them. 54. Are frightfully superstitious, and frightened of an evil spirit at night time, and do not as a rule move about at night. (55 to 57.)

(*Murder*.—58 to 60.) (*Property and Inheritance*.—61 to 64.)

*Fire*.—65. Fire is obtained by having a bit of pithy soft wood and a bit of hard wood. The hard wood is worked between the palms of the hands on the soft wood, and as soon as fire is obtained a piece of ti-tree bark is used to spread the flame. (66.) 67. A superstition is that if anyone makes water on the camp fire he will die.

*Fcod*.—68. The old men eat anything. Certain food is forbidden to women and children, generally the best, such as kangaroo, &c. The women generally get the bones when the men have finished. (69 to 71.) 72. Cannibalism is practised occasionally but only by old men and women who eat a baby, thereby thinking they will get the youngster's strength. A man told me a tale about the blacks on the McKinlay at the twelve mile between Pine Creek and Burrundie. He got his information from the chief of the tribe, English name Billymuck. That there existed in the ranges at the twelve miles, a large cave, full of bones of men, and at certain periods say once in six or seven years, that it was a custom of certain old men and chiefs of the tribe to retire to this cave, taking a younger man with them to go through a ceremony, which, if he passed, then made him one of them; if he failed, they then killed him and ate him, putting the bones with the others. The man that told me was a reliable man and I think it is true. I have a girl here that assures me that the first child she had died and that her mother ate it. She was young and not entitled to any of the tit-bits.

*On the Manners, Customs, Religion, Superstitions, &c., of the Natives of Central Australia.* By W. H. WILLSHIRE, 1st C.M.C.<sup>1</sup>

*Tribes.*—The Aborigines are divided into four clans, viz., Pultarra, Commarra, Perula, and Aponunga. 2. They are distinguished by the mode of wearing the hair, and knocking out a front tooth. 3. They name their children after animals, trees and places, ranges, creeks and gorges. 4. No. 5. Not considered.

*Birth, Descent, Adoption.*—7. 8. The mother is isolated until she is able to leave her seclusion with the baby. 9. The husband does not observe any rules, but is proud if the offspring is a boy. 10. No ceremony, no god-father, &c. 11. No. 12. Yes, often female children are killed at birth. 13. The children of a Pultarra mother, are Perulas. The children of a Commarra mother are Aponungas. 14. No.

*Puberty.*—15. Yes, at puberty they (the males) are circumcised, and a fortnight after the urethra is cut down from the head of the penis about 2 inches. 16. No. 17. Yes, for a month. 18. Yes, knock out a front tooth of the females. 19. Yes, cut the skin with sharp stones, and fill up with ashes, straight lines and half circles, on chest and arms. 20. Nil. 21. Both men and women. 22. In some cases. 23. Yes, they are cut with a stone knife. 24. Yes, remain secluded until it is over. 25. Yes. 26. Perhaps a fight.

*Marriage.*—27. Compelled to marry a woman of a different tribe. 28. It would be tantamount to incest, and he would probably be killed. (29, 30.) 31. Yes, I have known them to have four. 32. No, only one. 33. No reason. 34. Sometimes by capture, sometimes given. 35. To his own bough wurley. 36. No. 37. No ceremony. 38 to 40. No. 41. Yes, they go away together. 42. Immediately after marriage. 43. Sometimes they cohabit before he takes her for good. 44. In some tribes the old men take them first. 45. Yes, only during menstruation and pregnancy. 46. Yes, this is very common, they often bring them up to white men and beg of them to take them. 47. Yes, has to find food for her, if she is a widow; yes, she may speak to any but the young men. 48. Certainly, they love each other very much.

*Disease and Death.*—49. They think another black has pointed a bone at them. 50. By making a corroboree, viz., singing and slapping their thighs. 51. Nil. 52. They beat their heads until the blood flows, and weep bitterly if a near relation. 53. Buried in doubled-up position. 54. Yes, they draw a line and in the dark they keep the ghost from returning. 55. No. 56. Supposed to mourn and cover their heads with pipeclay. 57. No.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Stirling states that the writer has had a great deal to do with the natives in his capacity of police trooper. His communication is dated from the Mounted Police Barracks, Adelaide, South Australia.—J. G. F.

*Murder.*—58. Yes, they track him up and try to kill him, and do eventually. 59. No. 60. If he has killed one of another tribe, he is thought a lot of.

*Property and Inheritance.*—61. No. 62. They have none. 63. No.

*Fire.*—65. By rubbing two pieces of mulga wood together, and kept nearly always burning. 66 and 67. No.

*Food.*—68. Yes, the elder natives, all but pork. 69. No, the men eat alone, and throw what they can't eat to the women. 70. Yes. 71. Only the men apart from the women. 72. Yes, they eat those who offended them. 73. Because the deceased saw some ceremony of theirs. 74. Yes, the females clear out on these occasions, by order. 75. Children not allowed to eat it. 76. Buried. 77. No. 78. Prohibited from seeing the blood of women during their courses. 79. No. 80. Have not heard.

*Hunting and Fishing.*—81. Not any. 82 to 85. No.

*Agriculture.*—86 to 96. No idea of.

*War.*—97. They paint and adorn their bodies with feathers and leaves. 98. To keep watch. 99. Yes, to be on the watch in case of lubra stealing. 100. Sometimes cut the beard off. 101. Make a great corroboree to welcome them back. 102. He is thought a great warrior, they give him presents.

*Government.*—103. Only the old chiefs. 104. Hereditary to the chiefs' children.

*Oaths and Ordeals.* 105 and 106. No.

*Salutations.*—107. The men wave their boomerangs, and the young women kiss each other, in fact they all talk together.

*Arithmetic.*—108. Only up to five, after that it is called a mob. 109. Yes, sometimes on the fingers and toes. 110. Yes, frequently. 111. No. 112. After five all is called "ec-nurra," or many.

*Writing.*—113. By notching sticks.

*Measurement of Time.*—114. No, are only guided by the position of the sun and the moon. 115. By looking at shadows of trees. 116. Up to five. 117. No. 118. By seasons and fruits. 119. No. 120, 121, 122, 123. Nothing known.

*Games, Dances.*—124. Blowing into hollow logs, making unearthly noises. 125. Dancing, imitating animals, so as they can lend each other their wives, not of a religious nature.

*Magic and Divination.*—126. Yes. 127. They cure diseases by superstitions. 128. Born a doctor. 129. Yes, they make rain by singing corroborees. 130. No. 131. Yes. 132. No.

*Religious and Political Associations.*—133. Not any.

*Men as Women, Women as Men.*—134, 135. Never done.

*Sleep forbidden.*—136. No.

*Ceremonial uncleanness.*—137. Unknown.

*Doctrine of Souls.*—138 to 152. Nothing is known of the doctrine of souls.

*Demons and Spirits.*—153 and 154. No. 155. They do believe that old camps are haunted, and they believe in devils.

*Scapegoats.*—156 and 157. No.

*Guardian Spirits.*—158. They have none. 159 to 162. No.

*Resurrection.*—163. They believe when they die they return in the shape of an animal.

*The Heavenly Bodies, &c.*—164. They do not worship the heavenly bodies. (165 to 169.)

*Sacrifice.*—170 to 173.

*Miscellaneous Superstitions.*—(174 to 184.) 185. They will not mention the names of the dead.

*South Australia; Aborigines; Mode of Burial.* By E. HAMILTON, Protector of Aborigines.

Every tribe differs in its mode of burial. Among the Adelaide tribe as soon as a person dies there is a general lamentation, consisting of a loud cry made by relatives and friends. The body is immediately wrapped up in skins or clothing worn during life, in the course of a day or two it is placed upon the "Wir-katti" or bier, which is made of branches crossed so as to form radii of a circle, and an examination entered upon as to the cause of death. The bier is carried upon the shoulders of five or six persons over places where the deceased had been living. One person is placed under the bier, professedly in conversation with the dead, and asks, "What person has killed you, do you know him?" If the corpse says "No one," the inquest ceases, but if it state that some person has, the bier moves round; the corpse is said to produce the motion influenced by "Kuinyo" (a fabulous person). The alleged murderer may be present, if so, the bier is carried round and one of the branches made to touch him, and a battle ensues, either immediately, or in the course of a day or two. At the time of burial, the body is removed from the bier and deposited in a grave from 4 to 6 feet deep. Children under four years old are not buried for some months after death: they are carefully wrapped up and carried upon the back of the mother during the day, and at night serve as a pillow, until they become quite dry and mummy-like; they are then buried, but with what ceremony I don't know, as I have not witnessed it.

The Murray tribes differ from the Adelaide in performing this ceremony, the body is carried from the wurley upon a bier, and placed near the grave. The mourners then crowd round it, and the men, women and children weep and howl for about an hour. Besides weeping and howling, the female relatives make numerous superficial incisions upon the thigh, from 6 to 12 inches long. The men then proceed to examine into the cause of death, whether the individual has been killed or died a natural death. The abdomen of the dead body is uncovered and an incision made from 3 to 4 inches long, in the right hypogastric region, the bowels and omentum are turned out, and a portion of the latter cut away and placed in a bunch of green leaves. If the

individual has been killed by an adverse tribe, they state that a cicatrix is found in the omentum, but if he died a natural death the omentum presents a normal appearance. The intestines are replaced and the body deposited in the grave with the head lying to the west. Two relatives then jump upon the body and as if in a paroxysm of frenzy seize each other by the hair of the head, and unmercifully drag, shake, and pull each other about. The grave is filled up with earth and branches, and a tumulus is left so as to remind the living where their friends and relatives are laid. Upon these tumuli clothing and branches are put from time to time, they are visited occasionally by the women for several months after, and lamentations, weeping, making incisions across the thighs, &c., as at the time of burial. I saw one of these mounds about five years ago, about two miles above Wannum on the banks of the Murray.

In the neighbourhood of Encounter Bay, four modes of disposing of the dead obtain. Old persons are buried, the middle-aged are placed in a tree, the hands and knees being brought nearly to the chin, all the openings of the body, as mouth, nose, ears, &c., being previously sewn up, and the corpse covered with mats, pieces of net, or old clothes, &c.; the corpse being placed in the tree, a fire is made underneath, around which the relatives and friends of the deceased sit and make a lamentation. In this situation the body remains, unless removed by some hostile tribe, until the flesh is completely wasted away, after which the skull is taken by the nearest relation for a drinking vessel.

The third mode is to place the corpse in a sitting posture, without any covering, the face is turned to the east until dried by the sun, after which it is placed in a tree. This plan is adopted with those to whom they wish to show respect.

The last mode is to burn the body, which is practised only in the case of still-born children or those who die shortly after birth.

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*On the Manners, Customs, Religion, Superstitions, &c., of the Australian Native.* By M. C. MATTHEWS, Clarendon, South Australia.

*Tribes.*—1. The Australian natives are divided into tribes which are innumerable; different customs prevailing every 200 or 300 miles. 2. There is a marked difference in the physique of the coast natives and the inland, probably from the fact of the coast native living almost exclusively on a fish diet, while the latter are omnivorous. (3 to 6.)

*Birth, Descent, Adoption.*—8. Yes, before accouchement a native lubra leaves the camp, erects a wurlie, gundyak, or miams, "Anglice hut," different tribes calling them by different names, on some "Biliabong" creek or water hole, and is left unattended and utterly deserted by the tribe to which she belongs, and has to hunt for her own food. Diet is not restricted at such times. I have seen

lubras hunting twenty-four hours after confinement. She remains away from camp for one moon. (9 to 14.)

*Puberty.*—15, 16, 17. After the ceremony attending puberty the young native has to leave camp and hunt, and remain away for one moon to prove they have arrived at man's estate and are able to take care of themselves. 18. As a rule, the septum of the nose is cut or bored, to allow of a reed being worn as an ornament. They in many tribes also adopt the custom of knocking out two upper front teeth. Again in other parts of Australia circumcision is adopted, and in parts of the colony of South Australia the urethra is slit from the base of the penis to the glans. 19. They have cuts made in various parts of the body with sharp shells, which incisions are filled with clay or sand which, when healed, form hard ridges, and is the native idea of tattooing. (20.) 21. Both sexes. (22.) 23. Yes. 24, 25. Yes, in all cases of menstruation females leave the camp, and live alone until clean. Any departure from this rule is met with the direst displeasure, and frequently they are beaten with clubs, &c. (26.)

*Marriage.*—27. Generally, but occasionally they take a captive from another tribe, then he has to make good his claim by personal prowess. 28. They have no strictly moral code that I am aware of, in fact their morals are lax. (29.) 30. None that I am aware of; they apparently have no idea of relationship beyond father and mother. 31 to 33. Polygamy is indulged in to a great extent, but it frequently occurs that a woman is exchanged, and passes to a number of husbands in a few years. 34. Sometimes by purchase, at others by capture, and occasionally by exchange. 35. Each native builds a separate hut for his wife or wives. (36, 37.) 38. No. (39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44.) 45. Natives do not cohabit while the menstrual period is on, nor the latter portion of time of pregnancy, nor for one moon after childbirth. 46. No particular occasion, but is frequently done. (46A.) 47. If a native runs away with a girl or abducts her, the mother-in-law will never look at or speak to her son-in-law. (48.)

*Disease and Death.*—49. The prevailing idea is that sickness is caused by malice, or the influence of cochee the native evil spirit; hence *re* the first, a member of their own or another tribe pointing a bone at them is, according to their belief, a sure sign they will die, and although they suffer no pain they pine away and die, refusing all food, in fact, die of literal starvation. 50. *Re* curing disease, for venereal complaints the women insert mulga-wood ashes into the vagina; men bind the same round the glans penis. Other diseases as far as I have been able to learn have no attention. But with regard to wounds, wet clay is pressed into the wound, which quickly heals. (51.) 52. One custom is for the body to be placed in a hole, when members of the tribe stand or kneel over the body in turns, and with a large boomerang they strike each other on the head till a quantity of blood flows over the body. But there are many customs. 53. Some tribes bury in the ground, others suspend the body in the branches of a tree, others erect a

platform of stakes and branches, and place deceased on the top; some have been found buried in caves, and some I have heard of being cremated, but I believe the latter is rare. 54. Yes, if a member of a tribe dies and is buried in the vicinity, the camp is at once deserted. (55.) 56. They usually shave the head, and plaster themselves with white copi or pipeclay. 57. Yes, the bone of a deceased native is supposed to have the power of causing the death of any native to whom it is pointed.

*Murder.*—58. Yes, by all wild tribes. (59, 60.)

*Property and inheritance.*—61 to 64. Natives are very improvident, and accumulate no property beyond their weapons and rugs.

*Fire.*—65. There are several ways of making fire. Some tribes twist rapidly a piece of wood pointed, and held in a vertical position, which bears on a piece of flat wood held in a horizontal position, when a spark from the same ignites dry leaves. Another system is to draw a thin piece of wood quickly across a larger piece of wood, in which is a slit, when a spark ignites some dry leaves all ready for the purpose. The duty of keeping the fire alight generally devolves on the lubras, unless the men are away hunting, when they generally carry a fire stick. (66, 67.)

*Food.*—68. Interior tribes are omnivorous, but coast natives usually confine themselves to a fish diet, as far as my experience carries me. 68c. Certain kinds of food are prohibited to women and children, but the prohibition, I believe, is more from selfishness than anything else, as I have noticed that the prohibition usually extends only to those articles of diet that the men are particularly fond of, viz., turkey buzzard, &c. As a substitute for bread they crush the seeds of the nardoo, munyeroo, and others, which are pounded into a kind of flour by the women, made into cakes and baked in ashes. They have also a native tobacco which they call pituri. They also brew an exhilarating beverage from certain leaves crushed. It is, in fact, a kind of narcotic, but I am unable to give the name of the plant in question. 69 to 71. In some tribes the men eat alone, in others their lubras and children eat with them, but the latter custom is, I believe, rare. 72. Years ago, I believe, there were cases of cannibalism, but it is not practised now. (73 to 80.)

*Hunting and Fishing.*—81. Relative to fishing, the coast natives usually spear fish by torchlight; those living on the larger rivers in the interior build races out of stakes and brushwood across a river and set bone hooks attached to lines made of the strong inner bark of trees or hair, while others place nets across the river having a fine mesh; the fish are then literally hunted into the net, when they get caught by the gills. 82. Natives seldom trouble to hunt until they are almost *in extremis* with hunger. Then he gets a supply, and on returning to camp gorges himself to satiety, the lubra, or wife, having either to hunt for herself or accept that which her husband cannot dispose of. (83 to 85.)

*Agriculture.*—86 to 96. Natives of Australia do not cultivate.

*War.*—97. Fighting is frequently indulged in among the tribes,

the causes are obvious, sometimes through quarrels, at others jealousy, but I believe principally through poaching on their preserves for game. (98 to 101.) 102. The men plaster their bodies with copi or pipe clay, principally along the ribs and down the centre of their bodies, also the face; in many cases they resemble a skeleton. They wear a wirripu round the loins, generally made of the white tips of the tails of the rat, others wear a wirripu of hair or opossum skin; opossum skin is also bound round the head.

*Government.*—103, 104. They have certain customs which are invariably followed. Personal property is generally held sacred; but they are great thieves when a white man is concerned. Tribes invariably keep to certain districts. They have elders or chiefs corresponding with the Indian Medicine men, who I believe are principally self-constituted, or admitted as such on the score of age or personal prowess. Great respect is attached to age as a rule, especially in visiting another tribe.

(*Oaths and Ordeals.*—105, 106.)

*Salutations.*—107. Their demonstrations of welcome are very marked. Natives of one tribe, if friendly, visiting another usually stop a certain distance from the camp until they are remarked. They imitate some bird or beast when great demonstrations of joy are indulged in, the lubras making the most noise. I believe the general salutation is striking their own and their visitors' chests—but different customs prevail.

(*Arithmetic.*—108 to 112.)

*Writing.*—113. They have message sticks which are made of hard wood, and by a code understood among themselves they are able to identify a message by sundry notches made on the stick.

*Measurement of Time.*—114. Generally, I believe, they count time by the moons. (115 to 123.)

*Games and Dances.*—124. The principal pastime is throwing the boomerang, which is a piece of hard wood, crescent-shaped, being thin and concave on one side, convex on the other. They also indulge in the pastime of throwing the spear, at which they are very keen. 125. In their dances or corroborees they dress as described under 97. They dance round a huge fire, keeping very accurate time by beating boomerangs together, and keeping up a monotonous chant at the start which increases in volume towards the finish at these dances. The women do not take part beyond beating on opossum skins stretched tight or beating on boomerangs. They in their dances imitate animal hunts, or battles.

*Magic and Divination.*—126, 127. The only one coming under my notice is that of rain making, which is usually indulged in by some old warrior who has constituted himself a doctor or sorcerer by trading on the weakness of the other members of the tribe; it consists in making a circle with a stick, with which he marks the ground, and making certain cabalistic signs, keeping up a low monotonous dirge. I have observed, however, he does not attempt



the operation till there are signs of clouds springing up. (128 to 132.)

(*Religious and Political Associations.*—133.)

(*Men as Women, Women as Men.*—134, 135.)

(*Sleep forbidden.*—136.)

(*Ceremonial Uncleaness.*—137.)

*Doctrine of Souls (and Resurrection).* 138, 139, 163. The prevailing idea is that by death they will be born again; to use their own expression in pigeon English, they tumble down black fellow, jump up white fellow. (140 to 152.)

*Demons and Spirits.*—153. They undoubtedly believe in spirits, the principal one being Cochee, the Australian demon, which they dread. It is supposed by some to be identical with some extinct Marsupial (Mammoth), remains of which are now frequently found. And by others it is supposed to be the bunyip, about which there has been considerable controversy. (154, 155.)

(*Scapegoats.*—156 to 157.)

(*Guardian Spirits.*—158 to 162.)

(*The Heavenly Bodies.*—164 to 169.)

(*Sacrifice.*—170 to 173.)

*Miscellaneous Superstitions.*—174. Many tribes believe future existence is regulated by due observances at burial according to the rites of the tribe.

#### *Supplementary.*

Native names, applied to waterholes and creeks, invariably in South Australia have application to some parts of the human anatomy, principally the genital organs, hence Killalpammin, Kopperamauna, &c. There are other cases where names are given to creeks, owing to some unusual occurrence having taken place therein or adjacent to.

The answers given herein invariably apply to those tribes I have been brought in contact with, viz., the Wide Bay and Burnett and Cooper in Queensland, and the Diamantina and Daeri tribes generally in South Australia. With regard to the dialect or patois there is such a marked difference, that only for the fact that the same caste prevails throughout Australia one is led to believe they are separate races.

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*On the Manners, Customs, &c., of some Tribes of the Aborigines, in the neighbourhood of Port Darwin and the West Coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria, North Australia.* By PAUL FOELSCHKE,<sup>1</sup> Inspector of Police, Port Darwin, Northern Territory of South Australia.

*Tribes.*—1 to 6. The natives are divided into tribes, each of which has a distinctive name and is subdivided into families. All live together in camps in different parts of the country belonging to

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Stirling observes in a note that "Mr. Foelsche is a most intelligent and accurate observer, knows the natives well, and has great influence."—J. G. F.

the tribe, but each family has its own portion of that country and roams over the whole as it suits them.

The names of the tribes in the neighbourhood of Port Darwin are as follows :—

Larrakeah, Woolna, Goonanahinigah, Yiarick, Unalla, Woolwonga, Aquguilla, Aqugunting, Jeerite, Ungnakan, Wagite, Mallak-Mallak, Ponga-Ponga.

They wear no dress except at and near the settlement, such as are given them by the settlers. *Names of Men* of the Larrakeah tribe—Noalunga, Miranda, Mangul, Ganaaba, Agabaree, Meerillee, Moeruk.—*Of Women*.—Munmuk, Maitbee, Mallabarac, Alkin, Dubona, Goolenning.—*Of Boys*.—Banjebull, Ambull, Bunguin, Mamindac, Marrabano, Nangandin.—*Of Girls*.—Lumang, Guratbinga, Abinga, Mamil, Dabunul, Midjeget. As far as I know these are not names of animals, plants, or natural objects. I do not believe they have any totems.

*Origin and Future State*.—Copied from my paper "Notes on the Aborigines of North Australia," read before the Royal Society of South Australia, 2nd August, 1881. Related to me by a member of the Larrakeah tribe. A very good man called "Mangarra" lives in the sky among the stars, a place called "Teelahdlah"; he made all living creatures upon earth, except black fellows. He also made the trees, grass, water, and everything, and makes wind, rain, and thunder. He never dies, and likes all black fellows. Another good man called "Nanganburrah" lives in the bowels of the earth, a place called "Ahbybuggah." He a long time ago made one black fellow, called him "Dawed," and taught him how to make black fellows—"Dawed" made plenty of boys and girls who grew up and multiplied. When "Dawed" was an old man the black fellows growled plenty and would not do what he told them; he then made them very ill, and plenty died, but some got better. "Dawed" then caught some geese, and told the black fellows to eat them, but some old women refused, saying the geese were no good. "Dawed" then made the first spears and speared the old women in the legs, when a strange black fellow called "Chares" appeared, helped the old women and took them to his own country called "Tooparanlah"; "Dawed" followed him and demanded the women back again, which was refused. "Chares" and these women had plenty of children, which now form the "Woochoonga" tribe. "Chares" was a bad man and when he died turned into a large stone: this stone the natives say is situated on a large creek and is much feared by them; they say anyone touching it will soon die. "Dawed" when he found he could not get the women back again from "Chares," went to "Lingowah" a place on the Adelaide River, east from Port Darwin, where he saw a beautiful young girl called "Abmahdam"; he liked her, but she refused to go with him. He then sent something from his own person which had the appearance of a snake. This fetched the girl to him and he had intercourse with her. "Dawed" then went back to his own

country and the girl remained on the Adelaide River, where in course of time she had plenty of babies, who grew up and now form the Woolna tribe. "Abmahdam," afterwards died and turned into a tree at a place on the Adelaide river called "Lay lay loo." "Dawed" after making all about black fellow, died and also turned into a tree on the Adelaide River at a place called "Ahlee-Ahlee." These trees the natives assert are still growing on the Adelaide River and are much revered, for "Dawed" and "Abmahdam" have been good people. Near the place where "Dawed" turned into a tree, when he died, there is a large water-hole highly revered by the natives, who believe that sick persons bathing in this water get cured. "Dawed" also taught all the black fellows how to make the different kinds of weapons and all the other things which black fellows are now making. "Nangánburrah," who lives in the ground, is designated "All same Government." He can read and write, and when black fellows growl writes it down in a book. When black fellows die they go down into the ground to "Nangánburrah," and if they have been good, which is ascertained by referring to the book, "Nangánburrah" gives them a letter to give to "Mangarárrah" with whom they then live among the stars. If they have been bad and growled they are sent to a place deep down in the ground called "Ohmar" where there is plenty of fire, and long way under this place is a large water called "Burcoot" where one black fellow named "Mádjuít-Mádjuít" sits down. He regulates the tides according to the changes of the moon. He like "Mangarárrah" and "Nangánburrah" never dies.

The tradition of the natives in the neighbourhood of Port Essington, about 100 miles east from Port Darwin, as to their origin is as follows:—A long time ago a big woman called "Warahmoórúnee," in a state of pregnancy, came from the north, there being no water on the earth at the time. She arrived at Port Essington and finding it a good country she made a large fire in the ground, which, when burnt out, made the sea and all the water. She then left plenty of black fellows of both sexes and went further away into the bush, made more water and left more black fellows, and gave each tribe a different language. After this she left a fire in the ground a long way in the bush, and set three black fellows to watch it to prevent it breaking out. Should they neglect to look after it the fire will come and burn all black fellows. "Warahmoórúnee," after walking about a little longer, died and turned into a stone, a long way in the bush. These natives have no idea of a future state of existence.

*Birth, Descent, Adoption.*—(7 to 9.) 10. The child when born is named without any ceremony. (11.) 12. Some tribes kill children at birth, that is, when a woman has more than three or four; the reason given for doing so is that too many children encumber the parents in travelling about for food, but there is no regular custom of killing the first or last born children. 13. When the

father and mother belong to different tribes, the children belong to the father's tribe, as far as I can ascertain. 14. Adoption is only practised when both parents are dead.

*Puberty.*—15. The ceremonies performed on lads at puberty vary with different tribes, and are generally performed about the middle of every year. The following are those with which I am acquainted:—Tribes that do not circumcise take their young men some distance away from the camp where they have to stay by themselves for about a month; every evening just before sundown the isolated young men proceed to an appointed place where a lot of dry grass is collected (the grass grows here to about 4 or 5 feet high), their faces are painted, or rather smeared over with ochre and clay of various colours, they go in single file till they reach the appointed place, when they form a circle and squat down on the ground. The old men and those who have passed through the ceremony are waiting to receive them and cover them over with the dry grass collected for that purpose, after which the women come up to the place and deposit round the circle close to the young men food of various descriptions: this done the women retire out of sight, the young men then shake the grass off their heads and begin to eat, the old men talk all the while: just before it gets dark, the young men retire in the same form as they arrived, holding their heads down both coming and going and take with them the food they have not eaten; the others then return to their camp; not a word is uttered all the time by the young men. The same performance is carried on every evening for a whole moon, when the young men are ornamented with tassels, from 6 to 12 inches long, made of string with short feathers on the end; these tassels are fastened on to the arms just above the elbows and in the hair on both sides of the head: they are then allowed to walk about anywhere for another month. 17. But they dare not look at a woman; if they should chance to see any they have to go out of the way so as not to meet them. After this they are allowed to return to the camp and are then admitted to all the privileges of the tribe. Tribes that circumcise take the young men considerable distances away, sometimes 100 miles and more, and sometimes into other tribes, and therefore I never had an opportunity of witnessing the ceremony. The natives inform me the operation is performed with a sharp piece of shell or stone, such as quartz or flint, and judging from the appearance of the parts after the wound is healed, the operation is very neatly done. This ceremony is generally performed on youths from 14 to 20 years of age, and the rule to avoid seeing women some time before and after the operation applies, according to the statement of the natives, to this ceremony as well as the one previously described. Some tribes perform a further operation a year or so after circumcision, and that is to slit open the urethra from its opening for about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch, and, in some instances, right down to the root. This operation is also performed with a sharp stone or shell, but I can elicit no reason for doing this; it

does not seem to affect procreation. 18. Some tribes, at the time of puberty, knock out two front teeth in the upper jaw: this I have found among some tribes that circumcise and among some that do not. The septum of the nose is pierced by all tribes I have come in contact with on the north coast of Australia, both men and women, and is generally done long before puberty, but as far as I know, at no particular age; it is done for the purpose of wearing a bone or stick through it as an ornament; the only reason given me for doing this is, giving their own words, "to make young girls and boys look nice." 19 to 21. Both sexes raise cicatrices on their bodies at the age of from 12 to 30 years; this is done on the upper parts of the arms, just below the shoulder joints, across the chest, body, rump and thighs. Some women after the death of their husbands have scars made on their backs. There is no fixed rule as to the raising of these scars or weals, it is left to the fancy of each individual and no ceremony accompanies them. (22.) 23. Some tribes also perform operations on girls at puberty, enlarging the orifice of the vagina by inserting the fingers, pieces of wood, and even stones, but the accompanying ceremony I do not know. (24 to 26.)


*Marriage.*—27 to 30. Men may marry a woman of the same or any other tribe, but not a relative of any degree of consanguinity. 31. A man may have as many wives as he can get, four is the greatest number I have known one man to have. 32. But women are not allowed to have several husbands. 33. The only reason I know of for the practice of polygamy is that, as the wives have to provide food for their lord and carry all their family possessions when travelling, the husband can lead a perfect life of indolence. 34. Wives are obtained by gifts of parents; in the majority of cases female children when born are promised to men of all ages, and this accounts for so many middle-aged and old men having mere children for wives. Some men obtain wives by stealing them, generally from other tribes, or get them in exchange for a sister, if fortunate enough to have one unmarried. (35, 36.) 37 to 41. No ceremony accompanies marriage. 42. Men cohabit with their wives immediately after marriage. (43 to 45.) 46. But they exchange wives occasionally. 46A. A widow belongs to her late husband's brother; if none, she returns to her parents if alive, and is free to marry again. 47 and 48. Men may look at or speak to their mothers-in-law and women to their fathers-in-law and sisters speak to each other.

*Disease and Death.*—49. The cause of disease ending in death is generally attributed to some person of the same or neighbouring tribe. 50. In the neighbourhood of Port Darwin the natives suffer a great deal from malarious fever, but they don't seem to have any remedy for this complaint and death is the result in many cases. Boils are treated with poultices made with hot water and leaves of certain trees. Coughs and colds are common among the natives: for these complaints they eat grubs found in mangrove trees. For diarrhoea they eat a very soft kind of rock of a chalky

appearance. Ringworms, or other similar disease, they cure by pricking the affected parts with a sharp-pointed piece of wood and applying heat. Venereal diseases are cured by applying hot ashes or sand to the parts. Gatherings in the ears are treated with the juice of the fruit of the red *Eugenia* by squeezing it into the ear after the fruit is roasted. Neuralgia is treated by applying poultices of the same fruit roasted. Little notice is taken of wounds. (51.) 52. Ceremonies at death chiefly consist of corroborees, men and women rubbing their faces with powdered charcoal and painting themselves red, white, and yellow; the red and white colours are obtained from soft red and white stones and the yellow from yellow clay. 53. Dead children and old people are buried in shallow graves, seldom more than 2 feet deep: young people are placed in trees; a sort of platform is made in the branches some 10 feet from the ground, or sticks of the same height are put in the ground and a platform erected on them of sticks and bark, the body is wrapped in paper bark, when it can be obtained, or grass, and placed on the platform covered with bark and leaves, where it remains till quite dry, when, in some instances, the relatives (always women) collect some of the bones and skull and carry them about with them for several months, when they are buried. The names of deceased persons are seldom mentioned. Widows as a rule have a number of cuts made on their back as a sign of mourning. (54 to 57.)

*Murder.*—58. Murder, among natives, if the man killed be one of the same tribe, is punished by spearing the offender severely without mortally wounding him; if killed by one of another tribe, the punishment is death if the murderer can be found, if not, one of his relations has to suffer at the first opportunity offered. Serious quarrels, sometimes ending in fights, are the natural consequences in either case; but after a lapse of time all become on friendly terms again. The avenging of murder on another tribe is generally left to young men, and the victim is, as a rule, taken unawares. (59, 60.)

*Property and Inheritance.*—61. Each tribe has a recognised land boundary which is always sacredly respected, and each family or clan in the tribe have their particular portion of land within this boundary. I have never heard of any quarrelling or disputes over boundaries. All families or clans camp promiscuously together anywhere they choose within the tribal boundary. (62 to 64.)

*Fire.*—65. Fire is obtained by two pieces of dry soft sticks: one about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch thick and 2 feet long is placed upon the ground, a foot placed on each end; the other stick is about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch thick and a foot long, and is placed with one end upon the other stick, about the middle, thus— and given a rotary motion between both hands; a hole is thus drilled into the bottom piece which, having a few dry leaves, a little soft fibre, or dry grass placed around it, soon ignites. When travelling a fire stick is usually carried; while in camp the fire is never allowed to go out. (66, 67.)

*Food.*—68. Food of all descriptions is eaten, but the best parts

are generally reserved for adults. 69 to 71. Men, women, and children eat together. The men deal out the food to the women and children. 72. Cannibalism is practised, but I have no positive proof of grown-up people being eaten; only children of tender age and both sexes are, as far as I can ascertain, fit subjects for food, and I have seen them roasted and eaten. (73.) 74. There are no special ceremonies at cannibal feasts; the body is roasted on coals and the bones are thrown away or into the fire. (75 and 76.) 77 and 78. I have never heard of blood of men or animals being drunk, or the sight of it avoided or prohibited at any time. (79, 80.)

*Hunting and Fishing.*—81 to 84. Hunting and fishing are conducted without any ceremony, nor are there any customs or superstitions in connection therewith, either at starting on, or returning from each expedition. 85. Bones of game are sometimes used as ornaments or implements, such as pincers, spear-heads, &c.; fish bones are thrown away.

*Agriculture.*—86 to 96. Agriculture is unknown to the Australian aboriginal in his native state; he has not the remotest idea of cultivating the soil, nor does he ever attempt it of his own accord.

*War.*—97 to 99. Wars do not occur so frequently among natives as many people imagine. There is always a good deal of talking and appearing in war paint going on when any disputes arise, and persons unacquainted with their customs would think that a great fight is to take place and a good many be slaughtered, for when painted up and fully armed the natives look like demons, and out in the bush few people would care to go near them. I have known two tribes preparing for a great fight for several weeks, and on the appointed day for the great event I travelled some ten miles to witness the result, but felt greatly disappointed, after watching the tribes approaching each other for several hours, the shouting, yelling, and gesticulations being most hideous, to see the whole farce coming to an end after approaching each other within thirty yards with spears shipped, to see a few of each tribe rushing into each other's arms and embracing each other, when the whole crowd set up a fearful howl, after which the tribes separated some sixty yards, a few small reed spears were then thrown by each party, but no one hit, after which the two tribes were on the most friendly terms again, and I returned home without having satisfied my curiosity. When a fight really does take place it is not often that any are killed, generally a few are wounded. 100. Should any be slain and fall into the hands of the enemy, the fat is generally taken out of the body and carried away for the purpose of anointing themselves with, believing it makes them strong and able to fight well. 101. Generally before and after fights a good deal of corroboree is indulged in, but I have not noticed any other ceremonies connected therewith. (102.)

*Government.*—103. There are no recognised chiefs in a tribe in the true sense of the word, as far as I have come in contact with them;

the old men of each tribe form themselves into a sort of council when anything of importance is to be discussed, and what they decide upon is generally carried out. (104.)

(*Oaths and Ordeals.*—105, 106.)

(*Salutations.*—107.)

*Arithmetic.*—108. Arithmetic is beyond their comprehension: all they can count is up to four. The Port Darwin tribe, called the "Larrakeah," count thus:—"Kulagook" (1), "Kalletillick" (2), "Kalletillick-Kulagook" (3, or 2 and 1), Kalletillick-Kalletillick" (4, or 2 and 2). Beyond this number they count by holding up their fingers. 109 to 111. They count 15 by holding up both hands open, then closing them and opening one hand again; and 20 by holding up both hands open, closing them and opening them again, and so on. I have heard of some tribes being able to count up to 10 or 20, but I never found a native to count beyond 4; except semi-civilised ones who had been taught to count by Europeans. (112.)

*Writing.*—113. Their writing method is limited to message sticks notched or painted, and sticks with small bunches of feathers of various birds for various messages tied on one end; for instance, if one tribe invites another to a corroboree a messenger is sent with a stick with white cockatoo feathers tied on one end, and a similar stick is sent in return.

*Measurement of Time.*—114. Their knowledge thereof is very limited. 115. They tell the time of day by the sun. 116. If sent on an errand and asked when they will return they point to the sky and say, "When sun there." 117 to 123. They reckon by so many sleeps or so many moons, and determine the year by the seasons dry and wet (this being a tropical climate). They have no knowledge of the constellations, nor have they any names for the months, or moons as they call them, or any recognised beginning of a year, nor artificial timekeeper.

*Games, Dances.*—124 and 125. I am not aware of natives having any special games or dances, their various corroborees seem to be their only amusements.

*Magic and Divination.*—126. I know of no magic or witchcraft practised. 127. But each tribe has one or more professed doctors who profess to cure disease but cannot inflict it; their only mode of operation with which I am acquainted is to suck the affected part of the body, but they apply no internal remedies. No doctor is called in to treat external injuries or complaints such as wounds, broken limbs, boils, &c.; most natives know how to treat such complaints themselves. 128. They become doctors by father teaching son or sons; if he has none he does not impart the knowledge of his profession to anyone. 129. There are rain-makers but not many, and I cannot get a native here who can tell me how it is done. 130. Medicine men do not dress as women, for neither in their native state wear clothes or dresses. (131, 132.)

*Religious and Political Associations.*—133. Associations are not known among the natives here.



(*Men as Women, Women as men.*—134, 135.)

(*Sleep Forbidden.*—136.)

(*Ceremonial Uncleanness.*—137.)

*Doctrine of Souls.*—138 to 140. They believe that when black-fellows die they go up above but cannot distinguish between body and soul, nor can they give any idea as to where they go to, except pointing to the sky. 141. They have no theory of dreams, and to some extent believe in what they see in dreams, but can give no explanation. (142 to 152.)

*Demons and Spirits.*—153. They all believe in bad spirits living in the bush, who are only to be seen by night by old men. I have made a good deal of inquiries about these evil spirits but never met a native who has seen one; their general reply is, "Old men tell me him been see 'em."

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### Notes on the Soumoo or Woolwa Indians, of Blewfields River, Mosquito Territory. By H. A. WICKHAM.

THE Blewfields, or the "*Hidden*" river (as it was called by the Spaniards), having of late years become so far opened up and occupied by plantations, in supply of the American demand for bananas, it is probable that the primitive native tribes have become modified, or more probably have entirely retired into the remoter head-streams.

It may, therefore, be of interest to record some notes on their manners and customs made during a residence of some months, so far back as 1866-7. I may say I was the first European who ascended this river to its head-streams in the mountains of Chontales in Nicaragua. In those days it was commonly called the Woolwa River, after the Indians that inhabited its banks. It is a fine stream flowing into the northern extremity of the large Blewfields Lagoon, by several mouths, lined with mangroove thickets. The Blewfields "*creoles*" had provision plantations only for a short distance up, and parties of Soumoo or Woolwa were commonly to be met, in their "*pit pans*," or square ended river canoes on the lower reaches of the river. Although these Indians spend much of their time on the water in their canoes, their villages, or settlements of substantially built lodges, are invariably placed on high banks. Kissalala, the first, is situate where a reef of limestone, passing beneath the bed of the river, causes the water to flow rapidly.

No doubt in the old times the Moskito men were very superior in war to those of the other tribes they conquered, yet, although they still show greater energy, they do not appear now to present a favourable comparison with either the Soumoo, or Rama, or even the Toongla or Towka; as they have become mixed in most of their villages (with the exception, I believe, of a few to the

north, toward Sandy Cape) with former African slaves, negroes from Jamaica and other parts of the West Indies.

The Woolwa village consists of from two to ten large lodges—large sheds of high thatch of palm-leaf, raised on substantial posts. They are scattered at intervals along the main river and its tributary streams. Their lodges have no walls, but are open on all sides—hardly an inconvenience in this climate, as they are sufficiently sheltered from rain by the palm-leaf thatch, arranged to hang so low that one has to stoop on entering. This thatch has a very neat appearance, especially from the inside, which is usually decorated with the lower jaw-bones of the peccary, or javali (wild hog), deer, and also the bleached skulls of large fish and turtles. Sometimes there are stages made of split bamboo, for the storing away of dry maize and other stores and things, bows, arrows, &c.; those in use being stuck handily in the binding of the thatch. The rest of the furniture consists of grinding stones, fashioned out of rock of rough texture. It is identical in shape to the "*Metatl*," common to Central America. It is used with a stone rolling pin. Earthenware pots of various sizes, of their own making, hand moulded, well made, and decidedly picturesque in shape.

Low stools, cut out of the solid, in cedar or mahogany, should probably be considered the principal part of their furniture.

Under the eaves hang odd looking little bags, pieces of native cloth hang on the supporting beams; a cradle with the dried claws of crabs and other things attached to it, that make a strange rattling noise when rocked—a sound often banishing the stillness of night. They have a few small string hammocks—not much used—usually one or two wretched old guns, axes, and a few rusty matchettes obtained from traders in exchange for their canoes, or Indian rubber. They generally sleep wrapped up in bark-cloth sheeting. Four families generally inhabit each lodge, each having their fire in one of the corners, at which they do their own family cooking, and sit around chatting.

These lodges are usually surrounded by a number of the most miserable looking curs imaginable, constantly on the watch for what they can steal. Their shapes are often extraordinary, but never graceful. One struck me as being especially atrocious looking. It was a rusty-black brute, all the bones of its long thin body appeared distinctly beneath the skin, and this body was set on legs so short as scarcely to keep it clear of the ground. The fore-legs were so bent in, that the beast walked more on the joint than on the foot, which was armed with formidable claws like a bear's, and to complete its repulsiveness, it had a most villainous leer in its bluish-grey eyes, as it would look up and snarl when disturbed in the act of thieving. The Indians rarely feed their dogs, and therefore they are continually prowling about to pick up what they may. On this account I was the more surprised that the "*Maril*" or Woolwa women, should take such a fancy to my little English terrier "*Jack*," as to feed and pet him; but I suppose

the honest, good-tempered expression in his intelligent brown eyes contrasted favourably with the sneaking looks of their own curs. These people always call themselves *Soumoo*, as they appear to prefer to be so called; the name *Woolwa* is probably a nickname given them by the dominant Moskito of the coast. The Indians are very fond of taming wild animals for pets: one seldom stops at a settlement, or even travelling camp, where one does not see parrots, wild turkey, monkeys, tame wild hogs, or peccary. At one place I saw a little boy running about with a tame otter.

The Soumoo are naturally well mannered. On entering one of their lodges the only notice they take is to motion one gravely to one of their low short legged cedar stools, you are then left to make yourself at home.

The women, clad only about the loins in a short petticoat of bark-cloth, or trade print, continue to busy themselves at the fires, from time to time stirring the contents of large earthenware pots with long-handled wooden spoons, or, after raking down the fire carefully toast green plantains, turning them frequently by aid of tongs made of bamboo; occasionally going down the steep path to the river to fetch water in vessels made of the joints of large bamboo. The men go on tipping their arrows, carefully testing their straightness and balance by looking along them whilst held at arm's length. They relaxed somewhat, however, on receiving a present of tobacco. They are fond of talking of "old time" when their territory was under the English protectorate and the Moskito chiefs were installed at Belize. "Man-o'-wars" then frequented the coast, and the hated Spaniard durst not encroach on their lands. At the Kissalala settlement a Moskito man was domiciled with a Woolwa woman of the village. On one occasion he illustrated the domination of the Moskito over the other Indians; when some of his Soumoo guests became rather boisterous and quarrelsome, over a *Mishla* feast which he had provided, he settled the differences by knocking over two or three of them, right and left, by regular "facers" in the most approved style. On my asking how he came by this very English way with his fists, he appeared delighted, and said he had learned it as a boy when "Man-o'-wars" were on the Moskito coast. This mode of proceeding gave the old Moskito man great advantage over the Woolwa, who in fighting strike with the elbow. It seems to be a point of honour with them to give and take blows in turn and not to try how often they can strike one another, as much as how long they can stand up to it. Although the elbowing is an awkward method, still the blows, when delivered in this way, full upon the chest, have an ominously heavy sound.

This tribe have a singular mode of playing with staves or short poles, which they grasp in the middle, and then, standing opposite each other, holding them at arm's length, strike each end alternately together with all their force. The opponents are

matched in pairs, and in appearance it rather reminds one of old English quarter-staff play. The object of the game is to see which can keep up longest the continual strain upon the muscles of the arm, and ultimately strike the staff from the hand of the other.

The Woolwa have many strange customs attendant upon their coming of age, the young men having many physical ordeals to undergo before they are fully entitled to the privileges of man's estate. On the manner in which they pass through there is dependent their consideration in the community. At intervals they have to sustain heavy blows on the back, given with the elbow of a strong man. The rest of the ordeals are of a similar character, all being apparently dealt with intention of ascertaining what amount of physical suffering can be sustained and endured. It seems probable that these customs are but the remnants of more useful exercises calculated to strengthen and educate their bodies in the art of war, at a time when they were a more numerous and warlike people, and also to teach them that fortitude which seems highly prized among all Indian tribes. As a people they are now very peaceably disposed, rarely quarrel among themselves, although frequently intoxicated at their *Mishla* feasts. On these occasions they generally amuse themselves by talking all together at the top of their voices. They are expert swimmers. When they bathe, they usually step into one of the canoes which are moored at the landing place, and drop down the stream to some secluded spot, where they can go through their ablutions in privacy.

They seem to have a sense of humour. Frequently at night, after the first sleep, the men would gather round the fires from their respective quarters in the lodge, and, as they warmed themselves in the flames from the chill of the night air, would enjoy some yarn with a quiet chuckle. I am quite certain, that during my sojourn among them, these people enjoyed many a good joke at my expense, from the manner in which they would look at one another, say something in their own language, and laugh quietly. No doubt other travellers have found themselves in the position of affording amusement to, if not successful, in "astonishing the natives."

The Woolwa have now no chief of their own; some deference, however, appears to be paid to the elders of a settlement. Nearly all the men in the lower settlements on the river, were known by some English cognomen, probably handed down from old times friendly intercourse with the sea-rovers, who sided with them against the hated Spaniards. Those, however, who live about the head of the river frequently have Spanish names.

In person the Woolwa are thick-set; the colours of their skin, being a warm reddish or chocolate brown; unlike the Mosquito who are very dark for Indians, and often tall and lithe in form. The young men are often strikingly handsome with high delicately chiselled features. The girls much less so.

The men are generally rather under middle height, often very muscular, and deep chested; rather squat in figure, probably from

passing so much of their time in small canoes. The expression of face is usually good-natured; the eyes are black, large, and brilliant, the nose prominent, and, as a rule, aquiline, the mouth large, but well-cut, and the lips thin; chin prominent, cheek-bones less prominent than usual with American races.

They have a custom of flattening the head of their infants. A casual observer might, however, overlook this in the adult, as the hair, which is worn hanging, square-cut to the eye-brows in front, hides the peculiar flatness of the skull. This process is carried out in early infancy; the infant is kept swathed and upright in the cradle-frame, at the top of which is hinged a folding flap, which is tightly bound down on to the child's forehead. The little creature does not seem to suffer, indeed they are remarkably quiet babies, but its eyes assume a starting, beady look, like that of a mouse caught in a trap. This custom probably had its origin in a desire to increase the characteristic formation of the head, naturally considered by them the highest type of beauty.

It is interesting to note the various effects produced in the figure of different races by mode of life. Among the Woolwa, there is large development about the arms and chest, whilst the lower parts of the body are inclined to be squat, doubtless to be accounted for by the habit of spending much of their life in paddling, poling, or hauling their *pit pans* up rocky creeks and rapid rivers. On the other hand the civilized Indians of Matagalpa may be taken as a pedestrian race, with a remarkable development of the muscles of the leg.

The Woolwa are very skilful in the management of their canoes, especially in the more difficult parts of the river. In descending a rapid, one man stands in the bow with a pole balanced in the middle; with this he touches the pieces of rock, right and left, as the canoe shoots down, thus warding off the prow when apparently on the point of dashing against them. Another man (or the wife) sits with a paddle over the stern, and assists with a timely stroke of the broad blade.

The form of their canoes (cut from a cedar log by preference as being most durable) for river work is that known on this coast as the *pit pan*, and for deep water the *dorey*. The former is long, narrow with square projecting bow and stern, through which are cut square mortise holes, by which they can be moored to shelving banks or shoals by thrusting the poles perpendicularly into the mud. When hunting or fishing it is wonderful how noiselessly they can drive the canoe through the water. Their vision is very keen, and they allow with great accuracy for deflection in shooting fish from the canoe as they lie under sunken logs and snags in the water.

They are also very expert in taking a large fish called "*shirik*," with a hook baited with a green grass-hopper, which they catch in the long grass on the river bank; this they cast with aid of a very long line attached to a switch-rod, dexterously sending the bait a long distance under overhanging branches and bushes that shadow deep still pools.

Their bows are made from the hard and heavy wood of the older *supa* palms. The shaft is made of a long length of the "dumb" or wild cane. Those used in fishing are pointed in hard-wood, those used for shooting land animals, with iron. They train their cur dogs to hunt, *karkee* or *wootusa*, two kinds of rodents. They use drag nets with which they fish the succession of deep pools among the boulder rocks exposed in the bed of the river during the dry season, generally at night time.

Boys secure small birds alive by stunning them with light reed arrows fashioned with a broad button-like point.

These Indians having so little impedimenta, make frequent unexpected flitting expeditions for hunting in the woods, or visits to neighbouring settlements. In this way I frequently found myself left alone to my own resources at one of their lodges. When a grand *Mishla* feast is about to be given, the women are busy preparing the drink some days beforehand. This is a very disgusting process, but is, I believe, in some way connected with their religious ceremonial. These feasts are carried on with a ceremony very different from the jolliness with which they hold carousals with drinks made from bananas, or sugar-cane. *Mishla* is the name common to all kinds of strong drink, but unless some other name is added, is supposed to be that which is made from cassava or manioc root. When the Indians intend giving one of these ceremonials feasts, the whole community club together and collect a large quantity of the cassava root from the provision grounds. The young women assemble round some of their large earthen pots; they then commence chewing, and after the root is well masticated, they spit it out into the pot. This is kept up until their jaws get so tired that they are obliged to desist. The remainder is then boiled, and, after mixing the whole it is allowed to stand for a day or so, until it has fermented, keeping it meanwhile stirred and skimmed. The people are invited from great distances to attend these festivals, on which occasion they are to be seen in their full costume of paint, feathers, and beads. Some wear a coronet made of the curly head feathers of the curassow, often very tastefully made; also a cord round the upper arm, from which flutter feathers of the macaw, and downy owl or the yellow tail feathers of the *ostinops montzuma*. The necks of the men are decorated with long pendant bands, worked, often in very pretty patterns, in small opaque beads procured from Blewfields traders; these hang down in front of the body. Tassels of white beads fastened to a broad collar, of similar work to the bands, descend down the back. The *Tounoo* (or *palpra* as the Moskito call it) is a cloth of some 24 inches width, worn by men round the waist, the ends of which are passed betwixt the legs, generally hanging down in front to below the knee, but with some of the young dandies it reaches the ground. The common *tounoo* like the sheeting in which they wrap themselves at night, is made of the bark of a tree, beaten out by the *maril*, or women, on a smooth log, with a mallet shaped like a club; there are grooves in

the mallet which gives to the bark-cloth a texture and appearance of a mesh. The better sort are made of a very stout and handsome cotton material, the threads dyed in many colours, woven into tasteful devices, and occasionally mixed with the down and feathers of birds. Much time and labour are expended in the making of these cotton fabrics, and they are proportionally valued.

The women, on full-dress occasions, wear great masses of beads round the neck, but, unlike the men, they are not worked into designs; they simply put on the "hank" as they get it from the trader, fastening the ends at the back of the neck; and they must be greatly inconvenienced at such times by the ornaments; young women are seen with such a mass of differently coloured beads round their necks as to occupy the whole space from the bosom to the chin, quite preventing them from turning their heads. They wear a petticoat of bark-cloth to below the knee; these are wrapped round the loins, and tucked in on one side over the hip. When "dressed" for company, they make the parts of their person exposed a deep vermilion, a colour extracted from the pod of the arnotto shrub, which they preserve mixed, in neatly carved little calabashes. Rubbed into the skin, it imparts to it a soft glossy look. The females do not paint the face in broad bands of black and red streaks and blotches like the men, but have, instead, three or four very fine lines drawn evenly across the nose and cheeks. In spite of the seemingly endless variety of design in vogue amongst the men, they are said each to have a recognised meaning. Sometimes, though rarely, the men wear their hair curiously tied up behind in fashion of the old European queue, perhaps in imitation of their old Jack-tar allies. According to their custom all the *Mishla* which has been prepared has to be consumed, though the drinking extend during days and night, and cause disgusting vomiting and apparent distress. The *Mishla* is brought round and pressed on the men by the young women; they invariably present the bowl three times, advancing each time with a half-dancing measure to the chant being sung. During the drinking, one of the party goes round the circle from time to time, singing a sort of monotonous chant, beating a drum, formed from one of the joints of the large bamboo, to the accompanying notes of a bamboo flute. On such occasions, when they made this tour, I could scarce refrain from smiling, when they stopped in front of me in turn with dolorous expression, regarding me with unmoved gravity. This melancholy chant seems to be their only music, often heard on journeys with them, when it is heard whistled or hummed, as the Indians lay down for the night by the fireside, wrapped in their bark-sheeting.

These Indians are remarkably honest. On one occasion I had dropped my note-book in the woods, but some of them, when we had passed, picked it up and came up stream after us, at considerable inconvenience to themselves, in order to return it. This is but one of many instances of scrupulous honesty of this tribe. I never

lost a string of beads, or a fish-hook, whilst living among them, although many things of value in their eyes lay about.

The Woolwa are fine axe-men, using it exceeding well, with great strength and gracefulness. In the evenings the men of the settlement usually return with a heavy load of dry logs for fire-wood, procured from the dry drift-wood on the banks of the river, which they split into suitable lengths for burning. The women then make up the fire and prepare the evening meal, which is brought to the men as they sit and talk.

Though living in such retired spots, these people are very particular in certain forms of etiquette among themselves. One day, soon after my arrival at Kissalala, I was taking a constitutional turn round the lodges, whilst the men were away for the day hunting and fishing. Seeing a woman who had often brought me roast plantains, &c., I nodded and wished her "good morning." I shall never forget the look of scared astonishment that appeared in her face, and at once I comprehended that I had been guilty of a breach of good manners. After the first surprise, however, the dusky lady seemed to recover her usual calm presence of mind, remembering, probably, that I was but a stranger from some distant land, and therefore unaccustomed to polite society.

Among themselves, should a travelling party arrive at a place where none but women are at home, they do not land, although they may chat with them from the canoe.

Female children are betrothed to young men whilst they are still almost babies. The custom is that the future bridegroom resides with the father-in-law elect, and overlooks the education of his future wife, until such time as she becomes fitted to be taken to his own lodge. At such times they seem to be much petted, and not a little spoilt. The elder men sometimes have two wives, more generally one.

The women are addicted to the disgusting habit of eating vermin caught in their husband's hair.

In times of sickness a green bush is burned as a disinfectant, throwing off heavy wreaths of smoke. For pains in limbs or head, with which they seemed to be frequently troubled, they, for the former, flogged the parts with a kind of nettle, until the skin became raised in bumps, and for the latter are in the habit of tying a cord very tightly round the head.

Like most primitive races, they seem to be very sensitive to imported diseases. At the time I was among them they suffered heavily from cholera. It had been introduced to Blewfields by some half-breed Mosquito men, who had put into that place, after having pillaged an American transit steamer which had been abandoned at the San Juan river on account of the disease.

A party of Woolwa returning brought it up the river. It spread among the Indians with great rapidity, killing off a large number; those in infected villages abandoned them and fled into the woods.

A little Woolwa boy at one of the settlements, used to come to my quarter very often, and was very amusing from the confidential



air he assumed with me. He would chatter in the strange sounding Soumoo language, evidently expecting that I followed his remarks, and would nod and grunt his assent in a most satisfied manner when I replied in English. This little fellow seemed hardly yet to have recovered his normal expression from the flattening of the forehead; his eyes were still very prominent and had the peculiar staring look noticeable in most of the younger children. He was generally to be seen with some pet animal on a string—sometimes it was a *Karkee* or Indian rabbit, at other times a little bright-eyed iguana or a large kind of mole-cricket, which every now and again would bury itself in the ground, only to be dragged out again by the line tied to one of its stout legs. On one occasion he had his foot severely bitten by a young otter with which he was racing about.

He was very much afraid of a large "howler" monkey, which I had tied in my corner of the lodge. Indeed the Indians generally seem to have some superstition about this morose species, which they call "*almook*," as I heard girls threaten troublesome youngsters with the *almook*.

As an Englishman among them I was very well treated; they seemed anxious to do any little thing to please, such as knocking down the ripest oranges from their trees planted about the lodges. As a primitive people they live well, having no lack of food. Their plantations produce maize, cassada, coco,<sup>1</sup> and other tubers. Some of them grow good size patches of sugar-cane, from which they make very palatable sugar, moulded into small cakes. The canes are crushed in primitive wooden roller-mills turned by hand spikes; the juice is boiled down in large earthen pots. They make no tobacco pipes, but use the leaf rolled roughly in cigar form.

They use much chili pepper with their food. Their staple food is a preparation of maize, made when the grain is still green or unripe. The women grind it into a paste with their stone rolling-pins. It is then stored by being wrapped in the broad leaves of the *waha* plant. In this form it is carried in their canoes as travelling provision, and at such times is very offensive from its sour odour. When required for use the women generally take a few handfuls and simply mix in a bowl of water; or it may be rolled in banana leaf and baked in the ashes.

When preparation was being made for hunting expeditions, the peculiar noise made by the women in grinding their maize on the rough stones, often continued far into the night, reminded one forcibly of the "sound of grinding," mentioned in the Bible.

They are very fond of shell-fish, and they also spear river cray fish by torch-light.

I could never bring myself to taste the true *Mishla*, but became exceedingly fond of it when made without the chewing part of the

<sup>1</sup> Much used for thickening their soup. They also grow chocolate and cotton. Also the *Supa* palm chiefly, I believe, because they make their bows from the wood of the older trees.

process. It is very staying, and slightly stimulating, requiring, however, a large quantity to be swallowed before it intoxicates.

Being of the consistency of gruel, it requires some practice to drink with ease.

Large part of the aliment of these people is taken in thick gruel-like forms, as various preparations of maize, green and ripe. The ripe maize is generally roasted before being pounded and mixed with sweetened water. They also drink their chocolate very thick.

They appear strict in observance of marriage state, and seem to be free from sexual disease consequent on adulterous intercourse. Each village settlement appeared to make and hold their provision clearing and cut in the forest in common; the women of each family taking what was required for family use, provision for travelling, &c. They have no knowledge of metallurgy.

I did not observe a class apart or any supposed supernaturally endowed persons, as the *soukier* or "Medicine man" among the Moskito of the sea coast. Women have more influence than is commonly supposed among savages. Men do the heavier, the women the lighter but more continuous work in plantation and house, and they make the pottery, hand-moulded, the clay being tempered by mixture with proportion of ashes from the bark of a certain forest tree, collected and burned for the purpose.

I saw no objects of worship nor images amongst them; but they certainly wear objects as charms—small objects, such as the claws of some birds, and seeds of certain kinds. Undoubtedly very superstitious, believing in spirits inhabiting forest, air, and water.

They are a quiet people, mild and inoffensive, excepting only when they can "club" a travelling party of the hated mixed Nicaragua Spaniards, who they may be able to surprise camping on their lands.

They wear no nose or lip ornaments—as among the South American tribes—only occasionally white enamel shells in lobe of the ear of the men. The game of "Cats' cradle" appeared to me to be carried by these Indians into far more complicated passages than among Europeans.

Places of burial in vicinity of river-banks are marked by a large thatched shed, similar in construction to the lodges inhabited during life. It is built over the spot of interment, and the whole kept sedulously clear of bush-growth.

The hair is cropped in sign of mourning and there is much *Mishla* drinking at funerals. There are regular places of burial back in the forest.

At funerals a long line of spun cotton is stretched, like a telegraph wire, from the house of the deceased, where the *Mishla* drinking is going on, to the interment ground, where the body has been deposited no matter how distant it may be. I have seen the white thread following the course of the river for many miles, crossing and re-crossing the stream several times. Captain Lewin, in

his interesting work on the Wild Hill Races of India (which I have since read) mentions a similar usage among the Tipperalis of that country. Among the Woolwa words terminating in "*was*" would appear to indicate a stream of water, since the tributary streams are known as the *Rusewass*, *Cooringwas*, *Billwas*, &c.

The Woolwa do not appear to be at war with any of the other tribes, not even with the wild Cookra to the north, nor the Rama to the southward.

They have the pleasant custom, common to riverine tribes, of leaving their permanent houses during the dry season and camping out amongst the rocks and boulders or sand-banks in the bed of the fallen streams. At the time I knew them the names of their largest villages on the Blewfields River, were Kaka on the upper river, Woukee, and Moroding, situate on the high banks below the falls of the same names, and on the lower river, Kissalala and a settlement beyond a hill called Assan-uka.

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**"The Sacred City of the Ethiopians."** By J. Theodore Bent, F.S.A., F.R.G.S. Mr. Bent's explorations in Mashonaland made him desirous to investigate the traces of early civilisation in countries which had undoubtedly been under Sabæan or Arabian influence, hoping to find buildings or inscriptions which would help to elucidate the mystery surrounding the builders of Zimbabwe.

His first investigations were devoted to Abyssinia (Ethiopia), where many ancient inscriptions and important ruins were known to exist. The unsettled state of the country considerably interfered with Mr. Bent's explorations and subjected him and his brave wife to great peril; nevertheless they succeeded in making many important archæological discoveries.

Chief among these are the Sabæan inscriptions, which, says Dr. Heinrich Müller, "are of the highest historic interest, because they testify by their presence there, to the connection between the peoples of South Arabia and of Abyssinia which is set forth in the list of peoples in the tenth chapter of Genesis; and they also testify to the migration into Ethiopia of the Sabæans, a fact which Greek authors allude to."

Professor Müller gives the date of the earliest of these inscriptions as about the seventh or eighth century B.C., whilst the latest appears to belong to the sixth century of our era.

The older inscriptions were found at Yeha, which Mr. Bent identifies with Ava, a city built by Sabæan colonists, and which apparently fell into decay after the building of Aksum the "Sacred City of the Ethiopians."

These inscriptions are unfortunately very fragmentary, having been found built into the walls of more modern buildings; but Yeha contains also ruins of great importance, the principal being a fine building called by Mr. Bent a Sabæan temple. It is a square of masonry, built of large stones without cement and without

windows. It was probably about 50 feet in height originally; the entrance was on the west side, and before the gateway stand two tall monoliths with altars at the base, one of which has a circular disk engraved upon it, Mr. Bent thinks, for receiving the blood of slaughtered victims, but for this it does not seem well fitted.

This ancient temple stands within what is now a sacred enclosure, whilst a Christian church, built out of the ruins, in the walls of which are inserted several fragments of Sabæan inscriptions, occupies the centre of the older buildings. About 300 yards from this temple are remains of what appears to have been a cyclopean building, and further explorations will perhaps yield very important results for this city, if *Ava* would appear to have been the capital of the Troglodytes, and it is at least curious that even to the present day, the inhabitants resort to caves in the mountains, driving their cattle thither to prevent their falling into the hands of an enemy. An exploration of these caves also would doubtless yield very interesting results.

The Christian legends of Yeha make it the home of Queen Candace, and it seems to be remarkable not only for its architectural remains but for the fertility of the soil, and traces of ancient terraced agriculture and irrigation works.

"When *Ava* (Yeha) was destroyed," says Mr. Bent, "the *arcana* of the religion of the Ethiopians and the capital of the kingdom was transferred to Aksum."

This city, which has been the "Sacred City of the Ethiopians" since the very earliest days of Abyssinian Christianity, was "the greatest city and the capital of all Ethiopia," at least two centuries before Christ, and Mr. Bent finds beneath the Christian church traces of an ancient sun-temple architecturally similar to that at Yeha; but the most remarkable of the archæological remains at Aksum are undoubtedly the immense monoliths, which Mr. Bent estimates at fifty in number, some rough and unhewn, others finely shaped and elaborately ornamented.

Some of the decorations on the obelisks Mr. Bent compares with those on tombs in Cilicia and Lycia, and believes that the ornamentation, which seems to simulate doors and windows, beams and pillars, represents Bethel's "terminating in the firmament in which the Sabæan sun-god is supposed to reside." At the foot of many of these obelisks are altars with cups or ring marks, meant as Mr. Bent supposes, to receive the blood of victims sacrificed to the sun-god, for he says such altars were common in Mithraic worship, and he thinks that those of Aksum belong to the period of the colossal architecture of Baalbec, tracing in them a Greco-Egyptian origin; whilst high up a steep hill, carved on a granite boulder, is a fine representation of a lioness with a sun symbol, pointing perhaps to Persia.

It seems a thousand pities that Mr. Bent was prevented from continuing his researches at Aksum, where besides these most interesting obelisks, he saw miles of ruined buildings of considerable size with stone foundations, temples, palaces, and

probably tombs, doubtless hiding relics of immense archæological interest.

Of the curious Christian legends and antiquities we have not room to write, but they are tolerably well known, and the chief interest for archæologists and anthropologists lies in the traces apparent of long continued intercourse in early prehistoric times between this country and Arabia on the one hand, and Egypt and Greece on the other. There seems every reason to believe that an extensive commerce was carried on for ages by sea with Arabia, that an Arabian colony established itself at a very early date in Ethiopia, and at a later period would appear from the inscriptions to have conquered a portion of Arabia. This which is related by early historians, is confirmed by Mr. Bent's researches, which bring monumental records to the aid of history. The Græco-Egyptian intercourse is seen in bilingual inscriptions, Hinnagaritic and Greek as well as in various pillars found in ruins which can be traced from Adulis on the coast to Aksum, and Mr. Bent was fortunate in tracing the old trade route which was apparently carried over the plateau of Kohaild, where he found the extensive and very interesting ruins of Koloe, the chief feature of which is a great dam, the wall 219 feet in length, containing large sluice gates. The masonry of this dam is described as resembling the Hellenic of the best period, and from it and the columns before referred to, with other architectural peculiarities, it seems probable that an influence from Asia Minor was at work here. This Mr. Bent refers to the time of Ptolemy III, but the Abyssinian jewellery, bearing as it does, so strong a resemblance to that discovered by Schliemann at Hissarlik, one head-dress in silver particularly (in the British Museum) being almost identical with that in gold from Troy, seems to point to an earlier date for the asserted influence. Doubtless excavations at Adulis and at Koloe would yield most important relics, and it is to be hoped they may soon be undertaken.

Although Mr. Bent found no buildings resembling Zimbabwe he saw much to remind him of Mashonaland in the flora, in the legends of the Queen of Sheba, and in the manners and customs of the people, particularly in their mode of working iron, and in a curious game played with pebbles in holes on a board, and which he says is found wherever Arabian influence has extended, but as it is played on the West coast of Africa and in India, as well as in Abyssinia and Mashonaland, this may require further investigation.

The Abyssinians appear, according to Dr. Garson, who has added a chapter on their physical characteristics, to be more nearly allied to the Semites than the negroes, although there are great variations among the tribes, some exhibiting marked negro affinities, whilst the northern tribes are termed Hinnagaritic, and seem to bear out the historic account of their Arabian origin.

**"Travels among American Indians.** Their ancient earth-works and temples; including a journey in Guatemala, Mexico, and Yucatan, and a visit to the ruins of Patinamit, Utatlan, Palenque, and Uxmal." By V. Adul: Lindesay Brine. (Sampson Low, 1894.) 8vo. pp. 429. The volume contains an interesting account of the places mentioned in the title, and is well illustrated with maps and photographs.

**"Georgian Folk Tales."** Translated by Marjory Wardrop. (D. Nutt, 1894.) 8vo. pp. 175. A translation of sixteen Georgian, eight Milgrelian, and fourteen Gurian tales.

**"The Knights of the Broom."** By R. Greeven, B.A., B.C.S. (Benares: Medical Hall Press, 1894.) 8vo. pp. 85. "In this pamphlet I have attempted to piece together some authentic information with respect to the sweeper-caste in the Benares Division. . . . Almost all writers . . . have exhibited a tendency to dismiss everything that is obscure in sweeper-rites as a farrago of the wildest and unmeaning superstition. Such an opinion is at least premature, inasmuch as it is evident that they have not studied the subject either as eyewitnesses of the ceremonies, or by a perusal of the books of ritual in the possession of the sweeper-priests."

**"Memoirs of the International Congress of Anthropology."** Chicago, 1894. 8vo. pp. 375. The volume is the report of the congress held during the Chicago Exhibition.

**"Au centre de l'Afrique autour du Tchad."** By P. Brunache. (Paris, 1894.) 8vo. pp. 340. Bibliothèque scientifique Internationale. The work contains a large amount of information with regard to the anthropology of the districts visited and is well illustrated.

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**"The Scottish Geographical Magazine."** Vol. x. Nos. 7-9. The Mountain Systems of Central Asia, by E. D. Morgan. A review of Swedish Hydrographic Research in the Baltic and the North Seas, by C. Pettersson. The Bolivian Altiplanicie, by D. R. Urquhart. Alaska: its Physical Geography, by J. C. Russell. Geography at the British Association, by W. S. Dalgleish. "Society in China," by W. P. Mears. British Protectorates and Jurisdiction, by D. P. Heatley.

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**"Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales."** Vol. xxvii. Rock Paintings by the Aborigines in Caves on Bulgar Creek, near Singleton, by R. H. Matthews.

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*Notes on SKULLS from QUEENSLAND and SOUTH AUSTRALIA.*  
By W. LAURENCE HENRY DUCKWORTH, B.A., Fellow of  
Jesus College, Cambridge.

Two of the specimens under consideration were added to the University Museum by T. Flood, Esq., M.D. They are from Croydon, in North Queensland.

No. 1 is the very dolicho-cephalic skull of an adult male, which possesses many striking features known to characterize Australian crania. Thus, its external dimensions are small, and so is its capacity (1,255 c.c.); the brows are massive and overhanging, the upper jaw large with strong supporting malar bones and zygomatic arches.

In *norma verticalis* it is distinctly phænozygous; synostosis has progressed to a considerable extent in the sagittal suture, less in the coronal; there is a single parietal foramen.

In *norma lateralis* prognathism is almost the first feature that one notices (though it is not brought out by the figure of the gnathic index). The mandible is massive with a lower angle ( $108^{\circ}$ ) than usual ( $120^{\circ}$  is more near the average), the sigmoid notch shallow. On the left side there is a fronto-squamous articulation at the pterion, and the contour of the squamous portion of the temporal bone on the skull is much depressed, the angle between squamous and mastoid portions being exceedingly open, so that there is almost a straight line from pterion to asterion. The temporal ridges are double but indistinct.



In *norma basilaris* a large, wide palate with a large anterior foramen is seen. The channelling of the greater alae of the sphenoid near the pterion, so marked in some Australian crania, is absent in this case. Some arrest of development seems to have affected the internal pterygoid plate on the right side. The glenoid cavity is remarkably shallow. A third and median condyle is seen on the anterior part of the lip of the foramen magnum.

In *norma occipitalis* the pentagonal form is marked; a transverse torus crosses the occipital bone near the inion, other muscular crests and ridges are not strongly developed. The conceptacula cerebelli are not very prominent, so that the skull rests on the opisthion and molar teeth when on a plane surface (and without the mandible).

In *norma facialis* nasal synostosis is observed to be almost complete, the lower margins of the apertura pyriformis indistinct; the right upper median incisor has been lost early in life. The vault of the skull, though fairly rounded in the frontal region, is ill-filled and gable-shaped posteriorly to the bregma.

No. 2 is a very long and prognathic female skull, apparently of about the same age as the male skull just described. Allowing for the sexual differences (which concern chiefly the prominence of the glabella and the stoutness of the facial skeleton), there is much general similarity of the two skulls.

In *norma verticalis* this female skull is somewhat coffin-shaped and the zygomatic arches are just obscured from view. It is remarkable that synostosis of the bones of the brain-case has practically not commenced (being limited to a slight indication at the left stephanion); the wear of the teeth however would indicate an age certainly as great as that of the male skull just described, where synostosis had long commenced.

In *norma lateralis* it appears that all parts of the face and the mandible contribute to the appearance of prognathism. The mandible is strong, with a more open angle than in the other case; the sigmoid notch is shallow. The nose is very flat; there are epipteric ossicles on each side, and the contour of the squamous portion of the temporal bone on the wall of the cranium is much flattened; the basi-bregmatic length is considerable.

In *norma basilaris*, a wide, deep palate with large anterior foramen is seen; the glenoid fossae are shallow; the occipital condyles prominent and everted with post-condylar fossae and foramina.

In *norma occipitalis* a transverse torus crosses the occipital bone; the digastric groove is very deep, but muscular ridges are otherwise feebly developed.

In *norma facialis* the scaphocephalic character involving the frontal bone is at once evident. The nose is very wide, its borders sharp above but indistinct below. Both median incisors have long been lost (or extracted artificially), and their sockets are occupied by deep fossae.

The above notes present the more interesting features of the specimens. To select the characteristics of the pair would be to emphasize: (1) the prognathism, (2) the great vertical height from basion to bregma, (3) the shallowness of the glenoid fossa. Of these the marked prognathism is interesting from the fact of the same characteristic distinguishing Melanesian skulls; the same may be said of the basi-bregmatic height. As regards this latter, the result is a height index greater than a breadth index. Such a condition is common in Melanesians, common in skulls from the more northern parts of Australia, but progressively rarer as one advances to the south.

Of the significance of a shallow glenoid fossa, the third characteristic mentioned, one can speak only with much less confidence. The feature is not constant in Australians and occurs in skulls of other races. It is probably a persistence of a state of affairs normal in earlier life (and is noticed in various races, notably in the South Australian skull hereafter described).

It remains to compare our Queensland skulls with others from the same locality. Such are recorded by Flower, Turner, De Quatrefages, Hamy, Cauvin et alii. The female skull here described bears a marked similarity to a female skull figured in the "*Crania Ethnica*" as that of an Australian woman from "Camp in Heaven." For other comparisons we are dependent on recorded measurements; of such there are the cases described by Professor Turner, who records dimensions of some six skulls from Queensland. These, though in the small cephalic index and high vertical index corresponding with the two skulls here considered, seem absolutely of greater dimensions, the facts being indicated by the greater length and horizontal circumference.

In one of Professor Turner's cases the cubic contents were 1,514 c.c., which is remarkably high for an Australian cranium.

Professor Flower records the measurements of a female skull from Queensland, where the cephalic and vertical indices are equal—an unusual occurrence, the latter being usually the higher in skulls from this region. The figures also indicate that this female was platyrrhine, in which it agreed with the "Croydon" female skull, and it appears that the nose is more flat in the females than in the males of these tribes.

(This skull (1043) approaches the female "Croydon" skull nearly in measurements and capacity.)

Lastly, M. Cauvin has recorded the indices relating to several skulls from Queensland; from these tabulations one sees that the cephalic index very rarely exceeds 71.

It might be noticed in conclusion that the male skull here described bears a general resemblance, confirmed by examination of measurements, to a skull in the University collection from the northern territory of South Australia, so that probably the same influences have determined the particular type in both instances.

The third skull is that of a microcephalic adult or aged male from Adelaide. It was presented by Dr. Watson, and has been longitudinally bisected. The left half is a good deal damaged and fractured, and there is no mandible with it. Synostosis of the sagittal and lambdoidal sutures is almost complete. The most striking features about the cranium are: the very massive prognathous upper jaw, with small but sharp nasal spine; the marked scaphocephaly; the basi-bregmatic height is considerable; the remaining condyle is curiously prominent and everted; the squamous and mastoid portions of the temporal bone join at a sharp angle on the side of the skull, herein offering a marked contrast with the skulls from Queensland.

The arrangement of the infra-orbital canal on the right side is remarkable, for on the floor of the orbit is a small and shallow canal, but a large foramen opening further back on the sphenomaxillary fissure transmits the bulk of the nerve.

The section discloses the great extent of the air-sinuses in the bones of the face and also the great thickness of the skull-wall in the region of the occipital protuberance (the long, slender, forwardly directed posterior clinoid processes might be noticed).

On the whole, the dimensions of this skull accord fairly well with those of other skulls from South Australia, but the basi-bregmatic height is the greatest in this case of all the South Australian crania in the University Museum.

**DIMENSIONS OF AUSTRALIAN SKULLS (Nos. 1 AND 2  
FROM NORTH QUEENSLAND; NO. 3 FROM SOUTH AUSTRALIA).**

| Measurement.                                | Age.<br>Sex. | Skull.<br>1.    | Skull.<br>2.      | Skull.<br>3.    |
|---|--------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
|   |              | Adult.<br>Male. | Adult.<br>Female. | Adult.<br>Male. |
| Cubic capacity .. .. .                      | ..           | 1255            | 1205              | 1300 ?          |
| Maximum length .. .. .                      | ..           | 179             | 176               | 188             |
| Ophryo-occipital length .. .. .             | ..           | 178             | 176               | 186             |
| Ophryo-iniac length .. .. .                 | ..           | 175             | 171               | 183             |
| Occipito-spinal length .. .. .              | ..           | 184             | 178               | 199             |
| Occipito-alveolar length .. .. .            | ..           | 190             | ?                 | 211             |
| Maximum breadth .. .. .                     | ..           | 123             | 123               | 134             |
| Bi-asterial breadth .. .. .                 | ..           | 92              | 94                | 101             |
| Bi-auricular breadth .. .. .                | ..           | 112             | 107               | 111             |
| Bi-stephanic breadth .. .. .                | ..           | 113             | 97                | 95              |
| Minimum frontal breadth .. .. .             | ..           | 91              | 92                | 87              |
| External bi-orbital breadth .. .. .         | ..           | 101             | 103               | 104 ?           |
| Minimum inter-orbital breadth .. .. .       | ..           | 25              | 23                | 25 ?            |
| Bi-zygomatic breadth .. .. .                | ..           | 132             | 123               | 130 ?           |
| Bi-malar breadth .. .. .                    | ..           | 111             | 108               | 115 ?           |
| Bi-maxillary breadth .. .. .                | ..           | 89              | 86                | 98 ?            |
| Jugo-nasal breadth .. .. .                  | ..           | 93              | 97                | 100 ?           |
| Orbital height .. .. .                      | ..           | 32              | 33                | 32              |
| Orbital breadth .. .. .                     | ..           | 39              | 40                | 40              |
| Nasal height .. .. .                        | ..           | 47              | 43                | 45              |
| Nasal breadth .. .. .                       | ..           | 27              | 27                | 25              |
| Palato-maxillary length .. .. .             | ..           | 56              | 57                | 69              |
| Palato-maxillary breadth .. .. .            | ..           | 62              | 65                | 65              |
| Arcs : Frontal .. .. .                      | ..           | 135             | 131               | 125             |
| Parietal .. .. .                            | ..           | 123             | 135               | 134             |
| Occipital superior .. .. .                  | ..           | 59              | 55                | 70              |
| Occipital inferior .. .. .                  | ..           | 49              | 43                | 47              |
| Oblique parietal .. .. .                    | ..           | 340             | 340               |                 |
| Jugo-nasal .. .. .                          | ..           | 105             | 107               | 110             |
| Horizontal circumference .. .. .            | ..           | 489             | 485               | 510             |
| Distance opisthion to basion .. .. .        | ..           | 39              | 35                | 39              |
| Basi-mental length .. .. .                  | ..           | 101             | 108               | ?               |
| Basi-alveolar length .. .. .                | ..           | 94              | 97                | 111             |
| Basi-nasal length .. .. .                   | ..           | 97              | 97                | 103             |
| Basi-glabellar length .. .. .               | ..           | 106             | 105               | 112             |
| Basi-bregmatic length .. .. .               | ..           | 135             | 136               | 141             |
| Basion to obelion .. .. .                   | ..           | 127             | ?                 | 131             |
| Basi-lambdoid length .. .. .                | ..           | 117             | 105               | 120             |
| Basi-iniac length .. .. .                   | ..           | 84              | 71                | 83              |
| Ophryo-mental length .. .. .                | ..           | 136             | 125               | ?               |
| Ophryo-alveolar length .. .. .              | ..           | 89              | 75                | 95              |
| Naso-mental length .. .. .                  | ..           | 111             | 105               | ?               |
| Naso-alveolar length .. .. .                | ..           | 63              | 55                | 68              |
| Width of foramen magnum .. .. .             | ..           | 29              | 29                | 30 ?            |
| Length of molar and pre-molar teeth .. .. . | ..           | 43.5            | ?                 | ?               |

DIMENSIONS OF AUSTRALIAN SKULLS, &c.—*continued.*

| Measurement.  | Age.<br>Sex. | Skull.<br>1.    | Skull.<br>2.      | Skull.<br>3.    |
|---|--------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
|   |              | Adult.<br>Male. | Adult.<br>Female. | Adult.<br>Male. |
| Anterior palatine breadth .. ..   | ..           | 28              | 33 ?              | 31              |
| Posterior palatine breadth .. ..  | ..           | 35              | 39                | 40              |
| Length of parieto-sphenoid suture R. ..                                       | ..           | 10              | 11                | 6               |
| " " " " " L. ..   | ..           | 7 ?             | 6 + W             | 4 sq. p.        |
| Length of lacrymo-ethmoid suture R. ..  | ..           | 6               | 9                 | 11              |
| " " " " " L. ..   | ..           | 8               | 7                 | 9               |
| Choanae: height .. ..   | ..           | 21              | 24                | 24              |
| " breadth .. ..   | ..           | 23              | 28                | 31 ?            |
| Anterior to posterior nasal spine .. ..                                       | ..           | 55              | 49                | 55              |
| Mandible:   |              |                 |                   |                 |
| Height at symphysis .. ..   | ..           | 34              | 33                |                 |
| Coronoid height .. ..   | ..           | 63              | 60                |                 |
| Condylar height .. ..   | ..           | 65 ?            | 56 ?              |                 |
| Gonio-symphysial length .. ..   | ..           | 85              | 77                |                 |
| Inter-gonial breadth .. ..  | ..           | 91              | 91                |                 |
| Inter-coronoid breadth .. ..  | ..           | 95              | 91                |                 |
| Inter-condylar breadth, external .. ..  | ..           | 121             | 101               |                 |
| Inter-condylar breadth, internal .. ..  | ..           | 81              | 74                |                 |
| Breadth of ascending ramus .. ..  | ..           | 34              | 35                |                 |
| Angle of ascending ramus .. ..  | ..           | 108°            | 124°              |                 |
| Weight of skull—  |              |                 |                   |                 |
| With mandible .. ..   | ..           | 736             | 635               |                 |
| Without mandible .. ..  | ..           | 551             | 485               |                 |
| Least distance between temporal crests<br>(i.e., behind coronal suture) .. .. |              |                 |                   |                 |
| Supra-auricular transverse arc .. ..  | ..           | 295             | 295               | 300             |
| Indices: Cephalic .. ..   |              |                 |                   |                 |
| Vertical .. ..  | ..           | 68·7            | 69·9              | 71·3            |
| Gnathic .. ..   | ..           | 75·5            | 77·3              | 75              |
| Orbital .. ..   | ..           | 96·9            | 100 ?             | 107·8           |
| Nasal .. ..   | ..           | 82              | 82·5              | 80              |
| Palato-maxillary .. ..  | ..           | 57·4            | 62·8              | 55·5            |
| Facial (total) .. ..  | ..           | 110·7           | 114·2             | 106·15          |
| Facial superior (Broca) .. ..   | ..           | 97·6            | 98·4              | ?               |
| Facial superior (Kollmann) .. ..  | ..           | 67·4            | 61                | 73·8 ?          |
| Stephano-zygomatic .. ..  | ..           | 47·7            | 44·7              | 52·3 ?          |
| Gonio-zygomatic .. ..   | ..           | 85·6            | 78·9              | 73·8 ?          |
| Naso-malar .. ..  | ..           | 69              | 74                | ?               |
| Dental (Flower) .. ..   | ..           | 112·9           | 110·3             | 110 ?           |
|   | ..           | 44·8            | ?                 | ?               |

SEXUAL TABOO: *a Study in the Relations of the Sexes.*

By A. E. CRAWLEY, B.A., F.R.G.S. (Part II.)

It is "degrading" to a Melanesian chief to go where women may be above his head.<sup>1</sup> This contingency is in Burma considered an "indignity."<sup>2</sup> In Nicaragua women were "very unclean."<sup>3</sup> Amongst the Samoyeds, Ostyaks and other shamanistic peoples, women are regarded as inferior and treated with contempt. They are further considered "unclean." As it is the natural peculiarity of females to defile and pollute, the men carefully avoid touching any object belonging to a woman. The women have separate furniture and eating-vessels, and may not tread in any part of the tent except their allotted corner. On the march they dare not walk on the same path with the men or the reindeer. They are forbidden to go near the fire lest it should be polluted. If it happens that a man is obliged to use some utensil belonging to a woman, he takes care to purify himself by fumigation. When the women have pitched the tent, they must fumigate it before the men will deign to enter. During menstruation and lying-in they are especially abominable.<sup>4</sup> In the Marquesas Islands, the men's club house is "polluted" by the presence of women, who are therefore prohibited from entering it on pain of death.<sup>5</sup> In the South Sea Islands, women were forbidden to touch the food reserved for men or offerings to the gods, as it was supposed that they would "pollute" them.<sup>6</sup> Amongst the Koragars, to enter a hut occupied by a single woman brings "degradation."<sup>7</sup> A Parsee woman at child-birth must lie on an iron bed, because other sorts would remain "unclean."<sup>8</sup> In China, "uncleanness" results from contact with the blood of a lying-in woman.<sup>9</sup> Amongst the Cadiack Islanders, a lying-in woman is so "unclean" that no one will touch her. The same property of "uncleanness" is possessed by menstruating women.<sup>10</sup> Amongst the natives of Rajmahal, the husband may not touch his wife during menstruation, lest he be "defiled."<sup>11</sup> Amongst Hindus, connubial intercourse is forbidden at menstruation; the guilt incurred by breaking the rule is equal to that of coitus with a woman of low caste.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Codrington, *op. cit.*, 233.<sup>2</sup> Bastian, "Oestlich. Asien," ii, 150.<sup>3</sup> Bancroft, *op. cit.*, ii, 685, iii, 494.<sup>4</sup> Georgi, *op. cit.*, 15, 187; Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 433; Bastian, "Der Mensch," iii, 303.<sup>5</sup> Melville, *op. cit.*, 101.<sup>6</sup> W. Ellis, *op. cit.*, i, 129.<sup>7</sup> "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," iv, 375.<sup>8</sup> Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 29.<sup>9</sup> *Id.*, l. c.<sup>10</sup> U. Lisiansky, "A Voyage round the World," 201.<sup>11</sup> "Asiatick Researches," iv, 88.<sup>12</sup> Ward, *op. cit.*, i, 39.

It has recently been shown that the property described by the adjective "unclean" is really the dangerous force of taboo; but the term is also used with reference to this contagion of inferiority, which is an undoubted component of taboo. "Uncleanness" is very commonly predicated of woman during menstruation, pregnancy, and lying-in,<sup>1</sup> when the feminine properties of inferiority are intensified, and also, more rarely, as by the Samoyeds and Nicaraguans, in ordinary circumstances. As is seen in the last set of examples, the question is one of terminology. A conclusive instance is supplied by the Dieri tribe of South Australia, where women at menstruation are not considered dangerous, but "filthy and exceedingly low."<sup>2</sup>

The one material circumstance common to the above phenomena is the contagion of feminine properties developing from the estimate held of woman. Now, the mere fact of sexual differentiation is totally inadequate to account for sexual taboo, though in certain details it supplies a medium for the operation and continuity of the latter. *A priori* ideas of "uncleanness" may be dismissed without comment. Nor does the appearance of blood during menstruation and lying-in sufficiently account *per se* for avoidance either at those crises or on other occasions. "Uncleanness" and consequent avoidance, it will be observed, obtain in cases where no effusion of blood occurs, namely, during pregnancy and the intervals of the periodic function. Nor can there originally be any inherent abhorrence of blood, *qua* blood, whether female or otherwise. Once formed, however, the belief in the property of blood as a vehicle of transmission has unquestionably been of the first importance in the relations of the sexes, acting as a particular segregating force during menstruation and lying-in, and probably extending its influence to ordinary circumstances, through the very periodicity of the menstrual flow. It is a case of the result becoming in its turn an additional cause. To explain satisfactorily the whole series

<sup>1</sup> For instance;—at childbirth, Samoyeds, the "unclean tent," Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 43; New Hebrides, *id.*, ii, 353; tribes of Oxus Valley, Biddulph, "Hindoo Koosh," 81; Kirgis, Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 351; Niam-niam, *id.*, ii, 26; West Africa, Hawaii, Eskimo, *id.*, *l.c.*; Travancore, Servia, *id.*, ii, 27; Thlinkeets and Koloshea, *id.*, ii, 26; Caroline Islands, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, vii, 106; Koibales and Tungous, Georgi, *op. cit.*, 18, 64; Ceramlaut and Aroe Islands, Riedel, *op. cit.*, 175, 264. During pregnancy, Caroline Islands, Waitz-Gerland, *l.c.* During menstruation, Australia, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, vi, 778; Lumholtz, *op. cit.*, 119; Samoyeds, Georgi, *op. cit.*, 15; Sitka Kwan, Dall, *op. cit.*, 412; Koloshes, Ploss, "Das Kind," ii, 434; Haidas, G. M. Dawson, "Geological Survey of Canada," Appendix A, 130 B; Cadiack Islands (Kaniagmuts), U. Lisiansky, "A Voyage round the World," 201, Dall, *op. cit.*, 403; Kafirs of Hindoo Koosh, Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, ii, 381; Bafiotés, Ploss, *op. cit.*, 439; Ceram, Riedel, *op. cit.*, 139, menstrual blood is "unclean," Amboyna, Luang, and Watubella Islands, *id.*, 39, 313, 209.

<sup>2</sup> S. Gason, "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xviii, 95.

of phenomena, we need some further fact of causation, and this the present hypothesis appears to supply. In conclusion, we have the opportunity of applying the method of difference. Zulu women observe the customs of *hlonipa* in relation to the men, but when past the age of child-bearing they need do so no longer.<sup>1</sup> These customs of *hlonipa* are typical phenomena of sexual taboo.

It will be convenient at this point to consider a subordinate phase of the sexual relations, superstitious hostility and dread, which may claim some causal connection with sexual taboo. There are grounds for ascribing to woman an almost instinctive physical dread of the male sex. This would be accounted for, not merely, as suggested above, by the action of subjection and seclusion upon the greater natural timidity of woman, but also by her relative inferiority in stature and strength. This phenomenon of psychology appears very clearly at marriage. Again, in cases of what may be called the revolt of woman, such as are quoted above, some hostility between the sexes is a natural consequence of the friction. Thus, the Indians of California take especial pains to kill the women of their enemies when at war: they say that one woman destroyed is equivalent to five men, because they have such trouble with their own.<sup>2</sup> In the next place is a set of facts leading to a conclusion which may be of further importance in the sequel. They are concerned with sickness and death. Amongst the Krumen, when a wife dies, the husband is believed to have caused her death by witchcraft.<sup>3</sup> In Congo, widows and widowers are charged with the same crime.<sup>4</sup> In Loango, when a man is ill, his wife is accused of causing the illness by witchcraft and must undergo the cassardeal.<sup>5</sup> The Chiquitos were in the habit of killing the wife of a sick man, believing her to be the cause of his illness and imagining that his recovery would follow her removal.<sup>6</sup>

In Madagascar, the widow is reviled by the mourners, who tell her that it is her fault that her *Vintana* (fate) has been stronger than that of her husband, and that "she is virtually the cause of his death."<sup>7</sup> In Norway, a wife, when ill-treated by her husband, consults a witch about means of revenge, and is herself credited with the power of becoming a witch, and injuring her husband in that form.<sup>8</sup> In Luzon (Philippine Islands), wives are sometimes bewitched by their husbands.<sup>9</sup> In China, a man's illness is often attributed to the spirit of a

<sup>1</sup> Callaway, *op. cit.*, 441, 442, 443.

<sup>3</sup> J. L. Wilson, "West Africa," 115.

<sup>5</sup> Bastian, "Loango-Küste," i, 46.

<sup>6</sup> M. Dobrizhoffer, "Account of the Abipones," ii, 264.

<sup>7</sup> "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," ix, 45.

<sup>9</sup> T. H. P. De Tavera, "Globus," xlvii, 314.

<sup>2</sup> Powers, *op. cit.*, 160.

<sup>4</sup> Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, ii, 120.

<sup>8</sup> Ploss, "Das Weib," ii, 558.



former wife (that is, in a previous existence), which after long search has found its partner; in the same way, a woman's illness may be caused by the spirit of a former husband.<sup>1</sup> This belief and the following are probably connected in the relation of effect and cause. When members of a family are ill, one after the other, it is believed that there exists an "injurious influence" between husband and wife, father and son, and so on.<sup>2</sup> From the above instances and others which concern intimates without reference to sex, the inference may be drawn that close intimacy, such for example as is afforded by living together, may be attended with danger, in the event of misfortune. It is the principle of contagion once more in another form.

The wide-spread belief that contact with woman during the crises of her sexual life results in poisoning or disease, has caused a superstitious horror of the sex at those periods, which may in some measure have extended to ordinary life. Here we arrive in some cases at the dangerous force ("uncleanness" or "sacredness") of taboo. To select a few examples:—amongst the Maoris, if a man touches a menstruous woman, he becomes *tapu*; if he has connexion with her, or eats food cooked by her, "*tapu* an inch thick."<sup>3</sup> Amongst the Pueblo Indians, women must separate from the men at menstruation, and before delivery, because if a man touch a woman at those times he will fall ill.<sup>4</sup> An Australian, finding that his wife had lain on his blanket during menstruation, killed her, and died of terror in a fortnight.<sup>5</sup> Amongst the Indians of Costa Rica, a woman in her first pregnancy infects the whole neighbourhood; all deaths are laid to her charge, and the husband pays the damages. It is an evil spirit, or rather a property acquired.<sup>6</sup> According to some Brazilian tribes, women are "poisonous" till fifty, and their presence spoils the fermenting of wine.<sup>7</sup> In these cases the ordinary result of contagion, the transmission of feminine properties, is merged in the dangers of an infectious and contagious disease. For that is the view generally taken by uncivilised man of menstruation, pregnancy, and child-birth. The contagion is still feminine, but is that of a feminine disease. It is worth while to notice, how generally amongst rude peoples, infection and contagion are attributed to all ailments, and even to death. With regard to menstruation

<sup>1</sup> J. Doolittle, "Social Life of the Chinese," i, 146.

<sup>2</sup> Doolittle, *op. cit.*, i, 143.

<sup>3</sup> E. Tregear, "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xix, 103.

<sup>4</sup> Bancroft, *op. cit.*, i, 549.

<sup>5</sup> W. Ridley, "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," ii, 268.

<sup>6</sup> W. M. Gabb, "Transactions of Amer. Philos. Soc." (1875), 505.

<sup>7</sup> Spix and Martius, "Brazil," ii, 134.

there are two further points. The periodic recurrence of the function has probably caused woman to be regarded as doomed by nature to chronic disease. Secondly, we may readily suppose that to the uncivilised mind this monthly "loss of blood" is nothing less than a continual draining of vitality and strength, a fallacy which could not fail to emphasize the conception of woman's feebleness.

Lastly, the hysterical affections<sup>1</sup> to which woman is more predisposed than man, her emotional susceptibility, and greater capacity for dreams<sup>2</sup> and hallucinations, have invested her with supernatural powers, and surrounded her with a halo of superstitious awe.<sup>3</sup> Hysterical subjects, it should be remembered, are generally believed to be possessed by spirits. These organic characteristics not only make woman peculiarly susceptible to religious influences,<sup>4</sup> but have fitted her to be a useful medium for priestcraft, and often to hold the priestly authority herself. The priestess is a frequent feature of savage worship.<sup>5</sup>

The beliefs consequent upon this side of woman's nature have also created the witch. The Kaffirs of Orange Free State believe that the curse of a man is harmless, while the curse of a woman is invariably fulfilled.<sup>6</sup> "Women," say the people of the Peshawur Valley, "are all witches: for various reasons, they may choose not to exercise their powers, but the powers are inherent in them, and there is not one of them who could not work a spell, or employ supernatural agency for ruin and

<sup>1</sup> Hysteria is common amongst the Wotyaks, Hottentots, Javanese, Brazilians, Mexicans, Peruvians; Bastian, "Loango-Küste," ii, 205. Hysteria and neurotic disease are frequent among savages. D. G. Brinton, "Science," Dec., 1892:—*e.g.*, Madagascar, New Zealand, Iroquois and Hurons, Hottentots, Negroes, Kaffirs, Abyssinians; "Tijdschrift v. Nederlandsch Indie," xxii, 320.

<sup>2</sup> H. Ellis, "Man and Woman," 265.

<sup>3</sup> On the Slave Coast, women who performed religious offices, enjoyed, contrary to the general rule, absolute sway over their husbands, who were in the habit of serving them on their knees, Bosman, "Description of Guinea," 363.

<sup>4</sup> As a rule, women are more religious than men. Speaking of the Abipones, Dobrizhoffer calls the women "the devout female sex," *op. cit.*, ii, 153.

<sup>5</sup> Here is to be found the explanation of one set of cases of priests dressing as women. For example, amongst the Sea Dyaks, some of the priests pretend to be women, or rather dress as such, and like to be treated as females, St. John, *op. cit.*, i, 62. Patagonian sorcerers, who are chosen from children who have St. Vitus dance, go in women's clothes, Bastian, "Der Mensch," iii, 310. Amongst the Kodyaks, there are men dressed as women who are regarded as sorcerers and respected, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iii, 313. Doubtless the idea is to assume the emotional peculiarities of women so essential to the priest. To the savage mind, the donning of another's dress is more than a token of the new position: it completes identity by communicating the qualities of the original owner. There is also the desire to command attention by eccentricity if not by mystery, for both of which ends, change of sex is a time-honoured method.

<sup>6</sup> Ploss, "Das Weib," ii, 557.

mischievous, if the fancy seized her."<sup>1</sup> In Gangpur, all Agareah females are regarded as witches.<sup>2</sup> In Laos there is a village where all the women possess the gift of sorcery.<sup>3</sup> The Nufoers of New Guinea attribute witchcraft, with its results of disease and death, especially to women.<sup>4</sup> Amongst the Bakalais, there have been instances of men slain by young girls by means of sorcery.<sup>5</sup> South Slavonian witches are especially hostile to males.<sup>6</sup> In Ramgur, if three or four deaths occur successively, the women of the village are suspected, and the guilty one is discovered by means of divination with sticks.<sup>7</sup>

Before returning to the main topic, we may notice some interesting phenomena of belief, which are deducible from the above principles. The Chinese proverb, that "the heart of woman is superlatively poisonous,"<sup>8</sup> and the opinion of Siamese philosophers, held also by some of the early Fathers, that woman is in herself an evil thing,<sup>9</sup> are based upon the superstitious horror of the female sex. Superstitious hostility is often reflected in the world of spirits. Thus, Bakalai women have a tutelar spirit, which protects them against their male enemies and avenges their wrongs.<sup>10</sup> According to the Greenlanders, the moon is a male and the sun a female spirit; the former rejoices in the death of women, while the latter has her revenge in the death of men. All males, therefore, keep within doors during an eclipse of the sun, and all females during an eclipse of the moon.<sup>11</sup> In the Pelew Islands, the *kalids* of men are quiet and gentlemanly: it is those of women that make disturbances and inflict disease and death on members of the family.<sup>12</sup> The same hostility is the active principle in the system of sex-totems. In the Port Lincoln tribe, a small kind of lizard, the male of which is called *Ibirri*, and the female, *Waka*, is said to have divided the sexes in the human species; "an event that would appear not to be much approved of by the natives, since either sex has a mortal hatred against the opposite sex of these little animals, the men always destroying the *Waka* and the women the *Ibirri*."<sup>13</sup> In the Wotjobaluk tribe it is believed that "the life of *Ngününgünüt* (the bat) is the life of a man, and the life of *Yärtatgürk* (the night jar) is the life of a woman;" when either is killed, a man or woman dies. Should one of these

<sup>1</sup> "Folklore Journal," i, 323.

<sup>2</sup> E. T. Dalton, "Ethnology of Bengal," 323.

<sup>3</sup> E. Aymonier, "Notes sur le Laos," *op. cit.*, ix, 129.

<sup>4</sup> J. B. van Hasselt, "Zeitschrift für Ethnologie," viii, 192.

<sup>5</sup> P. B. Du Chaillu, *op. cit.*, 305.

<sup>6</sup> Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 557.

<sup>7</sup> Doolittle, *op. cit.*, ii, 273.

<sup>8</sup> Du Chaillu, *op. cit.*, 296.

<sup>9</sup> J. S. Kubary, in Bastian's "Allerlei des Volks-und Menschenkunde," i, 22.

<sup>10</sup> "Native Tribes of South Australia," 241.

<sup>11</sup> "Asiatick Researches," iv, 360.

<sup>12</sup> Loubere, "Siam," i, 386.

<sup>13</sup> Cranz, "Greenland," i, 213.

animals be killed, every man or every woman fears that he or she may be the victim; and this gives rise to numerous fights. "In these fights, men on one side and women on the other, it was not at all certain who would be victorious, for at times the women gave the men a severe drubbing with their yam-sticks, while often the women were injured or killed by spears."<sup>1</sup> In some Victorian tribes, the bat is the men's animal, and they "protect it against injury, even to the half-killing of their wives for its sake." The goatsucker belongs to the women who protect it jealously. "If a man kills one, they are as much enraged as if it was one of their children, and will strike him with their long poles." The mantis also belongs to the men and no woman dares kill it.<sup>2</sup>

The principles of sexual taboo being now established, it remains to describe and classify the results of its action. It will be found that this peculiar force has pervaded most departments of human life. To begin with the public sphere, woman has often been more or less debarred from civil rights, an injustice which is due to the idea that she is inferior to man. The same conception, with in some cases the attendant circumstances of subjection and seclusion, has generally forbidden her to take part in "public life." We may instance, to go no further, the Australian savages,<sup>3</sup> the Fijians, who have religious grounds for the exclusion,<sup>4</sup> the Battas of Sumatra,<sup>5</sup> Islam and the Hindus. More often than not, she is excluded from the religious department. The Arabs of Mecca will not allow women religious instruction, because it would bring them too near their masters. According to some theologians they have no place in paradise.<sup>6</sup> The Anseyreayah consider woman to be an inferior being without a soul, and therefore compel her to do all the drudgery and exclude her from religious services.<sup>7</sup> In the Sandwich Islands women were not allowed to share in worship or festivals, and their touch polluted offerings to the gods.<sup>8</sup> If a Hindu woman touches an image, its divinity is thereby destroyed and it must be thrown away.<sup>9</sup> The Australians are very jealous lest women or strangers should intrude upon their sacred mysteries: it is death for a woman to look into a *bora*.<sup>10</sup> In Fiji women are kept away from all worship<sup>11</sup>: dogs are excluded from some temples, women from all.<sup>12</sup> In the Gilbert and Marshall Islands<sup>13</sup> and in

<sup>1</sup> "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xviii, 58.

<sup>2</sup> Dawson, *op. cit.*, 53.

<sup>3</sup> Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, vi, 775.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, vi, 627.

<sup>5</sup> Junghuhn, *op. cit.*, ii, 97.

<sup>6</sup> Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 180.

<sup>7</sup> Featherman, *op. cit.*, v, 495.

<sup>8</sup> Meinicke, *op. cit.*, ii, 300; W. Ellis, *op. cit.*, i, 129.

<sup>9</sup> Ward, *op. cit.*, ii, 13.

<sup>10</sup> Ridley, "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," ii, 271.

<sup>11</sup> Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, vi, 627.

<sup>12</sup> Williams, "Fiji and the Fijians," i, 232, 238. <sup>13</sup> Meinicke, *op. cit.*, ii, 338.

Tonga<sup>1</sup> women are excluded from worship. The women of the hill-tribes near Rajmahal, may not sacrifice nor appear at shrines, nor take part in religious festivals.<sup>2</sup> Amongst the Tschuwashes women dare not assist at sacrifices.<sup>3</sup> Bayeye women may not enter the place of sacrifice, which is the centre of tribal life.<sup>4</sup> Amongst the Gallas women may not go near the sacred *woda-tree*, where worship is celebrated.<sup>5</sup> On the East of the Gulf of Papua women are not allowed to approach the temple.<sup>6</sup> In New Ireland, women may not enter the temples.<sup>7</sup> In the Marquesas Islands the *hoolah-hoolah* ground, where festivals are held, is *tabu* to women, who are killed if they enter or even touch with their feet the shadow of the trees.<sup>8</sup> In this connexion, the cause is not only ascribed inferiority but consequent pollution. The segregation extends further to dances, festivals and feasts. In the Schingú tribes of Brazil, women may not be present at the dances and feasts.<sup>9</sup> Amongst the Aleuts, there is a night-dance celebrated by women only, from which the men are excluded under pain of death. The men have a similar dance and enforce a similar rule.<sup>10</sup> Another account states that the men and women are in separate parties; every one wears a huge mask or blinder, which prevents all view except a small circle round the feet. The glance of the image round which they dance and into which a spirit enters as they move, is fatal: it is also fatal to see one of the opposite sex.<sup>11</sup> The object of this ceremony does not appear. In the Hervey Islands, the sexes never mingle together at the dances.<sup>12</sup> Amongst the Nufoers of New Guinea, men and women are separated on the same occasions.<sup>13</sup> In New Britain women are not allowed to be present at the festivals; and when men are talking of things which women may not hear, the latter must leave the hut.<sup>14</sup> Amongst the Ahts women are never invited to the great feasts.<sup>15</sup> At entertainments of every kind amongst the Greenlanders men and women sit apart.<sup>16</sup>

The respective physical occupations of the sexes have been assigned to each by physiological laws.<sup>17</sup> But in this department also the existing distinction has been emphasized by

<sup>1</sup> Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, vi, 348.

<sup>2</sup> "Asiatick Researches," iv, 101, 51.

<sup>3</sup> M. P. S. Pallas, "Voyages," i, 135.

<sup>4</sup> Edwards, "South African Folklore Journal," ii, 36.

<sup>5</sup> Harris, *op. cit.*, iii, 56.

<sup>6</sup> Chalmers and Gill, "New Guinea," 140, 150.

<sup>7</sup> H. H. Romilly, "The Western Pacific and New Guinea," 44.

<sup>8</sup> Melville, *op. cit.*, 100.

<sup>9</sup> K. von den Steinen, *op. cit.*, 214.

<sup>10</sup> Dall, *op. cit.*, 389.

<sup>11</sup> Bancroft, *op. cit.*, iii, 145.

<sup>12</sup> W. W. Gill, "Life in the Southern Isles," 65.

<sup>13</sup> Van Hasselt, "Zeitschrift für Ethnologie," viii, 186.

<sup>14</sup> Parkinson, *op. cit.*, 300; Romilly, *op. cit.*, 29.

<sup>15</sup> G. M. Sproat, "Scenes and Studies of Savage Life," 60.

<sup>16</sup> Cranz, *op. cit.*, i, 158.

<sup>17</sup> Compare H. Ellis, *op. cit.*, 3, 4, 5, 6.

the ideas of sexual taboo. Amongst the Dacotas, custom and superstition ordain that the wife must carefully keep away from all that belongs to her husband's sphere of action.<sup>1</sup> The Bechuanas never allow women to touch their cattle, accordingly the men have to plough themselves.<sup>2</sup> So amongst the Kaffirs because of some superstition.<sup>3</sup> Amongst the Todas, women may not approach the *tiriëri* where the sacred cattle are kept, nor the sacred *paláls*.<sup>4</sup> In Guiana no woman may go near the hut where *ourati* is made.<sup>5</sup> In the Marquesas Islands, the use of canoes is prohibited to the female sex by *tabu*: the breaking of the rule is punished with death.<sup>6</sup> Conversely, amongst the same people, *tapa*-making belongs exclusively to women: when they are making it for their own headdresses it is *tabu* for men to touch it.<sup>7</sup> In Nicaragua, all the marketing was done by women. A man might not enter the market or even see the proceedings at the risk of a beating.<sup>8</sup> Cases have been cited above where it is regarded as a degradation for a man to undertake women's work, others are the following:—in New Caledonia, it is considered *infra dig.* for the men to perform manual labour, at any rate in the neighbourhood of the settlement; the women do all the work.<sup>9</sup> In Samoa, where the manufacture of cloth is allotted solely to the women, it is a degradation for a man to engage in any detail of the process.<sup>10</sup> In the Andaman Islands, the performance by men of duties supposed to belong to women only, is regarded as *infra dig.*<sup>11</sup> An Eskimo thinks it an indignity to row in an *umiak*, the large boat used by women.<sup>12</sup> The different offices of husband and wife are also very clearly distinguished; for example, when he has brought his booty to land, it would be a stigma on his character, if he so much as drew a seal ashore, and generally it is regarded as scandalous for a man to interfere with what is the work of women.<sup>13</sup> In British Guiana cooking is the province of the women, as elsewhere; on one occasion when the men were perforce compelled to bake some bread, they were only persuaded to do so with the utmost difficulty, and were ever after pointed at as old women.<sup>14</sup> The principle of contagion here stands out clearly, whether the inference be expressed as "degradation," assimilation to the female character or, superstitious fear of

<sup>1</sup> Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iii, 100.

<sup>2</sup> "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," x, 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, xvi, 119.

<sup>4</sup> Marshall, "Among the Todas," 137.

<sup>5</sup> E. F. Im Thurn, "Indians of British Guiana," 311.

<sup>6</sup> Melville, *op. cit.*, 13.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.*, 245.

<sup>8</sup> Bancroft, *op. cit.*, iii, 145.

<sup>9</sup> Anderson, *op. cit.*, 231.

<sup>10</sup> W. T. Pritchard, "Polynesian Reminiscences," 131.

<sup>11</sup> E. H. Man, "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xi, 286.

<sup>12</sup> F. Nansen, "The First Crossing of Greenland," 192.

<sup>13</sup> Cranz, *op. cit.*, i, 138, 154.

<sup>14</sup> Im Thurn, *op. cit.*, 256.

"pollution." It is interesting to observe that *esprit de corps* among the women at times imposes the taboo upon the men.

The chief occupations of the male sex in those stages of culture with which we have principally to deal are hunting and war. The supreme importance of these occasions is expressed by the terms which the savage then applies to himself; the Polynesian "under *tabu*" being a typical instance. These terms generally imply a set of rules and precautions intended to secure the safety and success of the warrior or hunter, which form a sort of primitive system of "training." Among these regulations, the most constant is that which prohibits every kind of intercourse with the female sex. Thus, in New Zealand, a man who has any important business on hand, either in peace or war, is *tapu* and must keep from women.<sup>1</sup> On a war-party men are *tapu* to women, and may not go near their wives until the fighting is over.<sup>2</sup> In South Eastern Africa, before and during an expedition men may have no connexion with women.<sup>3</sup> Nootka Indians before war abstain from women.<sup>4</sup> In South East New Guinea for some days before fighting the men are "sacred," *helega*, and are not allowed to see or approach any woman.<sup>5</sup> A Samoyed woman is credited with the power of spoiling the success of a hunt.<sup>6</sup> Amongst the Ostyaks harm befalls the hunter either from the ill-wishes of an enemy or the vicinity of a woman.<sup>7</sup> Amongst the Ahts, whalefishers must abstain from women.<sup>8</sup> A Motu man before hunting or fishing is *helega*; he may not see his wives the night before, else he will have no success.<sup>9</sup> Now it is in war and hunting, more than in any other department of action, that man requires all his resources of courage, activity, and strength. If any diminution of his powers is threatened by contact with particular individuals, he must of necessity avoid such persons. We have not here to be content with bringing these rules under previous inductions. Let us analyse a few cases. The North American Indians, both before and after war, refrain, "on religious grounds," from women. Contact with females makes a warrior laughable, and injures, as they believe, his bravery for the future. Accordingly, the chiefs of the Iroquois, for instance, remain as a rule unmarried until they have retired from active warfare.<sup>10</sup> We have seen that the Damaras may not look upon a lying-in

<sup>1</sup> Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, vi, 349.

<sup>2</sup> Tregear, "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xix, 111.

<sup>3</sup> Macdonald, "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xix, 284.

<sup>4</sup> Bancroft, *op. cit.*, i, 189.

<sup>5</sup> Chalmers, "Pioneering in New Guinea," 65.

<sup>6</sup> Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 433.

<sup>7</sup> Erman, *op. cit.*, ii, 55.

<sup>8</sup> Sproat, *op. cit.*, 227.

<sup>9</sup> Chalmers, *op. cit.*, 186.

<sup>10</sup> Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iii, 158, 159.

woman, else they will become weak and consequently be killed in battle; that in the Booandik tribe, if men see women's blood they will not be able to fight; that in some South American tribes the presence of a woman just confined makes the weapons of the men weak, and the same belief extends amongst the Tschuktschoi to hunting and fishing implements. Amongst the Zulus, women may not go near the army when about to set out. Old women, however, who are past childbearing, may do so; such women "have become men," for "old women are called men, and no longer observe the customs of *hlonipa* in relation to the men."<sup>1</sup>

In the North American example we find a reason in the belief that intercourse with women renders the warrior laughable and injures his bravery. The two ideas together can only mean assimilation to the weaker sex. The other detail shows the presence of superstition. In the other cases which have already been discussed, the fact of causation is the contagion of feminine weakness. The last quotation contains a conclusive negative instance. We may infer for the Zulus a fear of contact with woman during that period of life in which she performs her peculiar sexual functions, while the omission of the avoidance attended by the omission of the antecedent shows that this particular antecedent is the cause and it would seem the only cause. But what is the antecedent? Comparing it only with the North American belief, it is possible to identify it with the reason there stated. If, however, we test it by other cases and the previous arguments, the identification becomes warrantable. In fine, we may infer with little hesitation that the cause of these phenomena is the main principle of sexual taboo, transmission of weakness and cowardice. As will be observed, there is in many of these cases a tacit reference to sexual intercourse. The discussion of this, however, though it will not modify the present position, belongs to a later section.

Sexual taboo has played its greatest part in the social or rather domestic relations. There are some cases, indeed, as will be shown, in which marriage thus becomes almost a state of divorce, *a mensa et thoro*. Beginning with some details, our deductions will be arranged in a progressive series.

In Nukahiva, if a woman happens to sit upon or even pass near an object which has become *tabu* by contact with a man, it can never be used again, and she is put to death.<sup>2</sup> In Tahiti a woman had to respect those places frequented by men, their weapons and fishing implements; the head of a husband or father was "sacred" from the touch of woman, nor might a wife

<sup>1</sup> Callaway, *op. cit.*, 441, 442, 443.

<sup>2</sup> D'Urville, *op. cit.*, i, 505.



or daughter touch any object that had been in contact with these *tabued* heads or step over them when their owners were asleep.<sup>1</sup> In the Solomon Islands, a man will never pass under a tree fallen across the path, because a woman may have stepped over it before him.<sup>2</sup> In Siam it is considered unlucky to pass under women's clothes hung out to dry.<sup>3</sup> As mentioned above, it is "degrading" to a Melanesian chief to go where women may be above his head; Melanesian boys also are forbidden to go underneath the women's bed-place.<sup>4</sup> Amongst the Karens of Burmah going under a house when there are females within is avoided;<sup>5</sup> and in Burmah generally, it is thought an indignity to have a woman above the head; to prevent which the houses are never built with more than one storey.<sup>6</sup> Amongst the people of Rajmahal, if a man be detected by a woman sitting on her cot and she complains of the impropriety, he pays her a fowl as fine, which she returns; on the other hand, if a man detects a woman sitting on his cot, he kills the fowl which she produces in answer to his complaint, and sprinkles the blood on the cot to purify it, after which she is pardoned.<sup>7</sup> In Cambodia a wife may never use the pillow or mattress of her husband, because "she would hurt his happiness thereby." Conjugal union is therefore performed on her couch.<sup>8</sup> In Siam the wife has a lower pillow "to remind her of her inferiority."<sup>9</sup> Amongst the Barea, man and wife seldom share the same bed; the reason they give is, as we have seen, that if they sleep together the breath of the wife will render her husband weak. Amongst the Lapps, no grown woman may touch the hinder part of the house, which is sacred to the Sun.<sup>10</sup> No woman may enter the house of a Maori chief.<sup>11</sup> The walls of a Maori house are *tapu*, and, therefore, no man will lean against them, or indeed enter a house, if he can help it, except his own. The reason given is that the women conceal in the crevices of the walls the cloths which they use at menstruation.<sup>12</sup> Amongst the Kaffas of East Africa husband and wife see each other only at night, never meeting during the day. She is secluded in the interior portion of the house, while he

<sup>1</sup> Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 173.

<sup>2</sup> H. B. Guppy, "The Solomon Islands," i, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Bastian, "Oestlich. Asien," iii, 230.

<sup>4</sup> "Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.," iv, 312.

<sup>5</sup> Codrington, *op. cit.*, 233.

<sup>6</sup> Bastian, *op. cit.*, ii, 150.

<sup>7</sup> "Asiatick Researches," iv, 88. See below for further explanation of this case.

<sup>8</sup> Aymonier, *op. cit.*, vi, 162. The Cambodians also say that a discarded pillow should be taken care of or washed at once, so as not to give an opportunity for witchcraft, which is very easy with a pillow as vehicle.

<sup>9</sup> Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, ix, 585.

<sup>10</sup> Ploss, "Das Kind," ii, 435.

<sup>11</sup> R. Taylor, "Te ika a Maui," 165.

<sup>12</sup> Tregear, "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xix, 118; *id.*, "Maori Comparative Dictionary," s. v. *Kakukahu*; Shortland, "Maori Religion," 101; *id.*, "Southern Districts of New Zealand," 295.

occupies the remainder. "A public resort is also set apart for the husbands, where no woman is permitted to appear. A penalty of three years' imprisonment attaches to an infringement of this rule."<sup>1</sup> In some Red Skin tribes,<sup>2</sup> and amongst the Indians of California, a man never enters his wife's wigwam except under cover of the darkness; and the men's club-house may never be entered by women.<sup>3</sup> The Bedouin tent is divided into two compartments for the men and women respectively. No man of good reputation will enter the women's part of the tent or even be seen in its shadow.<sup>4</sup> In Nukahiva, the houses of important men are not accessible to any inferior, not even to their own wives, who live in separate huts.<sup>5</sup> Amongst the Samoyeds and Ostyaks, a wife may not tread in any part of the tent except her own corner; after pitching the tent she must fumigate it before the men enter.<sup>6</sup> In Fiji husbands are as frequently away from their wives as with them, because it is not thought well for a man to sleep regularly at home.<sup>7</sup> Another account states that "it is quite against Fijian etiquette for a husband to take his night's repose anywhere except at one of the public *bures* of his town or village"; the women and girls sleep at home. "It is quite against Fijian ideas of delicacy that a man ever remains under the same roof with his wife or wives at night." "*Rendezvous* between husband and wife are arranged in the depths of the forest, unknown to any but the two." All the male population, married and unmarried, sleep at the *bures*, or club-houses, of which there are generally two in each village. Boys till of age have a special one.<sup>8</sup> From another account we learn that women are not allowed to enter a *bure*, which is also used as a lounge for the chiefs.<sup>9</sup> In New Caledonia a peculiarity of conjugal life is that men and women do not sleep under the same roof.<sup>10</sup> The wife lives and sleeps by herself in a shed near the house.<sup>11</sup> No Hindu female may enter the men's apartments.<sup>12</sup> In New Guinea, opposite Yule Island, the women sleep in houses apart, near those of their male relatives. The men assemble for conversation and meals in the *marea*, a large reception-house, which women may not enter. The women also possess a *marea* and prohibit men from entering.<sup>13</sup> Amongst the Nubians each family has two dwelling-houses, one for the males, the other for

<sup>1</sup> J. L. Krapf, "Eighteen Years in Eastern Africa," 58.

<sup>2</sup> Lafitau, *op. cit.*, i, 576.

<sup>4</sup> Featherman, *op. cit.*, 357.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra*.

<sup>6</sup> Seeman, *op. cit.*, 110, 191.

<sup>9</sup> Wilkes' "U.S. Exploring Expedition," iii, 97, 352.

<sup>10</sup> Garnier, *op. cit.*, 186.

<sup>12</sup> Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 441.

<sup>3</sup> Powers, *op. cit.*, 24.

<sup>5</sup> D'Urville, *op. cit.*, i, 504.

<sup>7</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*, i, 137.

<sup>11</sup> Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 170, 331.

<sup>13</sup> D'Albertis, *op. cit.*, i, 282, 320, 390, 391.

the females.<sup>1</sup> In the Sandwich Islands there were six houses connected with every great establishment; one for worship, one for the men to eat in, another for the women, a dormitory, a house for *kapa*-beating, and one where at certain intervals the women might live in seclusion.<sup>2</sup> In the Caroline Islands, a chief's establishment has one house for the women, a second for eating, and a third for sleeping.<sup>3</sup> In the Admiralty Islands, there is a house reserved in each village for the use of women, both married and single, while the single men live together in a separate building.<sup>4</sup> The Shastika Indians of California have a town-lodge for men and another for women.<sup>5</sup> Other Californian tribes possess the first institution: the women may not enter the men's lodge.<sup>6</sup> The centre of Bororó life is the *Baitó*, the men's house, where all the men really live; the family huts are nothing more than a residence for the women and children.<sup>7</sup> Amongst the Bakairí and the Schingú tribes generally, women may never enter the men's club-house, where the men spend most of their time.<sup>8</sup> In the Solomon Islands, women may not enter the men's *tambu*-house nor even cross the beach in front of it.<sup>9</sup> In Ceram women are forbidden to enter the men's clubhouse.<sup>10</sup> In New Britain there are two large houses in each village, one for men, the other for women: neither sex may enter the house of the other.<sup>11</sup> In the Marquesas Islands the *ti* where the men congregate and spend most of their time is taboo to women and protected by the penalty of death from the imaginary pollution of a woman's presence; the chiefs never trouble about any domestic affairs.<sup>12</sup> In the Pelew Islands there is a remarkable separation of the sexes. Men and women hardly live together, and family life is impossible. The segregation is political as well as social.<sup>13</sup> In the Society and Sandwich Islands the female sex was isolated and "humiliated" by *tabu*, and in their domestic life the women lived almost entirely by themselves.<sup>14</sup> In Uripiv (New Hebrides) there is a curious segregation of the sexes, beginning, at least in one respect, soon after a boy is born.<sup>15</sup> In Rapa (Tubuai Islands) all men are *tabu*

<sup>1</sup> Featherman, *op. cit.*, v, 259; Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, ii, 485.

<sup>2</sup> Jarves, *op. cit.*, 208.

<sup>3</sup> Meinicke, *op. cit.*, ii, 370.

<sup>4</sup> H. N. Moseley, "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," vi, 413.

<sup>5</sup> Powers, *op. cit.*, 244.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, 24.

<sup>7</sup> Von den Steinen, *op. cit.*, 480.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.*, 59, 94, 298.

<sup>9</sup> Guppy, *op. cit.*, i, 67.

<sup>10</sup> Riedel, *op. cit.*, 110.

<sup>11</sup> Powell, *op. cit.*, 84.

<sup>12</sup> Melville, *op. cit.*, 101, 210.

<sup>13</sup> J. S. Kubary, "Journal des Museum Godeffroy," iv, 43, 53; *id.*, "Die Sozialen Einrichtungen der Pelauer," 33, 148; Meinicke, *op. cit.*, ii, 380; K. Semper, "Die Palau-Inseln," 318, 319, 366.

<sup>14</sup> W. Ellis, *op. cit.*, i, 129; *id.*, "Tour through Hawaii," 369.

<sup>15</sup> B. T. Somerville, "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxiii, 4.

to women.<sup>1</sup> In New Caledonia "you rarely see the men and women talking or sitting together. The women seem perfectly content with the company of their own sex. The men who loiter about with spears in a most lazy fashion are seldom seen in the society of the opposite sex. Downright domestic bliss or its opposite is hardly known."<sup>2</sup> The Ojebway, Peter Jones, thus writes of his own people: "I have scarcely ever seen anything like social intercourse between husband and wife, and it is remarkable that the women say little in the presence of the men."<sup>3</sup> The Zulus regard their women with a "haughty contempt." If a man were going to the bush to cut firewood with his wives, he and they would take different paths and neither go nor return in company. If he were going to visit a neighbour and wished his wife to go also, she would follow at a distance.<sup>4</sup> In Senegambia the negro women live by themselves, rarely with their husbands, and their sex is virtually a clique.<sup>5</sup> In Bali to speak *tête-à-tête* with a woman is absolutely forbidden.<sup>6</sup> In Egypt a man never converses with his wife, and in the tomb they are separated by a wall, though males and females are not usually buried in the same vault.<sup>7</sup> Amongst the Bedouins of Libya, women associate for the most part with their own sex only.<sup>8</sup> In Morocco women are by no means reserved when by themselves, nor do they then seek to cover their faces.<sup>9</sup> Amongst the Gauchos of Uruguay women show a marked tendency to huddle together.<sup>10</sup>

Such segregation of the sexes has in some cases influenced language. Amongst the Guaycurus, the women have many words and phrases peculiar to themselves and never employed by the men; the reason being that the women are barred by the male sex.<sup>11</sup> So in Surinam.<sup>12</sup> The proper Fijian term for a newly circumcised boy is *teve*, which may not be uttered when women are present, in which case the word *kula* is used<sup>13</sup>; and there are many words in the language which it is *tambu* to utter in female society.<sup>14</sup> In Micronesia many words are tabooed for men when conversing with women.<sup>15</sup> In Japan female writing has quite a different syntax and many peculiar idioms; the Japanese alphabet possesses two sets of characters, *katakana*,

<sup>1</sup> Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 174.

<sup>3</sup> Jones, *op. cit.*, 60.

<sup>5</sup> L. J. B. Béranger-Férand, "Les Peuplades de la Sénégambie," 373.

<sup>6</sup> Junghuhn, *op. cit.*, ii, 340.

<sup>8</sup> Featherman, *op. cit.*, v, 645.

<sup>9</sup> A. Leared, "Morocco and the Moors," 119.

<sup>10</sup> D. Christison, "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xi, 43.

<sup>11</sup> Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iii, 472.

<sup>13</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*, i, 167.

<sup>15</sup> Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, v, 147.

<sup>2</sup> Anderson, *op. cit.*, 232.

<sup>4</sup> Shooter, *op. cit.*, 81, 82.

<sup>7</sup> Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 455.

<sup>12</sup> Ploss, *op. cit.*, i, 110.

<sup>14</sup> Anderson, *op. cit.*, 89.

for the use of men, and *hiragana* for women.<sup>1</sup> In Fiji women make their salutations in different words from those of the men.<sup>2</sup> In the language of the Abipones some words vary according to sex.<sup>3</sup> The Island Caribs have two distinct vocabularies, one used by men and by women when speaking to men, the other used by women when speaking to each other, and by men when repeating in *oratio obliqua* some saying of the women.<sup>4</sup> Their councils of war are held in a secret dialect of jargon, in which the women are never initiated.<sup>5</sup>

Similarly, in Madagascar, there are terms proper for a woman to use towards her own sex, others for women to use towards men, and for men to women.<sup>6</sup> Amongst the Cakchiqueles of Guatemala the husband calls his son-in-law *hi*, his daughter-in-law *ali*, father-in-law *hi-nam*, mother-in-law *hi-te*, while his wife addresses them respectively as *ali*, *ali*, *ali-nam*, and *ali-te*.<sup>7</sup> An Arawak man uses the following terms of address:—*d'abugici* "my elder brother," *d'augici* "my younger brother," *d'aüyüradātu* "my elder (younger) sister"; an Arawak woman says:—*d'atülatu* "my elder sister," *d'augitu* "my younger sister," *d'acüligici* "my elder (younger) brother."<sup>8</sup>

When a woman of the Bakairi was asked her name, she replied "I am a woman."<sup>9</sup> Amongst the Samoyeds,<sup>10</sup> Coreans,<sup>11</sup> and Abipones,<sup>12</sup> women have no names. This was originally the case in ancient Rome. We may compare those cases where woman is not credited with the possession of a soul. In connection with names, sexual taboo has developed a prohibition which has had a particular influence upon language. A Hindu wife is never allowed to mention the name of her husband. She generally speaks of him therefore as "the master," or "man of the house."<sup>13</sup> Amongst the Barea, the wife may not utter her husband's name.<sup>14</sup> Amongst the Kirgis the women may not utter the names of the male members of the household, to do so

<sup>1</sup> I. Bird, "On Beaten Tracks in Japan," i, 133; Siebold, "Manners and Customs of the Japanese," i, 299.

<sup>2</sup> Wilkes, *op. cit.*, iii, 326.

<sup>3</sup> Dobrizhoffer, *op. cit.*, ii, 197.

<sup>4</sup> Im Thurn, *op. cit.*, 186. Where the marriage-system is organized exogamy, man and wife are sometimes found to retain their respective languages, as in Victoria, Dawson, *op. cit.*, 40. A similar explanation of the Carib custom has been refuted by Mr. Im Thurn. It is remarkable that in Victoria there exists simultaneously an artificial language or "turn-tongue," which is used to avoid the inconvenience of certain details of sexual taboo, Dawson, *op. cit.*, 29. In fact, as I think, the causes which have led to this particular custom have also been responsible for exogamy. See below.

<sup>5</sup> Brett, *op. cit.*, 131.

<sup>6</sup> J. Sibree, "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," ix, 48.

<sup>7</sup> Ploss, "Das Weib," i, 110.

<sup>8</sup> Brett, *op. cit.*, 117.

<sup>9</sup> Von den Steinen, *op. cit.*, 57.

<sup>10</sup> Georgi, *op. cit.*, 14.

<sup>11</sup> Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 434.

<sup>12</sup> Dobrizhoffer, *op. cit.*, ii, 445.

<sup>13</sup> Ward, *op. cit.*, ii, 337.

<sup>14</sup> Munzinger, *op. cit.*, 526.

being "indecent."<sup>1</sup> A Zulu woman may not call her husband by his name, either when addressing him or when speaking of him to others: she must use the phrase "father of so-and-so."<sup>2</sup> This particularly applies to the *i-gama* (real name). Further the women may not use the interdicted words in their ordinary sense.<sup>3</sup> Consequently they are obliged to alter words and phrases which contain the prohibited sounds. This has had considerable influence upon the language, and the women have a large vocabulary of their own.<sup>4</sup> Any woman transgressing the rule is accused of witchcraft by the "doctor," and punished with death. This prohibition on names belongs to the *hlonipa* system, and the altered vocabulary of the women, which is unintelligible to the men, is called *ukuteta kwabapzi* "women's language."<sup>5</sup> The Maoris have a great objection to utter their names; it is rude to ask a man the name of his wife, and still more rude to ask him his own.<sup>6</sup> In the Solomon Islands men show considerable reluctance to give the names of women, and when prevailed upon to do so, pronounce them in a low tone, as if it were not proper to speak of them to others.<sup>7</sup> Their practice with respect to the names of the dead is identical.<sup>8</sup> In the Pelew Islands men are not allowed to speak openly of married women, nor to mention their names.<sup>9</sup> Amongst the Todas there is some delicacy in mentioning the names of women at all: they prefer to use the phrase "wife of so-and-so."<sup>10</sup> A Servian never speaks of his wife or daughter before men.<sup>11</sup> Amongst the Nishinams of California a husband never calls his wife by name on any account: should he do so she has the right to get a divorce. In this tribe no one can be induced to divulge his own name.<sup>12</sup>

The aversion of savages to give their names is very general, and the reason is well known. Such cases as belong to sexual taboo are sometimes due to proprietary jealousy, but generally, as in the case of husband and wife, the prohibition is an expression of duty in its primitive form, the obligation imposed by fear.

(To be continued.)

<sup>1</sup> Ploss, *op. cit.*, i, 111.

<sup>2</sup> Callaway, *op. cit.*, 316.

<sup>3</sup> Shooter, *op. cit.*, 221.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, 222.

<sup>5</sup> Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, ii, 388; Ploss, *op. cit.*, i, 110.

<sup>6</sup> Tregear, "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xix, 123.

<sup>7</sup> Guppy, *op. cit.*, i, 47.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.*, i, 49.

<sup>9</sup> J. S. Kubary, in Bastian's "Allerlei aus Volks-und Menschenkunde," 20; *id.*, "Die Socialen Einrichtungen der Pelauer," 90.

<sup>10</sup> Marshall, "Amongst the Todas," 73.

<sup>11</sup> Maxwell, "Folklore," ii, 71.

<sup>12</sup> Powers, *op. cit.*, 315.

*A LIST of the TRIBES IN THE VALLEY OF THE AMAZON, including those on the BANKS OF THE MAIN STREAM and of all its TRIBUTARIES. Attempted by CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, C.B., F.R.S., Pres. R.G.S. (Second Edition.)*

THE numerous tribes scattered over the great Amazonian basin are probably the disintegrated remains of one, or at most two ancient nations; if we exclude all foreign elements, such as admixtures and intrusions of Carib tribes on the north, Andean on the west, and Pampa or Patagonian on the south. Yet so great is the number of names by which these multitudinous tribes are known, that the mention of some of them is likely only to convey a confused idea to the mind of the ethnologist, while the very names of many will be quite unknown to him. At the same time the study of a people in a state of nature, occupying so large an area of the habitable portion of the earth, is certainly of no small importance to the furtherance of his science.

Thirty years ago it occurred to me that a tolerably complete list of all the tribes in the basin of the River Amazon, including all its tributaries, arranged in alphabetical order, and supplying, so far as was possible, information as to the locality where each is met with, and a few other particulars, together with the names of authors by whom each is mentioned, and the dates at which they wrote, would afford such efficient means of easy reference as would obviate much of the difficulty by which the study of these interesting tribes is surrounded. This preliminary list was published in 1864.<sup>1</sup> But since then a considerable number of tribes, the names of which are not included in the list of 1864, have been reported by travellers, especially in parts of the Amazonian basin which were not then discovered. Much information has also been collected in the interval respecting many of the tribes, the names of which were known. Under these circumstances it will probably serve a useful purpose to prepare a second and revised edition of the list of 1864, with the additions that numerous researches during the interval have suggested. The following alphabetical list is the result of such revision; and it is prefaced by a few general remarks on the characteristics of the Amazonian tribes, and by a list of authorities. The number of names of tribes is 905: but of these about 280 are either synonyms or names of branches of larger tribes. About twenty are recorded to be

<sup>1</sup> XVI. "A List of the Tribes in the Valley of the Amazon, including those on the banks of the main stream, and of all its tributaries." By Clements R. Markham. (*Read Jan. 12th, 1864.*)

extinct, but probably the names of many others have disappeared, besides those only recorded by Acuña in 1640, and not mentioned afterwards.

The appearance of the Indians of the Amazons, and most of the particular tribes differ but slightly from each other, is thus summed up by Mr. Wallace (p. 478):—

“Their skin is of a coppery or brown colour of various shades, often nearly the tint of smooth Honduras mahogany; jet black straight hair, thick, and never curled<sup>1</sup>; black eyes; and very little or no beard. With regard to their features it is impossible to give any general characteristics. In some the whole face is wide and rather flattened, but I never could discover an unusual obliquity in the eyes or projection of the cheek bones; in many, of both sexes, the most perfect regularity of features exists, and there are numbers who, in colour alone, differ from a good-looking European. Their figures are generally superb; and I have never felt so much pleasure in gazing at the finest statue, as at these living illustrations of the beauty of the human form. The development of the chest is such as, I believe, never exists in the best formed European, exhibiting a splendid series of convex undulations without a hollow in any part of it.”

Nearly all travellers, from the days of Acuña to those of Wallace and Bates, have spoken in high terms of these noble savages of the Amazon valley. The OMAGUAS, whose name was coupled with El Dorado from the earliest times, receive praise, both as regards their physical and mental qualities, from Acuña, Velasco, Condamine, Smyth, Maw, Martius, in short, from every traveller who has come in contact with them. The same may be said of several other tribes; while their capacity for civilization up to a certain point, when placed under favourable circumstances, is proved by the present satisfactory state of the MOXOS, CHIQUITOS, and other Indian tribes. Of course great differences exist in so vast a number of tribes. Some, in the struggle for existence with their neighbours, have been victorious, have remained powerful, and with conscious strength have acquired that proud and independent feeling which forms the noblest phase of savage life, and gives rise to all the highest qualities of man in a state of nature. Others, crushed and scattered, have fled into the depths of the forests, and sunk into a state of debasement little better than the condition of the beasts which surround them. These phenomena are inevitable, and arise naturally from that utter disintegration and breaking up of the original nations of the Amazons, which will, in all probability, terminate in their final extirpation. The process of disintegration must have been going on for many centuries; its

<sup>1</sup> Except in the case of the JURIS and one or two other tribes.



original cause is buried in mystery, but its effects are melancholy in the extreme. "A whole race of men," says Martius, "is wasting away before the eyes of the world, and no power of philosophy or Christianity can arrest its proudly gloomy progress towards a certain and utter destruction. The present and future condition of this race of men is a monstrous and tragical drama, such as no fiction of the poet ever yet presented to our contemplation." There is indeed something awful in these sad reflections. Even within the period of authentic history the Amazonian tribes have made wide strides towards their doom. The accounts of great villages and populous countries in the valleys of the Amazons, given by George of Spires, Philip von Hutten, and other searchers after El Dorado, cannot have been entirely fictitious. Alas! where are those flourishing communities now?

The evidence of language is in favour of the theory that these tribes, now like the sands on the sea shore for number, originally sprang from two, or at most three parent stocks. Dialects of the TUPÍ language extend from the roots of the Andes to the Atlantic, and southwards into Paraguay. Dr. Latham was enabled to group several languages together by similarities in their pronominal prefixes, and it is established that the differences in the roots, between the numerous Amazonian languages, are not so great as was generally supposed. The inquirer into this part of the subject will find a guide to further information in Trübner's *Bibliotheca Glottica*.

Some tribes of the Gran Chacu are included in the list which more properly belong to the basin of the River Plate; but these tribes extend their wanderings, more or less, within the area of the Amazonian basin.

In using the following list of tribes the most essential point to bear in mind is the *date* when the authority wrote who mentions any particular tribe; for many of the names may since have disappeared, either from their having been changed, or from the tribe having merged into some larger parent tribe, or from its having entirely disappeared and become extinct. It is therefore important that the following authorities, referred to in the list, and especially the dates when they wrote, should receive attention. The authorities have been arranged alphabetically, instead of chronologically, for greater facility of reference:—

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- HEATH, Dr. Edwin R., M.D.—"On the Beni and Mamoré." R.G.S.J. "On dialects of Bolivian Indians" ("Kansas City Review of Science," April, 1883, vol. vi, No. 12, p. 679).
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- MAW, Lieut. R. W.—“Voyage down the Huallaga and Amazon.” 1827.
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- VON TSCHUDI.—“Travels in Peru.” 1849.
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- WEDDELL.—“Voyage dans le nord de Bolivie.” 1855.
- YTURBURU.—“Descripcion del Canton Quijos.” 1853.

Velasco has given the fullest list of Indian tribes of the Mara  n Missions, and he has divided the period during which

the wild tribes were preached to by the Jesuits and Franciscans into three missionary epochs—namely,

- |     |                    |
|-----|--------------------|
| 1st | From 1638 to 1683. |
| 2nd | „ 1683 „ 1727.     |
| 3rd | „ 1727 „ 1768.     |

This includes a period of 130 years. I have noted during which of these epochs any tribe, mentioned by Velasco, was preached to by the missionaries, because the names of many of them have now disappeared. Many of the larger tribes, extending their wanderings over vast tracts of country, are split up into numerous branches with distinct names. I have inserted all these branches in the list, with reference to the parent tribes.

It is also necessary to bear in mind that the names by which many tribes are known to their neighbours have been given from without. Mr. Spruce, to illustrate this, told me that a young colony calls itself after its chief, but its neighbours soon give it another name, which the colony itself finally adopts. Thus the tribes of the *Uaupes* river have received their names from their TUPI neighbours. We have the TUCANOS (Toucan Indians), so called for their long Roman noses, suggesting a toucan's beak; the PIRAS (Fish Indians), &c. So also the OMAGUAS or CAMBEBAS (Flat heads).

The best illustration that occurs to me, of the way in which the names of tribes originate, is given by that most companionable of old writers, Cieza de Leon. He says that when he accompanied the first conqueror into the valley of Cauco, in New Granada, they named some Indians *Anzermas*, because their country abounded in salt, which in their language was called *anzer*; and that the *Gorrones* received their name because they came into the camp with baskets of fish, crying "*gorron ! gorron !*" which is their word for fish.

I have endeavoured to supplement my list of 1864 from every source within my reach, and to make the present one complete. But the basin of the Amazon is not yet completely explored; and there may still be tribes as yet unknown and undescribed. Mr. Polak, for instance, tells us that there are thirty-four or more tribes inhabiting the basin of the River Purus alone. But I have not seen one third of their number described, or even enumerated.

AANAS.—Same as the ANANAS.

ABABAS.—A tribe in the forests watered by the two upper branches of the Corumbiara. Martius.

ABACAXIS.—A tribe on the river of the same name.

ABACTIS.—A tribe of the River Madeira. Acuña, p. 117.

ABANAS.—A tribe on the River Japura.

**ABIJIRAS, AVIGIRAS, AUXIRAS or ABIRAS.**—A tribe of the Rivers Napo and Marañon marked on Fritz's Map (1707) near the banks of the Napo. They were preached to between 1638 and 1683, and they killed Father Pedro Suarez in 1667. They wandered in the forests to the south of the ENCABELLADOS (whom see). At the present day they are met with on the south side of the Napo near its mouth, and have the same language and customs as the IQUITOS (whom see). They live by fishing and the chase. M. Rodriguez. Fritz's Map. Acuña, p. 94. Velasco. Villavicencio, p. 173.

**ABIPONES or CALLAGAES.**—A large tribe of the Gran Chaco, on the banks of the Bermejo and Rio Grande, the latter being a tributary of the Mamoré. They have no fixed abodes, and roam extensively in every direction. In the 17th century their homes were on the northern shore of the River Bermejo, but they removed to avoid the wars carried on by the Spaniards of Salta against the Indians of the Chaco, and settled in valleys farther to the south. At the beginning of this century their wanderings extended from the Bermejo to the Paraguay, when they made frequent desolating incursions into the country settled by the Spaniards. They are well formed, and have handsome features, black eyes, and aquiline noses. In symmetry of shape they yield to no other nation in America. They have thick raven black hair and no beards. As soon as they wake in the morning, the women, sitting on the ground, dress, twist, and tie their husband's hair. They pluck out their hair from the forehead to the crown of the head, accounting this baldness as a mark of their nation. The women have their faces, breasts, and arms covered with black figures of various shapes, thorns being used as pencils, and ashes mixed with blood as paint. The men pierce their lips and ears.

The Abipones are excellent swimmers, being taught before they can walk. No child is without his bow and arrow. They live on game, generally roasted. In Dobrizhoffer's time they did not number more than 5,000, having been thinned by intestine feuds, small pox, and the cruelty of mothers towards their offspring. They are subdivided into hordes, each ruled by a chief, called *Nelareyrat*; but these chiefs have little authority except in time of war. Dobrizhoffer devotes two chapters to a very interesting account of the language of the Abipones.

Their chief weapons are the bow and spear, the latter of great length. They fix them upright at the thresholds of their huts. Their bow strings are made of the entrails of foxes, and their quivers of rushes adorned with woollen threads of various colours. Their arrows are made of wood. In battle they use a kind of armour made of the hide of a tapir, over which a jaguar skin is sewn. Their victories are celebrated by songs, dances, and drinking parties. In 1641 they first became possessed of horses, and were soon very dexterous in the management of them. The Jesuits established some mission villages among these Abipones. They are of tall stature. For five months in the year, when the floods are out, they live on islands, or even in trees. When a mother is brought to bed with a child the father also takes to his bed for some days. They do not bring up more than two children in a family, the others being killed to save trouble. Dobrizhoffer. Lozano, p. 90. Hervas. i., p. 176.

**ABIRAS.**—See ABIJIRAS.

**ACAMORIS.**—A branch of the SIMIGAES. Velasco.

**ACANEOS.**—A branch of the AGUARICOS.

- ACARAPIS.**—A tribe of the River *Parima*. Penna.
- ACHOARYS, or ACHOAURIS.** A tribe of the Rivers Tefé and Jurua, formerly at Ega, and on the islands of the Solimoens. Ribeiro. Martius.
- ACHUALES.**—A branch of the JEVEROS; so called from their food being the fruit of the achual palm (*Mauritia vinifera*). Met with on the Pastasa above the confluence of the Bobonaza. Villavicencio. Spruce's Notes.
- ADORIAS.**—A tribe of the River Japura. Penna.
- ATHONIAS.**—A tribe mentioned by Martius.
- AGAPICAS.**—A branch of the JEVEROS. Villavicencio.
- AGARARIS.**—A tribe of the Rio Branco. Penna.
- AGOYAS.**—A tribe of the Gran Chacu. Lozano.
- AUANAS.**—A tribe of the Hualлага and Marañon. The men have beards and are very fierce; the women have fair hair like Flemings. M. Rodriguez.
- AGUANACOS.**—A branch of the CHEPEOS. M. Rodriguez. Velasco.
- AGUARICOS.**—A tribe on the river of the same name, a tributary of the Napo. Velasco.
- AGUARUNAS.**—A tribe on the Marañon, near the Pongo de Manseriche, said to be a branch of the Jeveros. In 1859 they were met with by the Peruvian Bishop of Chachapoyas, and they have since been friendly. Raimondi, p. 115. "Heraldo de Lima."
- AGUAS.**—Same as OMAGUAS.
- AGUAYRAS.**—A tribe of the Rio Negro. Acuña, p. 110.
- AGUILOTES.**—A tribe of the Gran Chacu. Lozano.
- AHUISHIRIS.**—A branch of the ZAPAROS.
- AICORES.**—A branch of the IQUITOS. Velasco.
- AISUARIS.**—A tribe of the Marañon. 1683-1727. Velasco.
- AJUANAS, or CHAMICURAS.**—A tribe of the Pampa del Sacramento, living one day's journey east of Laguna, in a large village called Chamicura. Smyth, p. 204.
- ALABONAS.**—A branch of the YAMEOS. Velasco.
- ALARUAS.**—A tribe of the *Japura* and *Solimoens*. Martius.
- AMAJUACAS.**—A tribe of the *Ucayali*, next to the *Remos*, and extending as far as the *Vuelta del Diablo*. They have been repeatedly converted to Christianity, but have more than once killed their priests and returned to their original state. From their apparently quiet and docile disposition the missionaries conceived great hopes of them, but they found themselves most cruelly deceived. The AMAJUACAS are short and have beards. They are hunters and live in the interior, seldom coming down to the rivers. Smyth, p. 232. Herndon, p. 199. Raimondi, p. 118.
- AMAMATIS.**—A tribe between the Purus and Madeira. Martius.
- AMAMIS.**—See UAMANIS.
- AMAONAS.**—A branch of the YAMEOS. Velasco.
- AMARIBAS.**—A tribe on the Rio Branco. Penna.
- AMAZONS.**—A tribe of female warriors. Orellana in Herrera, p. 34. Acuña, p. 122.
- AMBUAS.**—A tribe on the River Japura. Penna.
- AMICUANOS.**—A tribe at the source of the River *Anauirapuch*. Martius.
- AMMANIUS.**—A tribe on the River Mojú, near the mouth of the Tocantins. Martius.
- AMULALAES.**—A tribe of the Gran Chacu. Lozano, p. 51.
- ANAJAS, or ANAJAZES.**—A tribe of the Island of Marajo. Martius.
- ANAMARIS.**—A tribe of the River Madeira. Acuña, p. 117.
- ANANAS, or ANANAIS.**—A small tribe on the Rio Branco and Rio Negro. Martius. Wallace.

- ANAXIASES.**—A tribe of the Pacaxa river. Acuña, p. 130.
- ANCUTERES.**—A branch of the ENCABELLADOS. Velasco.
- ANDIRAS.**—"Bat Indians." A tribe between the upper waters of the Madeira and Tapajos. Martius.
- ANDOAS.**—A tribe of the Marañón. See MURATOS. They were preached to from 1683 to 1727. On Fritz's Map (1707) they are placed in the forests between the Tigre and Pastasa. According to Villavicencio and Tyler they are a branch of the ZAPAROS. There is a small village on the Pastasa called Andoas, where the remnants of the tribe are collected together, about thirty families. Velasco. Fritz's Map. Villavicencio. Hervas, i, p. 262. Spruce's Notes. Tyler.
- ANDOQUÍES.**—A tribe of Mocoa between the Rivers Caqueta and Putumayu. Hervas.
- ANDURAS.**—A tribe of the Araganatuba. Same as ANDIRAS. Acuña, p. 105.
- ANEAQUIS.**—A tribe on the River Anibá. Penna.
- ANGUTERAS.**—A tribe on the east bank of the Napo below the junction of the Aquarico. According to Villavicencio they are a branch of the Putumayus. They cultivate the ground. Villavicencio.
- ANIANAS.**—A tribe on the river Apaporis. Penna.
- ANIBAS.**—See UANIBAS.
- ANICORÉS.**—A tribe of the Rio Negro now extinct, or nearly so. Martius. A tribe of the River Madeira. Penna.
- ANJENGUACAS.**—A branch of the CAMPAS. Velasco.
- ANTIS.**—The same as the CAMPAS: once a great and powerful tribe in the forests east of Cuzco, especially in and near the valleys of Santa Ana and Laris. They are mentioned in the Quichua drama of "Ollantay," and the eastern division of the Empire of the Incas was called after them "Antisuyu." They were renowned for their ferocity, and were said to be cannibals. They wear a long robe secured round the waist, with a hole for the head and two others for the arms. Their long hair hangs down over their shoulders, and the beak of a toucan on a bunch of feathers is suspended as an ornament round their necks. Their weapons consist of clubs, bows and arrows. They are identical with or closely allied to the CHUNCHOS. They wander in the forests about the head waters of the Ucayali and its tributaries. They have good features and pleasant countenances. Garcilasso de la Vega, ii, cap. ii. Castelnau, iv., p. 290. General Miller, R.G.S.J., vi., Raimondi, p. 117.
- ANTIPAS.**—A branch of the JEVEROS. Raimondi, p. 115.
- ANTIVES.**—A branch of the PUTUMAYUS. Velasco.
- AOAQUIS.**—A tribe of the River Cauamé. Penna.
- APAMAS.**—A tribe on the Rivers Parú and Ginipapo. Martius.
- APANTOS.**—The second tribe from the mouth of the River Cunuris, the head waters of which were said to be occupied by the AMAZONS. A branch of the great TUPI nation. Acuña, p. 122. Martius. Hervas, i, p. 149.
- APARIA.**—An Indian chief in whose territory Orellana built his brigantine. The Spaniards left the village of Aperia on the 4th of April, and reached the mouth of the River Putumayu on the 12th of May, going down stream. Orellana in Herrera, p. 27.
- APENARIS.**—A tribe of the River Jutay. Martius. Penna.
- APERAS.**—A tribe of the Amazons, below the mouth of the Madeira. Acuña, p. 117.
- APIACAS.**—A tribe of the Gran Chacu. Lozano.

- APIACARES.**—A small tribe of the Upper Tapajos, higher up than the MUNDUCUS. They go quite naked and wear the hair short Chandless. Herbert Smith, p. 253.
- APINAGES.**—Same as GES.
- APONARIAS.**—A tribe on the Rio Negro, now nearly, if not quite extinct Martius. A tribe of the Madeira. Penna.
- APOTAS.**—A tribe on the River Nhamundá. Penna.
- APURINAS.**—A cannibal tribe on the upper part of the River Purus. Serafim says they are constantly attacking the Cocoma Indians settled there. Serafim's Report.
- AQUIRIS.**—Mr. Chandless met with a tribe, with no special name, at the head waters of the Aquiri, a tributary of the Purus. It is distinct from the tribe next below them on the river, the CAPECHENES, both in features and language. The AQUIRIS obtain iron from the MANETENERIS on the Purus, and use a good many Maneteneri words. The "Taxaua," or chief, wears a poncho and hood exactly of the Maneteneri fashion. They have dogs, but no other domesticated animals. Their *ubás* are generally of *peruiba* or cedar. Chandless, R.G.S.J.
- ARABOYAJÚS.**—A branch of the TUPIS. Hervas, i., p. 149.
- ARACAJÚS.**—A tribe on the Urubucua, in the neighbourhood of Almeirim and Montalegre. Martius.
- ARAGUANAYNAS.**—See CARABAYANAS.
- ARAONAS.**—Same as CAVINAS. An extensive tribe on the northern bank of the Mayu-tata (Madre de Dios), a tributary of the Beni. Armentia describes them as very gentle and inclined to intercourse, and remarkably white complexioned. Church. Armentia.
- ARAPARECAS.**—A branch of the Chiquitos. Hervas.
- ARAPASSOS.**—A tribe of the Rio Negro. Wallace.
- ARAQUIZES.**—A tribe on the Rio Negro who were among the first settlers at the Portuguese town of Barra. Spruce's Notes.
- ARARAS.**—A very fierce tribe on the lower Madeira, and between that river and the Tapajos, with no settled habitations. They do not plant mandioc, and engage in deadly wars with the MUNDUCUS. Martius.
- ARAUAS.**—A tribe on the River Jurua. Bates.
- ARAUCAS.**—Probably the same as Bates's ARAUAS. Martius.
- ARAYCUS.**—See UARAYCUS.
- ARAYES.**—A tribe on the southern tributaries of the Araguay. Martius.
- ARAZAS.**—A branch of the SIMIGAES. Anonimo, p. 365. Velasco.
- ARDAS.**—A branch of the YAMEOS between the Napo and Nanay. Velasco. Villavicencio.
- AREKAINAS.**—A tribe on the Rio Negro, and on the upper waters of some of its tributaries. They make war against other tribes to obtain prisoners for food. In their religious ideas they resemble the UAUPÉS. Wallace, p. 508.
- ARICORONES.**—A tribe of the San Simao, a tributary of the Itenez. Martius.
- ARIOUNANES.**—A tribe of the River Madeira. Penna.
- ARIQUENAS.**—A tribe of the Putumayu according to Spix, but probably the same as the AREKAINAS. Also on the Madeira. Spix und Martius, iii., p. 1136. Penna.
- ARMABUTOS.**—A tribe now extinct or nearly so, at the sources of the Anaurapucú. Martius.
- AROES.**—See ARAYES.
- AROAS.**—A branch of the great TUPÍ tribe, at the mouth of the Pará. Hervas, i., p. 149.



**AROAQUIS, or ARUBAQUIS.**—Marked on Fritz's Map (1707) near the north side of the Amazons and below the mouth of the Rio Negro, called also by the Portuguese ORELHUDOS or "long ears." Fritz's Map. Martius.

**ARUNAS.**—A tribe on the Jurua. Penna.

**ASSAI TAPUÜJAS.**—See JURIS and UAINUMAS.

**ATAGUATES.**—A tribe of the Marañon preached to between 1638 and 1683. M. Rodriguez. Velasco.

**ATUJAS.**—A tribe on the Putumayu. Acuña, p. 99.

**ATURJARIAS.**—A tribe on the Araganatuba. Acuña, p. 105.

**AUNARES.**—A branch of UGIARAS. Velasco.

**AUXIRAS.**—See ABIGIRAS.

**AVANATEOS.**—A tribe marked on Fritz's Map (1707) between the Ucayali and Yavari.

**AVIJIRAS.**—See ABIJIRAS.

**AYACARES.**—A branch of the IQUITOS. Velasco.

**BACCAHAZES.**—A tribe near the sources of the Jurua. Martius.

**BACCAHIRYS.**—A tribe with very white skins near the sources of the River Xingu. Martius.

**BACURIS.**—A tribe of the River Arinos. Martius.

**BAEUNAS.**—A tribe on the Rio Negro, now extinct, or nearly so. Martius.

**BAIBUCUAS.**—A tribe of the River Jurua. Penna.

**BANIWAS.**—A tribe of the River Isanna, of the same family as the BARRÉS. Spruce. Wallace, p. 529.

**BARBUDOS.**—See MAYORUNAS.

**BARRÉS.**—An important tribe on the upper part of the Rio Negro, the Cassiquiari, and the head waters of the Pacimoni and Marainá. The word *Barré* means comrade, but it appears to be modern. Spruce gives eight branches of the BARRÉ tribe as follows:

|             |             |
|-------------|-------------|
| BARRÉS      | PACIMONARIS |
| MANDANACAS  | YABAHANAS   |
| GUARIQUENAS | MASACAS     |
| CUNIPUSANAS | TARIANAS    |

The BARRÉS are said to be absorbing the kindred nations, and since the beginning of the present century their language has become, without any aid of missionaries, the general language of the Indians of the Orinoco above the cataracts, of the Cassiquiari, of the Rio Negro, and of many of the tributaries of these rivers. The reason for this appears to be found in the character of the Barré Indian himself, who is more active, more amorous, more uproarious, and more pugnacious than any of his neighbours. The headquarters of the BARRÉS is now at San Carlos del Rio Negro, and people of that nation are scattered over the whole Cassiquiarian region, even to Maypures on the Orinoco. Spruce has made a vocabulary of the *Barré* language, which he says is really melodious. Spruce's Notes.

**BAUHUNAS.**—A tribe of the Uaupés. Wallace.

**BAURES.**—A tribe of the Moxos Indians near the River Itenez. They killed Father Baraza in 1702. Settled in the missions of Concepcion and San Joaquin. Hervas. Baraza. Keller, p. 22.

**BAXIUARA.**—A tribe of the River Jurua. Penna.

**BAZOROCAS.**—A branch of the CHIKUITOS. Hervas.

**BECHARAS.**—A tribe on the Napo, a branch of the AGUARICOS. Acuña, p. 94. Velasco.

**BETOCUROS.**—A branch of the PAPAGUAS. Velasco.

**BILELAS.**—See VILELAS.

- BLANCOS.**—A branch of the IQUITOS. Velasco.
- BOANARIS.**—A tribe of the Uaupés. Penna.
- BOCAS.**—A tribe on the River Pacaxa. See CAMBOCAS. Acuña, p. 130.
- BOLEPAS.**—A branch of the Moxos. Hervas.
- BOOCAS and BOROS.**—Branches of the CHIKUITOS. Hervas.
- BOBORES.**—A tribe hostile to the Portuguese near the sources of the Uruguay. Martius.
- BOTOCUDOS.**—A Brazilian tribe on the Tocantins, with a very low type of skull. Hervas. Moreno, p. 37.
- BUGÉS.**—A tribe on the River Jutay. Martius.
- BURAI.**—A tribe on the River Amazon below the mouth of the Madeira Acuña, p. 117.
- BUS.**—A tribe on the south side of the River Pará. Martius.
- BUSQUIPANES.**—See CAPANAHUAS.
- CABAROS.**—A tribe on the River Tocantins. Hervas.
- CABINAS.**—A branch of the Moxos. Hervas.
- CABIXIS-U-AJURURIS.**—A tribe near the sources of the Juary. Martius.
- CABURICENAS.**—A tribe of the Caburi. Penna.
- CACA TAPUÛJAS.**—See JURIS.
- CACHICUARAS.**—A tribe on the south side of the Amazons, the same as the CUCHIGUARAS. Acuña, p. 55.
- CAGUARAUS.**—A tribe of the Araganatuba. Acuña, p. 105.
- CAHANS.**—"Men of the woods." See GUANANS.
- CAHUACHES.**—A branch of the JEVEROS. Velasco.
- CAHUAMARES.**—Same as the CAHUACHES.
- CAHUAYAPITIS.**—A tribe of the Rio Negro. Acuña, p. 110.
- CAIPTORADES.**—A branch of the CHIKUITOS. Hervas.
- CAISHANAS.**—A tribe in the forest near the Tonantins, a branch of the SHUMANAS. They only number about 400 souls, and are very debased. Bates, ii., 373.
- CALLAGAES.**—See ABIPONES.
- CALLISECAS.**—Same as CASHIBOS.
- CAMARARES.**—A tribe wandering between the Rivers Juary and Camarares. Martius.
- CAMAVOS.**—A tribe of the Marañon preached to between 1683 and 1727. Velasco.
- CAMBEBAS.**—Portuguese name for the OMAGUAS.
- CAMBOCAS.**—A branch of the great Tupi tribe in the bay east of the mouth of the Tocantins. Martius.
- CAMPAS.**—Same as the ANTIS. They are said by Velasco to be descended from Inca Indians. Marked on Fritz's Map (1707) near the head waters of the Ucayali. Velasco. Hervas, i., p. 262. Urquhart.
- CAMPEVAS.**—Same as CAMBEBAS.
- CAMUCHIROS.**—A tribe met with in the end of the last century, at the mouth of the Napo. They are docile and humane, but very serious and circumspect. "Mem de los Vireyes," vi., p. 144.
- CANACURES.**—A branch of the Moxos. Hervas.
- CANAMARIS.**—A tribe of the Rivers Jurua and Purus. Serafim says that they are cannibals, and are met with in the upper part of the Purus, and that they are constantly attacking the villages of Cocoma Indians there. But Manuel Urbino found the CANAMARIS on the Hyuacú and affluent of the Purus peaceful and agricultural. The force of the nation is on the Curumahá, a tributary of the Purus. Chandless gives a few words of their language. They use crowns of feathers. Serafim. Chandless. Spix und Martius, iii., p. 1183. Bates, ii., 379. Manuel Urbino.
- CANGAPARANGAS.**—A savage tribe on the Madeira. Heath.

CANICHANAS.—See CANISIANAS.

CANISIANAS.—A branch of the Moxos. Keller spells them CANICHANAS. They are settled in the Mission of San Pedro. A vocabulary of their language was made by Dr. Heath. Hervás Keller, p. 22. Heath in "*Kansas City Review*," p. 679 (April, 1883).

CAPANAHUAS.—A tribe on the Ucayali, between the SENCIS and the MAYORUNAS, with whom they are always at war. They go quite naked and are said to be a bold race: but they have no canoes, and are not numerous, and consequently not much feared. Dr. Girbal made two unsuccessful expeditions in search of them from Sarayacu, in the early part of 1793. They eat their dead, like the COCOMAS, and their houses are very large, many families living together. They are marked on Fritz's Map (1707), between the Rivers Ucayali and Yavari. Fritz's Map. Smyth, p. 225. *Mercurio Peruano*, No. 381. "*Mem de los Vireyes*," vi., p. 135.

CAPECHENES.—A tribe on the Aquiri, main tributary of the Purus. They live away from the river banks, and do not use canoes, but rafts. Chandless.

CAPUENAS.—A tribe of the Ixié. Penna.

CARABUYANAS.—A tribe of the Amazons below the mouth of the Basururu, a branch of the Japura. They were divided into the following branches in Acuña's time:—

CARAGUANAS    QUERERUS    QUINARUPIANAS    YARIBARUS  
POCOANAS    COTOCARIANAS    TUINAMAYNAS    YARUCAGUACAS  
VRAYARIS    MOACARANAS    ARAGUANAYNAS    CUMARURUAYANAS  
MASUCARUANAS    QRORUPIANAS    MARIGUYANAS    CURUANARIS.

They used bows and arrows, and had iron tools, obtained from other tribes who communicated with the Dutch in Guiana. Acuña, p. 108.

CARAGUANAS.—See CARABUYANAS.

CARANGAS.—A branch of the CHUNCHOS, in the forests of Caravaya. Pimentel. Paul Marcoy.

CARAPACHES.—See CASHIBOS.

CARAPANAS.—A tribe of the Rio Negro, and a branch of the large tribe of UAUPÉS. Acuña, p. 110.

CARAYAS.—A tribe on the west side of the Araguay river. Martius.

CARCANAS, or CAUANAS.—A race of dwarfs on the River Jurua. Castelnau.

CARIGUANAS.—A tribe near the sources of the Trombetas, perhaps the same as the CARABUYANAS of Acuña. Martius.

CARIPUNAS.—A tribe on the Madeira near the falls. They swell themselves out by eating earth, but are otherwise strong and healthy. The men wear beads of hard wood round their necks, and bands fastened round their wrists and ankles. They are not numerous. According to Spix these are met with on the Jurua. A chief named Caripuna is mentioned by Orellana. They are marked on Fritz's Map (1707), near the Rio Branco. Martius mentions them as a branch of the great tribe of MAUHÉS and as wandering near the sources of the Rio Negro, Trombetas, and Essequibo. He says that this and the preceding tribe are of Carib origin. Orellana in Herrera, p. 36. Acuña, p. 107. Spix, iii., p. 1183. Martius. Keller.

CARUANAS.—See JUMANAS. Fritz's Map. Gibbon, p. 295. Martius.

CASHIBOS, CALLESICAS, or CARAPACHES.—A tribe on the west side of the Ucayali, as far as the head waters of the Rivers Pisqui and Agnatya. In 1651 Father Cavallero resided some time in their country, but they killed the priests left there by him. In 1661 the CASHIBOS drove Father Tineo away, and in 1704 they killed and

ate Father Geronimo de los Rios. In 1744 they joined the famous Juan Santos, an Indian who had been outraged by Spaniards, at Ayacucho. He destroyed all the missions of the Cerro de la Sal, near Tarma in Peru. Until lately no one dared to venture among them, and they live scattered about in the forests like wild beasts. The majority of them live on the Pachitea, which they navigate on rafts. They are said to be cannibals, but Girbal and Raimondi doubted this, and the latter thinks that if they eat their old people it is more from religious superstition than from cruelty. The men have beards and wear long frocks. The women go naked until they are married, after which time they wear a waist cloth. The men are very dexterous in hunting. When one of them is pursuing the chase in the woods, and hearing another hunter imitating the cry of an animal, he immediately makes the same cry to entice him nearer, and if he is of another tribe he kills him if he can and (as is alleged) eats him. The CASHIBOS are in a state of hostility with all their neighbours. They have large houses, and live inland, away from the rivers, during the rainy season: but in the dry time they resort to the river banks. Their weapons are clubs, lances, bows and arrows. A Viceroy of Peru, in 1796 reported to his Government that the CASHIBOS were as white as Germans, with long beards, and that they went quite naked. The missionary Girbal was astonished at the beauty of their women. The word "*Cashibo*" means "a bat" according to Girbal. Father Calvo has visited the CASHIBOS several times since 1857. Girbal MS. "*Mem de los Vireyes*," vi., p. 136. Smyth. Herndon. Raimondi, p. 120.

CATAQUINAS.—See CATUQUINAS.

CATAUXIS.—A tribe on the River Purus, 16 to 30 days' voyage up. They have houses, sleep in hammocks, and cultivate mandioc. They go naked, wearing rings of twisted hair on their wrists and ankles. They use the blow-cane, and poisoned arrows. Their canoes are made of the bark of a tree. They use the powder of the roasted seeds of the *Acacia Niopo* as a stimulant and narcotic. They eat forest game, tapirs, monkeys and birds; and they are cannibals, eating Indians of other tribes. They are numerous and warlike. Acuña called them QUATAUXIS. They are also met with on the Upper Teffé, between the Jurua and Purus, and between the Purus and Madeira, especially on the River Mucuin. Chandless describes them as a fine handsome tribe, free from the Puru-puru skin disease, and remarkably clear complexioned. He says that they are warlike if attacked and prompt to guard their own; but by disposition peaceful and industrious, fond of agriculture, and even of manufacture. Their mandioc flour is good, their pottery very neat and ornamented with geometric patterns. Acuña, p. 107. Martius. Wallace. Spruce, MS. Notes. Bates, ii., p. 226-379. Chandless.

CATAUXIS.—A tribe of River Jurua, evidently the same as the CATAUXIS. Spix und Martius, iii., p. 1193.

CATIANAS.—A tribe on the Purus, but said to have come from the west. Chandless.

CATUQUINAS.—A tribe of the River Jurua. They use the blow-pipe and poisoned arrows, as well as bows and arrows; and they live on snakes, fish, and monkeys. Spix und Martius, iii., p. 1184. Bates, ii., p. 241 and 379.

CAUANAS.—A race of dwarfs on the River Jurua, only four or five spans high. One of them was seen by Ven Spix at Para. See CARCANAS. Spix. iii. p. 1183. Penna.

- CAUAXIS.**—A tribe of the Rivers Jurua and Jutay. Penna.
- CAUARIAS.**—A tribe of the Japura. Penna.
- CAUPEZES.**—A tribe in the Brazilian province of Matto Grosso. Martius.
- CAUTARIAS.**—A tribe on a river of the same name, tributary of the Itenez. Martius.
- CAUXANAS.**—A tribe between the Putumayu and Japura, who are said to kill their first born children. They eat alligators. Spix und Martius, iii., p. 1185. Wallace, p. 511.
- CAVINAS.**—One of the tribes of the River Mayu-tata (Madre de Dios) and on the Rivers Tahuamanu or Orton and Manuripi. Some of them are gathered in a mission on the Beni. Church. Armendia, p. 50. They are said to be the same as the **ARAONAS**.
- CAYANAS.**—A tribe of the River Madeira. Acuña, p. 117.
- CAYAPAS.**—A tribe on the river of the same name in Ecuador. Basurco.
- CAYUBABAS.**—A branch of the Moxos. Their chief was called Paytiti. They are settled in the mission of Exaltacion de la Santa Cruz. They are excellent boatmen. Dr. Heath collected a vocabulary of their language. Baraza, "Reise-Beschreibungen." Keller, p. 22. Heath in "Kansas City Review," April, 1883, pp. 679-687.
- CERICUMAS.**—A tribe of the Yauapiri. Penna.
- CHACOBOS.**—Savages on the west side of the Mamoré down to the Beni. Heath. Armendia's Map.
- CHAIS.**—A branch of the **CHEPEOS**. Velasco.
- CHAIINTAS.**—A tribe of the River Yavari. Penna.
- CHAMICURAS.**—See **AJUANAS**.
- CHANES.**—A people of the Gran Chacu. In former times they were enslaved in wars with the **CHIRIGUANAS**, but afterwards multiplying, they freed themselves, and went to live apart in the neighbourhood of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Hervas.
- CHAPAS.**—A branch of the **ROAMAYNAS**. They wander along the banks of the Pastasa river, and between that river and the Morona. M. Rodriguez. Velasco. Villavicencio's Map.
- CHARENTES, or CHARANTES.**—A numerous and widely spread tribe on the banks of the Rivers Araguay and Tocantins. Martius.
- CHAUITAS.**—A tribe of the River Yavari. Penna.
- CHAVELLOS.**—A branch of the **AGUARICOS**. Velasco.
- CHAYAVITAS.**—Indians of the Upper Marañon of the first missionary epoch, 1638-83. Chayavitas was a village containing about 300 inhabitants on the left bank of the River Parapurus. M. Rodriguez. Velasco. Hervas, i., p. 262. Raimondi, p. 89.
- CHEPENAQUAS.**—A branch of the **CHEPEOS**. Velasco.
- CHEPEOS.**—A numerous tribe of the Marañon of the first missionary epoch. M. Rodriguez. Anonimo, p. 389. Velasco.
- CHERENTES.**—See **CHAVENTES**.
- CHIBARAS.**—A tribe of the River Jutay. Martius. Penna.
- CHICHAS OREJONES.**—A tribe of the Gran Chacu, met with between the **CHIRIGUANAS** and **GUAYCURUS**, in a very inaccessible country. They dress in cloth made from Llama wool, and are said to work in silver mines. The Incas employed them on this work, and it seems probable that they composed one of the Mitimaes or colonies of the Incas. They live peaceably with another tribe of Indians called **CHURUMATAS**. They cultivate the land, and come down to the River Bermejo to fish; but are very careful to prevent the Spaniards from discovering a road into their country. They are called Orejones from the "Orejones nobles del Cuzco," or officers of the Incas. Lozano, p. 72. Hervas.
- CHIMANAS.**—A tribe of the River Yavari. Martius. Penna.

CHIMBIUAS.—See XIMBIUAS.

CHIPEOS.—See CHEPEOS.

CHIQUITOS.—A numerous group of tribes in the province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, in Bolivia, and between the head waters of the Rivers Mamorè and Itenez. They are considered as minors by the Bolivian Government, and they cultivate cotton and sugar-cane. Their produce is sold for the benefit of the community, and a fund is formed for the relief of the infirm and aged. The word "*Chiquito*" means "very small" in Spanish, a name which was given to these Indians by the early Spaniards for the following reason:—When the country was first invaded, the Indians fled into the forests; and the Spaniards came to their abandoned huts, where the doorways were so exceedingly low that the Indians who had fled were supposed to be dwarfs.

Their houses are built of *adobes*, and thatched with coarse grass. They manufacture their own copper boilers for making sugar, and they understand several trades. They also weave ponchos and hammocks, and make straw hats. They are very fond of singing and dancing, and seldom quarrel amongst themselves. They are a peaceful race. When a CHIQUITO Indian takes a fancy to wearing striped trousers he plants a row of white and a row of yellow cotton. Should he wish for blue, he plants a row of indigo. The heart-leaved *Bixa Orellana* grows wild around him, the vanilla bean scents the doorway of his hut, while coffee and cacao trees shade it. The CHIQUITO group of Indians is divided into forty tribes:

|             |             |            |
|-------------|-------------|------------|
| CHIRIVONES  | QUIMOMECAS  | POGISOCAS  |
| TAOS        | TAPUCURACAS | METAQUICAS |
| BOROS       | YURACARECAS | MAMACICAS  |
| TABUCAS     | YIRITUCAS   | SIBACAS    |
| TANNOPICAS  | IMONOS      | ZAMUCOS    |
| XUBERESAS   | MOROTOCAS   | ZAHEÑOS    |
| ZAMANUCAS   | CUCURARES   | UGORANNOS  |
| BAZOROCAS   | BOOCAS      | CAIPTORADE |
| PUNTAGICAS  | TUBACICAS   | TUNACHOS   |
| QUIBIQUIBAS | ARUPARECAS  | TIMINABAS  |
| PEQUIBAS    | PIOCOCAS    | TOMOENOS   |
| ZEMUQUICAS  | QUIMECAS    | PANANAS    |
| TAUMOCAS    | QUAPACAS    |            |
| CUCICAS     | QUITAGICAS  |            |

These tribes speak seven different languages called—

|            |              |
|------------|--------------|
| TAPACURACA | QUITEMOCA    |
| NAPECA     | ZURACARIGUIA |
| PAUNACA    | MONCOCA      |
| PAICONECA  |              |

the latter being the most prevalent. Dr. Latham has some remarks on the Chiquito languages and lists of words. Hervas, i, p. 158. Martius. Castelnau, iii, p. 217. Gibbon, p. 164. Latham.

CHIRIGUANAS.—A tribe of the Gran Chaco nearest to the confines of Bolivia; speaking the *Guarani* language, and supposed to be a branch of that widespread nation. When the Inca Yupangui conquered them, they were indiscriminate cannibals; and in 1571 they repulsed the invasion of the Spaniards led by the Viceroy Toledo in person. They wear a blue coloured wafer-like ornament on the upper lip. Their women are exempt from servile employment. G. de la Vega. Lozano. Dobrizhoffer. Vigne, i, p. 277. Pelleschi, p. 33.

CHIRIONOSSOS.—A tribe of the Bolivian Gran Chacu. Pelleschi, p. 31.

CHIRIPUNOS.—A tribe on the head waters of the Curaray. Villavicencio's Map.

CHIULIPOS.—A tribe in the Argentine Gran Chacu. Pelleschi, p. 31.

CHOLONES.—A tribe of the Huallaga, on the left bank. The name must have been given them by the Spaniards. They were first met with by the Franciscans in 1676, in the forests near the Huallaga, who established them in mission villages. They are now found in the villages of Monzon, Uchiza, Tocache, and Pachiza on the Huallaga. Their skin is a dark brown, they have shiny black hair, and scarcely any beard, nose arched, and cheek bones high. They consider themselves great doctors, and are very superstitious. They are proud, perverse, and fond of a wild life; but are possessed of courage. They are cheerful, good tempered, and sober. They use the blow-pipe, called by the Spaniards *cerbatana*, by the Portuguese *gravatana*, and by the Indians *pucuna*. It is made of a long, straight, piece of wood of the chonta palm, about eight feet long and two inches in diameter near the mouth end, tapering to half an inch at the extremity. The arrow is made of any light wood, about a foot long. A good marksman will kill a small bird at thirty or forty paces with the *pucuna*. Raimondi says that the CHOLONES are idle and pass a great part of their day drinking *masato*, but that they are expert hunters with the *cerbatana*. Mercurio Peruano, No. 51. Poeppig, "Reise," ii., p. 320. Herndon, p. 138. Raimondi, p. 112.

CHUDAVINAS.—A branch of the ANDOAS. Velasco.

CHUFIAS.—A branch of the AGUARICOS. Velasco.

CHUNCHOS.—A numerous and formidable group of tribes in the forests eastward of Cuzco and Tarma; first reduced to subjection by Inca Yupangui. They are said, by Velasco, to be descended from Inca Indians. Those to the eastward of Cuzco are divided into three branch tribes, the HUACHIPAYRIS, TUYUNERIS, and SIRINEYRIS. In Carabaya there are two other branch tribes called CARANGAS and SUCHIMANIS. They call their chiefs *Huayris*. General Miller, in 1835, met with a chief of the HUACHIPAYRIS and some of his tribe in the forests of Pancartambo, where the River Madre de Dios takes its rise. Their hut was well built, on a rising ground, wall 6 feet high, a good pointed straw roof. The *Huayri* was about 5 feet 10 inches in height, well made, of a good cast of features, and a jovial disposition. These Indians are afraid to be in utter darkness at any time, for fear of evil spirits. They cultivate maize, yucas, plantains, and pineapples. They live in long huts, twenty persons in each, and wander for leagues through the matted forests in search of gamé. They have no religion whatever, bury their dead in the huts, and are fierce, cruel, and untameable. The CHUNCHOS of the forests east of Tarma are quite independent, very fierce, and formidable. G. de la Vega, i., lib. vii., c. 14. Velasco. General Miller, R.G.S.J., vi., p. 182. Von Tschudi, p. 466. Gibbon, p. 51. Markham, "Cuzco and Lima" and R.G.S.J., xxv., p. 151.

CHUNIPIES.—A tribe of the Gran Chacu, between the Rio Grande and Bermejo. They are said to be descended from Spaniards, and are very peaceful and courteous; and they cultivate maize, besides food derived from fishing and hunting. They go quite naked, and are constantly at war with the TOBAS and MOCOVIES, but live in friendship with four other tribes, who appear to be of the same origin, and who resemble each other closely, namely, the TEQUETES, GUAMALCAS, YUCUNAMPAS, and VELELAS. Lozano, p. 85.

- CHUNTAQUIRUS.**—Same as the **PIRROS**.
- CHURITUNAS.**—A branch of the **JEVEROS**. M. Rodriguez. Velasco.
- CHURUMATAS.**—See **CHICHAS OREJONES**.
- CHUZCOS.**—A tribe of the Huallaga, established in a mission village by the Franciscan Friar Lugando in 1631. Mercurio Peruano.
- CINGACACHUSCAS.**—A tribe supposed to have been descended from the Incas. It is now extinct. Velasco.
- CIPÓS.**—A small and friendly tribe on the Tapaúa, a tributary of the Purus. They are very industrious. Chandless.
- CIRÚS.**—A tribe on the Solimoes, now probably extinct. Martius.
- CIURES.**—A tribe of the River Pastaza. M. Rodriguez.
- CLITUAS.**—A tribe of the River Japura. Penna.
- COAHUNAS.**—See **CAHANS**.
- COATA TAPUÚJAS.**—A tribe of the River Jurua, reported to have short tails. Von Spix, iii, p. 1183. Castelnau.
- COBEUS.**—See **UAUPÉS**.
- COCOMAS, or CUCÁMAS.**—A tribe of the Marañon and Lower Huallaga of the first missionary epoch, 1638–83. Spruce suggests that they are a remnant of the **TUPINAMBAS**. Their province was called by the missionaries, “La Gran Cocoma.” They built their huts round a beautiful lake near the mouth of the Huallaga, where Father Lútero established a mission. In 1681 they were still in the habit of eating their dead relations, and grinding their bones in drink in their fermented liquor. They said it was better to be inside a “friend, than to be swallowed up by the cold earth.” In 1830 they moved from Laguna to Nauta, at the mouth of the Ucayali. They are bolder than most of the civilized Indians, and they carry on war with the savage **MAYORUNAS**. When the Brazilian expedition explored the River Purus in 1852 the leader of it reported that the last seven villages on that river, extending to the extreme limit of navigation, were inhabited by **COCOMAS**. But Mr. Chandless has since shown that these were not **COCOMAS**, but **MANETENERIS**. The language of the **COCOMAS** is a mere dialect of, and very much resembles the **TUPI**. Bates speaks very highly of them as a shrewd, provident, hard working people; and they are good canoemen. M. Rodriguez. Poeppig, “Reise,” ii., p. 449. Spruce’s Notes. Herndon, p. 195. Bates, ii., p. 159. Raimondi, p. 113.
- COCOMILLAS.**—A branch of the **COCOMAS** settled at Laguna on the Huallaga. They are lazy and addicted to drink, but good canoe-men. M. Rodriguez. Velasco. Herndon, p. 176. Raimondi, p. 113.
- COCRUNAS.**—A tribe of the River Teffé. Ribeiro. Penna.
- COEURUNAS.**—A tribe of the River Japura. They are, in general, small, strong, and dark, with nothing agreeable in their faces. They intermarry very much among relations, and Martius gives this as a cause of their degenerating. Their language, spoken through their noses, sounds disagreeable. Spix und Martius, iii., p. 1201. Penna, p. xix.
- COEUNAS.**—A tribe of the River Uaupés. Penna.
- COFANES.**—A tribe in the forests sixty leagues east of Quito, on the head waters of the River Aguarico, near the foot of Mount Cayambe. They are much reduced in numbers, and have lost their former fierce character. They speak a harsh guttural language. Velasco, iii., 136. Villavicencio, p. 173. Hervas, i., p. 274.
- COHIDIAS.**—See **UAUPÉS**.
- COHUMARES.**—A tribe of the Marañon, preached to between 1727 and 1768. Velasco.



- COLCHAQUIES.**—A tribe of Tucuman, and in the southern part of the Gran Chacu. They resisted the invasion of the Spaniards of Salta and Jujuy very bravely, and were not entirely subdued until 1665. In 1659 they followed Pedro Bohorques in his crazy expedition in search of Paytiti. Velasco. Lozano, p. 92. Dobrizhoffer.
- COLLINAS.**—A tribe of the Rivers Jurua and Yavari, supposed to be a branch of the TICUNAS. Penna. Bates, ii., pp. 199, 395.
- COMACORIS.**—A branch of the SIMIGAES. Velasco.
- COMANIS.**—A tribe of the Rio Negro now nearly, if not quite, extinct. Martius.
- COMAVOS.**—A tribe said by Velasco to be descended from the Inca Indians; preached to between 1683 and 1727. Velasco.
- CONAMARÉS.**—A tribe of the River Jutay. Martius.
- CONAMBOS.**—A tribe on the head waters of the River Tigre. Villavicencio's Map.
- CONEJORIS.**—A branch of the SIMIGAES. Velasco.
- CONIBOS, or MANOAS.**—A tribe of the Pampa del Sacramento, and the banks of the Ucayali. They were first visited by missionaries between 1683 and 1727. In 1685 some Franciscans descended by Pachitea, and formed a mission amongst them, but the good friars were killed by the CASHIBOS. Father Rieter was killed by the CONIBOS in 1695. At present most of them profess Christianity, thanks to the indefatigable exertions of Fathers Girbal and Plaza. They are a quiet tractable people. They paint their faces in red and blue stripes, and wear silver rings in their lips and noses. They are good boatmen and fishermen, and are employed by the traders to collect sarsaparilla. They speak the Pana language. They have very rough skins, owing to the continual attacks of mosquitos. They are marked on Fritz's Map on the east side of the Ucayali. Velasco. Fritz's Map. Mercurio Peruano. Girbal MS. Castlenau. Smyth, p. 235. Herndon, p. 202. Hervas, i., p. 262.
- CONOMOMAS.**—A tribe of the River Jutay. Acuña, p. 99. Spix und Martius, iii., p. 1185.
- COPATASAS.**—A branch of the JEVEROS. Villavicencio.
- CORETUS.**—See CURETUS.
- CORICIARAS.**—See MOXOS.
- COROCOROS.**—A tribe of the River Uaupés. Wallace.
- CORONAS.**—A tribe of the River Teffé. Ribeiro.
- CORONADOS.**—A tribe of the River Pastasa. M. Rodriguez.
- CORTYS.**—A small tribe between the Tocantins and Araguay, divided into ten branch tribes. Martius.
- COTOS.**—See OREJONES.
- COTOCARIANAS.**—See CARABUYANAS.
- COTURIAS.**—See CUTRIAS.
- COUAS.**—See UAUPÉS.
- CRANS.**—A tribe on both sides of the Tocantins, in the north of Goyaz. A warlike people. Martius.
- CUCAMAS.**—See COCOMAS.
- CUCHIGUARAS.**—A tribe of the River Purus. There is a tribe of the same name on the Tocantins. Acuña, p. 107. Spix und Martius, iii., p. 1175.
- CUCICAS.**—See CHIQUITOS.
- CUCURARES.**—See CHIQUITOS.
- CUINUAS.**—A branch of the CAMAVOS. Velasco.
- CUIRES.**—A branch of the ROAMAYNAS.
- CUIYACUS.**—A tribe of the River Aguarico. Villavicencio's Map.

- CUIYAYOS.**—A tribe between the Aguarico and Putumayu. Villavicencio's Map.
- CULINAS.**—A tribe of the Yavari. Martius.
- CUMACUMANS.**—A tribe of the River Japura. Penna.
- CUMARUAYANAS.**—See CARABUYANAS.
- CUMAYARIS.**—A tribe of the River Purus. Acuña, p. 107. Spix und Martius, iii., p. 1175.
- CUMBASINOS.**—A tribe of the Santa Catalina, in the Pampa del Sacramento. Smyth, p. 204.
- CUMURAMAS.**—A tribe of the River Solimoens. Penna.
- CUNAS.**—A tribe of the Putumayu. Acuña, p. 99.
- CUNIPUSANAS.**—A branch of the BARRÉS, inhabiting the head of the Pacimoni river. Spruce.
- CUNJIES.**—A branch of the AVIJIRAS. Velasco.
- CUNURIS.**—A tribe at the mouth of a river up which the Amazons are said to live; the River Nhamunda. Acuña, p. 122. Penna, p. xx.
- CUPINHAROS,** or "Ant Indians."—A branch of the great TUPI nation, near the mouth of the Amazon. Martius.
- CURANAS.**—A tribe of the Ucayali, said to be a branch of CAMPAS. Velasco.
- CURANARIS.**—A tribe of the River Madeira. Acuña, p. 117.
- CURANIS.**—A tribe of the River Japura. Penna.
- CURARAYES.**—A branch of the Zaparos. Villavicencio. Tyler.
- CURASSI TAPUJAS.**—See JURIS.
- CURETUS.**—A tribe inhabiting the country between the Rivers Japura and Uaupés. They are short but very strong, wear their hair long and paint their bodies. The men wear a girdle of woollen thread, but the women go entirely naked. Their houses are circular, with walls of thatch and a high conical roof. They reside in small villages governed by a chief, and are long lived and peaceable. They cultivate maize and mandioc. They have no idea of a Supreme Being. Their language is very guttural and difficult to understand, as they keep their teeth close together when speaking. Latham gives twenty-two Curetu words. There is a tribe of the same name on the River Tefé. Ribeiro. Spix und Martius, iii., p. 1222. Wallace, p. 509. Latham, p. 488.
- CURIARES.**—A tribe between the Xingu and Tocantins. Martius.
- CURIATES.**—A tribe marked on Fritz's Map (1707) between the Rivers Madeira and Tapajos. Fritz's Map.
- CURICIRARIS.**—Formerly on the River Jumá. Edwards, p. 17.
- CURIGUERES.**—A race of giants on the Purus. Acuña, p. 107.
- CURINAS.**—A tribe living south of the OMAGUAS. Acuña, p. 96. Spix und Martius, iii., p. 1187. Penna.
- CURIS.**—A tribe of the River Amazons. Acuña, p. 100.
- CURIVEAS.**—A tribe said to have been subject to the "Gran Paytiti." M. Rodriguez.
- CURUAMAS.**—A tribe of the River Yavari. Martius.
- CURUANARIS.**—See CARABUYANAS.
- CURUAXIS.**—A tribe of the Rio Negro, now nearly if not quite extinct. Martius. Penna.
- CURUCURUS.**—A tribe of the Purus. Acuña, p. 107.
- CURUPATABAS.**—A tribe of the Rio Negro. Acuña, p. 110.
- CURUZIBARIS.**—A very populous tribe on the south side of the Amazon, twenty-eight leagues below the mouth of the Jurua. Acuña, p. 101.
- CUSABATAYES.**—A branch of the MANAMABOBOS. Velasco.

- CUSTINIABAS. A branch of the PIRROS. Velasco.
- CUTINANOS.—A branch of the JEVEROS. Father Cuvia preached to them in 1646. Velasco.
- CUTRIAS, or COTURIAS.—A tribe between the Rivers Juina and San Simao. Martius.
- CUXIUARAS.—A tribe of the River Purus. Penna.
- CUYZARAS.—A branch of the MOXOS. Hervas.
- CUZARES.—A tribe between the Rivers Xingu and Tocantins. Martius.
- DAMACURIS.—A tribe of the River Canaburi. Penna.
- DESANNAS.—A branch of the UAUPÉS, between the Rivers Uaupé and Guaviare. Wallace. Martius. Penna.
- ENAGUARES.—See GUAGNAS.
- ENCABELLADOS.—A tribe of the River Napo, so called by Father Rafael Ferrer in 1600, from their long hair. They were preached to from 1727 to 1768. They are marked on Fritz's Map (1707), between the Rivers Napo and Putumayu. Villavicencio places them on the lower part of the Aguarico. They are much reduced in numbers, and live chiefly on fish and the manati. Acuña, p. 92-94. Fritz's Map. Velasco. Villavicencio. Hervas, i., p. 262.
- ENGAIBAS.—A tribe of the River Pacaxa. Acuña, p. 130.
- ENJEYES.—A branch of the ITUCALES. Velasco.
- EREPUACAS.—A tribe of the River Madeira. Acuña, p. 117.
- ERIRUMAS.—A branch of the MOXOS. Hervas.
- ERITEYNES.—A branch of the IQUITOS. Velasco.
- FRASCAVINAS.—A branch of the ANDOAS. Velasco.
- GAES, or GAYES.—A tribe of the Marañon with a language allied to that of the JEVEROS. In 1707 they killed Father Durango. They are placed in Fritz's Map on the upper waters of the Tigre and Pastasa. Spruce says that this is the ancient name of the SIMIGAES. M. Rodriguez. Fritz's Map. Velasco. Spruce's Notes.
- GES.—A great tribe between the Tocantins and Araguaya. Martius.
- GEMIAS.—A tribe on the River Jutay. Martius.
- GENTIOS.—The best canoe men on the Amazon. Edwards, p. 169.
- GEPUAS.—A tribe of the River Japura. Penna.
- GINORIS.—A branch of the SIMIGAES. Velasco.
- GIS.—See UAUPÉS.
- GIVAROS.—See JIVAROS.
- GOYAZES.—A tribe of Villa Boa, in the province of Goyaz, now extinct. Martius.
- GUACARAS.—A tribe living next to the race of the Amazons, with whom they had intercourse. On the River Nhamundá. Acuña, p. 122.
- GUACHIS.—A tribe of the Gran Chacu. Lozano.
- GUAGNAS, or ENAGUARES.—A tribe on the banks of the River Japura. They are cannibals, and dry the flesh of their prisoners. They compress the waist from infancy, and use a kind of harpoon. "Mem de los Vireyes," vi., p. 141.
- GUAJAYOS.—A tribe of the Marañon preached to between 1727 and 1768. Velasco.
- GUAJEJUS.—A tribe on the Corumbiára. Martius.
- GUALAQUIJAS.—A branch of the JEVEROS. Velasco.
- GUAMALCAS.—See CHUNIPIES.
- GUANAS.—A tribe of the Gran Chacu. Lozano.
- GUANANS.—"Men of the woods." Between the Paraguay and Sierra de Chainez. Martius.
- GUANAMAS.—A tribe of the Rio Negro. Acuña, p. 110.
- GUANAPUS.—A tribe of the river of the same name, perhaps the parent stem of the BUS. Martius.

- GUANAPURIS.**—A tribe of the ARAGANATUBA. Acuña, p. 105.
- GUANARUS.**—A tribe of the River Jutay, marked on Fritz's Map (1707) between the Rivers Jurua and Teffé. Acuña, p. 99. Fritz's Map.
- GUANIBIS.**—A tribe of the Araganatuba. Acuña, p. 105.
- GUAPINDAGES.**—A tribe between the Rivers Araguay and Xingu. Martius.
- GUAQUES.**—A tribe in Mocoa, on the Rivers Caqueta and Putumayu. Trübner's "Bib. Glott.," p. 75.
- GUAQUIARIS.**—A tribe of the River Purus. Acuña, p. 107.
- GUARAICUS.**—See UARAYCUS. A tribe of the Putumayu. Acuña, p. 99.
- GUARANACUAZANAS.**—A tribe between the Rio Negro and Orinoco. Acuña, p. 110.
- GUARANGUACAS.**—A tribe of the Amazon, below the mouth of the Madeira. Acuña, p. 117.
- GUARAYOS.**—A tribe on the head waters of the Mamoré and its tributaries, and on some of the tributaries of the Beni. They navigate the upper waters of the Madidi and Madre de Dois. The Indians of this tribe, and those of the SIRIONOS are believed to be descended from Spaniards who, in former days, went into the forests in search of the Gran Paytiti. They are bearded and florid, but also have some characteristics of their maternal ancestry. They are said to be kind and hospitable, the SIRIONOS fierce; but Armentia describes the GUARAYOS as fierce and barbarous, and says that they cultivate maize and plantains. Little is known about them. Hervas says they are met with between the Moxos and CHIKUITOS. Hervas. Dalence. Armentia.
- GUARIANACAQUAS.**—A tribe of the Rio Negro. Acuña, p. 110.
- GUARIBAS,** or "Ape Indians."—A branch of the Uaupés. Martius.
- GUARIQUENAS.**—A branch of the BARRÉS. Spruce's Notes.
- GUASITAYAS.**—A tribe of the Marañon, preached to between 1727 and 1768. Velasco.
- GUATINUMAS.**—A tribe of the River Madeira. Acuña, p. 110.
- GUATOS.**—A tribe near the sources of the Araguay, with very white skins. Martius.
- GUAYABAS.**—A tribe on the north side of the Amazon. Acuña, p. 100.
- GUAYACARIS.**—A tribe of the Araganatuba. Acuña, p. 105.
- GUAYANAS,** or GUAYANAZES. —A tribe on the continent opposite the island of Marajo. Martius.
- GUAYAZIS.**—A tribe of dwarfs of whom Acuña heard from the TUPINAMBAS. Acuña, p. 119.
- GUAYCURUS.**—A tribe of the Gran Chacu between the Rivers Pilcomayu and Yaveviri, and on the eastern side of the Paraguay. In the wet season their country is so marshy and full of swamp that they cannot walk; and in the dry season it is so parched up that there is great scarcity of water. It was found almost impossible to penetrate into it; and the GUAYCURUS remained independent. The men go quite naked, but the women wear a short petticoat. Lozano gives a long and interesting account of them. Lozano, pp. 59-62. Hervas, i., p. 180. Martius.
- GUAZAGAS.**—A branch of the Andoas. Velasco.
- GUENCOYAS.**—A tribe of the Marañon, preached to between 1727 and 1768. Velasco.
- GUEVAS.**—A tribe already extinct in Velasco's time. Velasco.
- GUIMARAS.**—A tribe of the River Maraca. Penna.
- HAQUETIS.**—A branch of the MANAMABOBOS. Velasco.
- HARYTRAHES.**—A tribe near the sources of the River Gurupatuba. Martius.

HERACOPOCONOS.—See MOXOS.

HIABAANAS.—A tribe of the River Inabú. Penna.

HIBITOS.—See JIBITOS.

HIMUETACAS.—A branch of the IQUITOS.

HIPURINAS.—A cannibal tribe of the River Purus—the most numerous, warlike, and formidable on that river, between the mouths of the Sepatynim and Hyuacu. Their houses are very long, low, and narrow. The side walls and roofs are one. The poles, being fixed in the ground, converge upwards from opposite sides, and are then bent together, so as to meet and form a pointed arch for the cross section of the house. The ends are closed so as to leave but small doorways. They use bark canoes only, large enough to hold five or six persons. The HIPURINAS delight in war, using the *tacoara*, or bamboo-headed arrow, and *curabi*, or unfeathered arrow with poisoned head, notched and half cut through, so as to break off in the body. Salt is said to be an antidote to their poison, which is made from the sap of the *assaca*. They are well mannered and clean, and have a certain air of self respect about them. They only wear a *tonga* or clout. They believe in a god called *Guintiniri*. Chandless gives sixteen words of the *Hipurina* language, and the Anthropological Institute (vocab. fund) published a grammar and more complete vocabulary by the Rev. J. E. R. Polak, in 1894. The HIPURINAS are met with for about 400 miles of the upper course of the Purus, and they extend eight or ten days' journey up the Aquiri. They may perhaps number 2,000 to 3,000 souls. Chandless. Polak.

HIUHIUAS.—A tribe of the Japura. Penna.

HOUBARAYOS.—A wandering tribe of savages on the east side of the Mamoré to the mouth of the Itenez. Heath.

HUACHIPATRIS.—See CHUNCHOS.

HUAHUATALES.—A tribe marked on Fritz's Map (1707) near the sources of the Yavari. Fritz's Map.

HUAIROUS.—A tribe marked on Fritz's Map (1707) between the Rivers Jurua and Tefé. Fritz's Map.

HUAMBISAS.—A fierce tribe of the Upper Marañon and Santiago rivers. They are a branch of the JEVEROS. In 1841 they drove all the civilized Indians from the upper missions. In 1843 they killed all the inhabitants of a village called Santa Teresa, between the mouths of the Santiago and Morona. They encroach more and more on the few settled villages which remain on the Upper Marañon. They are chiefly met with on the Morona, and on the northern bank of the Marañon. They are fair skinned and bearded, being descended from 7,000 Spanish women captured by the Indians at the sack of Sevilla del Oro in 1599. Raimondi, p. 115. Spruce's Notes. "Heraldo de Lima," 15 Sept., 1855.

HUASIMOAS.—A branch of the IQUITOS del Nanay, preached to between 1727 and 1768. Velasco.

HUIRUNAS.—A tribe of the Araganatuba. Acuña, p. 105.

HUMURANAS.—A branch of the MAYNAS, preached to between 1727 and 1768. Velasco.

HYPURINAS.—See HIPURINAS.

IBANOMAS.—A branch of the JEVEROS, marked on Fritz's Map between the Rivers Tefé and Purus. Fritz's Map. Velasco.

IBIRAJARES.—See YMARAYARES.

IBITOS.—See JIBITOS. Herndon, p. 150.

ICAS.—A tribe on the river of the same name. Martins.

ICAHUATES.—A tribe of the Marañon, preached to between 1683 and 1727 Velasco.

- IGARA-URAS, or "Canoemen."—Several branches of the TUPI nation at the mouth of the Amazon are so called. Martius.
- ILURUS.—A branch of the JEVEROS. Velasco.
- IMASCHAHUAS.—A branch of the MAYNAS. Velasco.
- IMONAS.—See CHIQUITOS.
- INAMBUS, or "Bird Indians."—A branch of the MAUHES. Martius.
- INCURIS.—A branch of the SIMIGAES. Velasco.
- INGANAS.—A tribe of the Mocoa territory. Trübner's "Bib. Glott.," p. 86.
- INUACAS.—A branch of the CAMAVOS. Velasco.
- IPAPUISAS.—A branch of the MAYNAS identical with the IPAPITYAS and CORONADOS. Velasco.
- IPECAS.—See UAUPÉS.
- IPILLOS.—A branch of the PIROS. Velasco.
- IPURINAS.—See HIPURINAS.
- IQUITOS.—An extensive tribe divided into numerous branches; some living on the River Tigre, others on the Nanay. The latter is a stream which flows into the Marañon near Omaguas, and the village of Iquitos is at its mouth. The Iquitos were preached to between 1727 and 1768. Villavicencio places them on the east side of the lower course of the Napo. They are very dexterous in the use of the lance. They brew better *chicha*, or fermented liquor, than any of the neighbouring tribes, flavouring it with the young shoots of some plant which have the effect of an opiate. They worship figures carved in the shape of birds and beasts. "Mem. de los Vireyes," vi., p. 143. Velasco. Villavicencio. Latham, p. 495, who gives twelve Iquito words.
- IRIJUS.—A tribe on the River Purus. Martius. Penna.
- ISANNAS, or PAPUNAUAS.—A tribe on the River Isanna, a tributary of the Rio Negro. They cut their hair, and the women wear a cloth instead of being naked, and adorn themselves with bracelets. Their huts are collected together in little villages. They bury their dead inside the huts, and mourn for them a long time, but make no feast on the occasion. Wallace, p. 507.
- ITA TAPUÚJAS.—"Stone Indians," so called from a stone worn in the upper lip. A tribe of the Capana and other tributaries of the Madeira. Martius.
- ITONOMAS.—A branch of the Moxos settled in the Mission of San José de Guacaraje. Hervas. Keller, p. 22.
- ITREMAJORIS.—A branch of the SIMIGAES. Velasco.
- ITUCALES.—A tribe of the Upper Marañon. Anonimo, p. 367. Velasco.
- IZAS.—A tribe believed to be extinct in Velasco's time. Velasco.
- IZIBAS.—A branch of the ITUCALES. Velasco.
- IZUHALIS.—A branch of the URARINAS. Velasco.
- JACAMIS.—See UAUPÉS and UAINUMÁS.
- JACARES, or JACARE TAPUÚJAS.—"Cayman Indians." A tribe near the junction of the Beni and Mamoré, few in number and scattered over the country, quite savages. Those on the Lower Maderia have been exterminated by the MUNDRUCUS. Martius. Bates. Gibbon, p. 287.
- JACONAIGAS.—A branch of the ABIPONES.
- JACUNDAS.—A tribe between the river of that name and the Tocantins. Martius. Penna.
- JAJUNUMAS.—See JUMANAS.
- JAMAMARIS, or JAMAMADYS.—A tribe on the west side of the Purus, but living some distance inland. They are indeed exclusively a land tribe. There is very little information concerning them, except that, in their customs and appearance, they resemble the CATAUXIS. Wallace, p. 511. Chandless.

JAMOLAPAS.—See JUMANAS.

JANUMAS.—A tribe of the River Teffé. Ribeiro. Penna.

JAPUAS.—A tribe of the Marañon, preached to between 1727 and 1768. Velasco.

JAUANAS, or JAUNAS.—A tribe of the River Teffé. Ribeiro. Martius.

JAUAETES.—"Ounce Indians." See UAUPÉS and UAINUMAS.

JAVAES, or JAVAHES.—A tribe of the River Araguay now extinct. Martius.

JAVAINS.—See YAVAIMS.

JAVIPUJAZ.—A tribe between the Rivers Xingu and Tocantins. Martius.

JAWABUS.—A branch of the PANOS. Velasco.

JEVEROS, JEBEROS, JIBAROS, JIVARAS or GIVAROS.—A tribe of the Upper Marañon above the Pongo de Manseriche, the first fruits of the Jesuit missions. Velasco, who divides them into three branches, says that they are the most faithful, noble, and amiable of all the tribes. Villavicencio divides them into three branches, all speaking the same language, which is sonorous, clear, and harmonious, easy to learn, and energetic. They only have native numerals up to five, using Quichua for higher numbers. They wander in the forests between the Rivers Chinchipe and Pastasa, and on both sides of the Marañon. Simson places them in the country from the Upper Pastasa to the Santiago. The branch tribes are constantly at war with each other, but they unite against a common enemy. On the conquest of Peru, the Spaniards reduced these Indians, and founded colonies in their country; but in 1599 a general insurrection of the JEVEROS destroyed all these settlements in one day. The JEVEROS have muscular bodies, small and very animated black eyes, aquiline noses, and thin lips. Many have beards and fair complexions, and it is said that this arises from the number of Spanish women captured by them in 1599. The JEVEROS love liberty and can tolerate no yoke; they are warlike, brave, and astute. They have fixed homes, cultivate yucas, maize, frijoles, and plantains; and their women wear cotton cloths. They live in well built huts and sleep in standing bed-places instead of hammocks. They are very jealous of their women and keep them apart. Their lances are made of the *chonta* palm, the head being triangular, 30 or 50 inches long, and 10 to 15 inches broad. They all take a strong emetic every morning (an infusion of the leaves of the *quayusa*) for the sake of getting rid of all undigested food, and being ready for the chase on an empty stomach. At each village there is a great drum called *tunduli*, to call the warriors to arms, and it is repeated from village to village as a signal. Their hair hangs over their shoulders, and they wear a helmet of bright feathers. When they are engaged in war their faces and bodies are painted, but during peace they wear breeches down to the knees and a shirt without sleeves. Some curious dried human heads, supposed to have been venerated as idols, have been found among the JEVEROS of Macas. There is an account of them in the "Ethnological Society's Transactions" for 1862, by W. Bollaert, and there are specimens in several museums in Europe. The JEVEROS who live among the Spaniards, in the upper angle between the Huallaga and Marañon, talk Quichua, and many of them serve in the houses in Mozobamba, and in the farms in the neighbourhood. They are the best porters in the province. Fritz's Map. Velasco. Villavicencio, pp. 165 and 375. "Heraldo de Lima," Sept., 1855. Raimondi, p. 112. Hervas, i, p. 274. Simson, p. 566. Spruce's Notes.

JIBABOS.—See JEVEROS.

JIBITOS.—A tribe first met with by the Franciscans in 1676, in the forest near the Huallaga, on the eastern borders of the Peruvian province of Caxamarquilla. They were converted, and settled in villages on the western bank of the Huallaga. Their women wear a cotton dress, confined round the waist by a girdle. They bathe in the river, for their health, very early in the morning. They are only distinguished from the CHOLONOS by their dialect, but they are less civilized. They paint their faces, not with any fixed pattern, but each man according to his fancy, using the blue of *huicoc* (*Genipa oblongifolia*, R.P.) and the red achiote (*Bixa Orellana*, Lin.). The JIBITOS are met with on the Huallaga at Tocache and Lamasillo. Herndon, p. 150. Raimondi, p. 150.

JOCACURAMAS.—See JUMANAS.

JUANAS.—A tribe of the River Pacaxa. Acuña, p. 130.

JUBIRIS, or JUBERYS.—A tribe on the Purus. There is little known about them, but their bodies are spotted and mottled like those of the PURUPURUS. Wallace, p. 516. Chandless.

JUMANAS.—See TICUNAS. A tribe of the Iça and Marañon. Martius gives nine branches of the JUMANAS, namely :—

|           |             |            |
|-----------|-------------|------------|
| CARUANAS  | JOCACURAMAS | PICUAMAS   |
| JAJUNUMAS | LAMARAMAS   | URIZSAMMAS |
| JAMOLAPAS | MALINUMAS   | VARAUAMAS. |

Martius.

JUMAS.—A tribe of the River Coari, and near the sources of the Canuma. They were exterminated by the MUNDUCUS. Martius. Southey's "Brazil," iii. Bates, ii, p. 131. Penna, p. xxi.

JUQUIS.—A tribe of Rio Negro, now extinct. Martius.

JURIS.—A tribe of the Amazons between the Rivers Iça and Japura. Many of them have also settled on the Rio Negro. In 1775 there was a settlement of Juris on the Japura, ruled by a chief called "Machiparo" or "Macupari." Their huts are formed of a circle of poles with others woven in, and a roof of palm leaves in the shape of a dome. The JURIS are nearly related to the PASSES, and in former times they were undoubtedly one tribe. Their language, manners, and customs are the same, but the JURIS have broader features and chests. Dr. Latham gives twenty-two JURI words. In ancient times they were the most powerful tribe between the Iça and Japura, but in 1820 their whole number did not exceed 2,000. Dr. Martius gives ten divisions of the tribe :—

JURI-COMA TAPUŪJAS.  
CACAO TAPUŪJAS (Cacao Indians).  
MOIRA TAPUŪJAS (Wood Indians).  
ASSAI TAPUŪJAS (Palm Indians).  
CURASSI TAPUŪJAS (Sun Indians).  
OIRA AÇU TAPUŪJAS (Great bird Indians).  
TUCANO TAPUŪJAS (Toucan Indians).  
UBI TAPUŪJAS (Blow-pipe Indians).  
UEBYTU TAPUŪJAS (Wind Indians).  
TABOCA TAPUŪJAS.

The JURIS tattoo a circle round the mouth, and hence they are called "JURIPIXUNAS" (black JURIS). They are good servants for canoe or agricultural work, and are the most skilful of all in the use of *gravatana* or blow-pipe. The hair of the JURIS is curled so closely as to resemble the African woolly head. The



women have both cheeks tattooed. The JURIS were nearly extinct forty years ago, a few families still lingering on the retired banks of the Tefé. They inter-married very much with relations, and Martius gives this as the cause of their degeneracy. Martius, iii., p. 1235. Von Spix, iii., p. 1184. Southey's "Brazil," iii., p. 721. Smyth, p. 278. Bates, ii., p. 194. Simson, p. 574.

**JURI-COMA TAPUÛJAS.**—See JURIS.

**JURUENAS.**—A tribe on the river of the same name. Martius.

**JURUNAS.**—"Black men." A tribe on the River Xingu, visited by Prince Adalbert of Prussia. A branch of the TUPIS. Martius.

**JURUPARIS.**—"Devil Indians." See UAUPÉS.

**JURU-UNAS.**—See JURUNAS.

**JUTIPOS.**—A tribe preached to between 1683 and 1727. Velasco says that the MANOAS, PANOS, and PELADOS are all branches of the JUTIPOS, but this must be a mistake. Velasco.

**LAMARAMAS.**—See JURUMAS.

**LAMAS.**—Said to be extinct. Probably the same as LAMISTAS.

**LAMBYs.**—A tribe of the River San Simao.

**LAMISTAS, or MOTILONES.**—A tribe of the Huallaga, civilized by the Franciscans in 1676. They are settled at Lamas, Moyobamba, and Tarapoto. They are industrious and are employed chiefly in agriculture and in the preparation of cotton. They also inhabit Chasuta, but there they have retained, to a great extent, the mode of life of the wild hunting Indians. They are of a mild disposition, and have polite friendly manners. Poëppig, "Reise."

**LECOS, or MOSETENES.**—A tribe on the Tipuani, a tributary of the Beni; settled in the mission villages of Mapuri and Guanay, where they are half civilized. They have agreeable expressions, high foreheads, comparatively small mouths, and horizontal eyes. The Guanay Mission was founded in 1802. Padre A. Herrera printed a vocabulary of the Leco or Mosetene language at Rome in 1834 (12mo., pp. 20). Weddell, p. 453. Heath.

**LLAGUAS.**—A tribe on the River Pebas. They go naked, and are dexterous in hunting and fishing. "Mem de los Vireyes," vi., p. 138.

**LLAMEOS.**—A tribe inhabiting San Regis on the Marañon. Raimondi, p. 113.

**LLIQUINOS.**—A tribe on the head waters of the Curaray. Villavicencio's Map.

**LOGRONOS.**—A tribe on the western side of the Morona. Villavicencio's Map.

**LULES.**—A tribe of the Gran Chaco: first visited by San Francisco Solano, and afterwards by Father Alonzo de Barzana. Their language is very deficient in words to express abstract ideas, and they are described as a very savage race. Father Machoni, and other Jesuits, laboured amongst the LULES between 1711 and 1729. Hervas, i., p. 165. Lozano, pp. 94 and 380.

**MABIUS.**—A tribe of the River Japura. Penna.

**MACAGUAJES.**—On the Putumayu. See PIOJES. Simson.

**MACAGUAS.**—A tribe of the Araganatuba. Acuña, p. 105.

**MACAVINAS.**—A branch of the ANDOAS. Velasco.

**MACONIS.**—A Brazilian tribe nearly exterminated by the BOTOCUDOS.

**MACUCUENAS.**—A tribe of the River Uaupés. Penna.

**MACUNAS.**—A tribe of the Araganatuba and Rio Negro. Acuña. Wallace.

**MACÚS.**—One of the lowest and most uncivilized tribes of the Amazonian basin, inhabiting forests near the Rio Negro. They have no houses

and no clothing. They stitch up a few leaves at night to serve as a shelter if it rains. They make a most deadly kind of poison to anoint their arrows. They eat all kinds of birds and fish roasted. They often attack the houses of other Indians and murder all the inhabitants. They have wavy and almost curly hair. They are one of the few wandering tribes with no fixed residence, and are met with through nearly the whole length of the Rio Negro, but principally to the westward of it. They must not be confounded with the Mácos of the Orinoco. Wallace, p. 508. Spruce's Notes.

**MACUNIS.**—A small tribe on the Rio Branco. Martius.

**MACUXIS.**—A tribe of the Rivers Mahu, Pirarára, and Saraura. Penna.

**MADAUACÁS.**—A tribe of the River Canaburi. Penna.

**MAISAMES.**—A tribe between the Rivers Nanay and Napo. Villavicencio's Map.

**MAJIRONAS.**—See **MAYORUNAS**.

**MALINUMAS.**—See **JUMANAS**.

**MAMACICAS.**—A branch of the **CHIKUITOS**.

**MAMAYAMAZES.**—A tribe of the island of Marajo. Martius.

**MAMBARES.**—A tribe of **TUPI** origin, mixed up with the **CABIXIS**. Martius.

**MAMBRIARÁS.**—A tribe on the River Tapajos. Martius.

**MAMELUCOS.**—The half-caste offspring of white and Indians are so called in the Brazilian provinces of the Amazons. Bates.

**MAMENGAS.**—A tribe of the Rivers Japura and Uaupés. Penna.

**MANACURUS.**—A tribe of the Rio Negro. Acuña, p. 40.

**MANAGUS.**—A tribe employed in procuring gold near the Amazon. Acuña, p. 103.

**MANAHUAS.**—A tribe of the Ucayali, living between that river and the Yavari, mentioned by Father Girbal as being met with near the **CAPANAHUAS**. Girbal, MS. Viaje. Mercurio Peruano, No. 381.

**MANAMABOBOS.**—A tribe of the Ucayali visited by Father Lucero in 1681. They are marked on Fritz's Map, on the east side of that river. Fritz's Map (1707). M. Rodriguez. Velasco. Mercurio Peruano.

**MANAMABUAS.**—A branch of the **MANAMABOBOS**. They were preached to between 1683 and 1727. Velasco.

**MANAOS.**—A tribe of the River Teffé: also met with on the banks of the Rio Negro. The whole tribe is now civilized, and they were among the first settlers at Barra. Once the most powerful nation on the Rio Negro. Spruce's Notes.

**MANATIZABAS.**—A branch of the **PIROS**. Velasco.

**MANDAUACAS.**—A branch of the **BARRÉS**.

**MANETENERIS.**—A tribe far up the Purus, and between that river and the Jurua. They have communication with the Ucayali. They manufacture cotton cloth, and have iron axes and fish hooks. The men wear long ponchos, the women are clothed in sacks open at the bottom. The women seem to be on a footing of perfect equality with the men, often scolding them and interfering in their trade. The **MANETENERIS** are great thieves and are essentially a water-side tribe, always on the move up or down the river. Their canoes are *ubás* of cedar wood, very long and admirably made. Chandless gives sixteen words of their language. Chandless.

**MANGERONAS.**—A tribe of the River Japura. Penna.

**MANIBAS.**—A tribe on the River Isanna. Martius.

**MANOAS.**—See **CONIBOS**.

**MANUES.**—A branch of the **CAMPOS**. Velasco.

**MAPARINAS.**—A tribe of the Upper Marañon, which joined the **COCOMAS**

in the rebellion against the Missionaries in 1664. M. Rodriguez Velasco.

**MAPARIS, or MAPIARUS.**—A tribe of the Araganatuba, according to Acuña. Smyth mentions such a tribe in the Pampa del Sacramento. Acuña, p. 105. Smyth, p. 235.

**MAPIARUS.**—See **PUINAUS**.

**MARAGUAS.**—A tribe of the River Amazon, below the mouth of the Madeira. Acuña, p. 117.

**MARANHAS.**—See **MARIANAS**.

**MARAPITANAS.**—A tribe on the borders of the Rio Negro towards the Cassiquiari. Martius. Penna.

**MARAUAS.**—A tribe of the Lower Jurua. Martius. Bates, ii., p. 379.

**MARAYMUMES.**—A tribe of the Araganatuba. Acuña, p. 105.

**MARCANIS.**—A tribe in the basin of the Beni. Armentia.

**MARIANAS, or MARANHAS.**—See **MIRANHAS**. A tribe of the River Jutay. They wear small pieces of wood in their ears and lips, but are not tattooed. The boring of the lips of a child is celebrated by a feast. When a boy is twelve years old, the father cuts four lines near his mouth, and he must then fast five days. The elder lads scourge themselves with a small girdle, which operation is considered as proving their manhood. They are also met with on the upper course of the Putumayu, across to the Japura. Acuña, p. 99. Spix und Martius, iii., p. 1185. Bates, ii., p. 377.

**MARIARANAS.**—A tribe between the Japura and Rio Negro. Martius.

**MARIETÉS.**—A tribe on the upper course of the Iça. Bates, ii., p. 377.

**MARIGUYANAS.**—See **CARABUYANAS**.

**MARIRUAS.**—A tribe of the Araganatuba. Acuña, p. 105.

**MARNUACUS.**—A tribe of the River Japura. Penna.

**MAROPAS.**—A tribe on the River Beni; inhabiting Reyes also in the country of the Moxos. Dr. Heath made a vocabulary of their language. Armentia. Heath in "Kansas City Review" for April 1883, pp. 679-687.

**MASACAS.**—A branch of the **BARRÉS**. Spruce.

**MASAMAES.**—A branch of the **YAMEOS** preached to between 1727 and 1768. Velasco.

**MASIPIAS.**—A tribe of the Araganatuba. Acuña, p. 105.

**MASUCARUANAS.**—See **CARABUYANAS**.

**MATACOS.**—See **MATAGUAYOS**.

**MATAGENES.**—A branch of the **ZAPAROS**.

**MATAGUAYOS.**—A tribe of the Gran Chacu, belonging to the Pampa or Patagonian stock. Their women are made to work like slaves. They occupy the country on the west bank of the River Bermejo for a length of 82 leagues. Their chief food is fish, which they catch with nets and with arrows. Their dresses are made of the skins of animals. Pelleschi calls them **MATTACOS**. He minutely describes their physical characteristics. Lozano, pp. 51-73. Hervas, i., p. 164. Vigne, i., p. 277. Pelleschi, p. 30. Mercurio Peruano, No. 583.

**MATURABES.**—A tribe east of the **CABIXIS**. Martius.

**MATURUÁS.**—A tribe of the River Jutay. Martius.

**MAUAS.**—See **UMANAS**.

**MAUHÉS.**—A branch of the **MUNDRUCUS**, wandering between the Tapajos and Madeira. They intermarry very much among relations. Martius says they are split up into twelve branch tribes, namely:

|  |                                  |
|--|----------------------------------|
| <b>TATUS</b> (Amadillo Indians)        | <b>GUARIBAS</b> (Monkey Indians) |
| <b>TASIUÁS</b>                         | <b>INAMBÚS</b> (Bird Indians)    |
| <b>JURUPARI FREIRA</b> (Devil Indians) | <b>JAUARETES</b> (Ounce Indians) |

MUCUMS (Insect Indians)

SAUCANES

XUBARÁS

PIRA-PEREIRAS (Fish Indians)

UÛ TAPUÛJAS (Native Indians)

CARIBUNAS.

Martius. Bates. Chandless. Herbert Smith, pp. 247-253.

MAUISHIS.—A branch of the CONIBOS. Bates, ii., p. 379.

MAUTAS.—A branch of the ZAPAROS between the Nanay and the Napo. Villavicencio's Map. Tyler.

MAYACAMAS.—A branch of the MOXOS. Hervas.

MAYANASES.—A tribe on the River PACAXA. Acuña, p. 130.

MAYNAS.—A tribe placed between the Pastaza and Santiago on Fritz's Map (1707). But it is a general name for all the tribes of the Upper Marañon in the extensive Peruvian province of Maynas. In 1814 a census was made of all the mission villages in Maynas, which gave a total of 26,000 souls, Spaniards and converted Indians, but exclusive of independent and savage tribes. In 1862 the population of this province, which included the banks of the Huallaga, Ucayali, and Marañon, was estimated at 90,000; of which 45,200 were civilized Indians, 4,000 or 5,000 scattered in boating and hunting expeditions, and the remainder untamed savages. Paz Soldan, p. 551. Fritz's Map. Hervas, i., p. 262. Raimondi, p. 125.

MAYORUNAS, or BARBUDOS.—A tribe between the Rivers Marañon, Ucayali, and Yavari. They have thick beards and white skins, more like English than even Spaniards. They wander through the forests hunting, and do not go much to the rivers. They are supposed to be descended from Spanish soldiers of Ursua's expedition, but this is improbable. When the Inca Viracocha conquered the CHANCAS, that tribe retired to Muyubamba, and the people of the country, flying before the newcomers, settled on the Yavari and Ucayali. This is probably the origin of the MAYORUNAS or MUYURUNAS ("Men of Muyu"). They have a strange and painful way of pulling out their beards. They take two shells, which they use as tweezers, and pull out the hairs one by one, making such grimaces that the sight of it moves to laughter, and at the same time to pity. They are sometimes called BARBUDOS and are very numerous. They are taller than most of the other tribes, and go perfectly naked. They do not use bows and arrows, but only spears, lances, clubs, and *cerbatanas* or blow-pipes; and the poison they make is esteemed the most powerful of any. They are well formed, the women particularly so in their hands and feet; with rather straight noses and small lips. They cut their hair in a line across the forehead, and let it hang down their backs. Their cleanliness is remarkable. Very little is really known of them. They attack any person who goes into their territory, and boatmen are careful not to encamp on their side of the Ucayali. Castelnau gives twelve MAYORUNA words. Bates has an interesting account of a MAYORUNA girl who was captured on the Yavari. G. de la Vega, vi., cap. 26. M. Rodriguez Velasco, iii., p. 108. Girbal, MS. Mercurio Peruano, No. 76. Smyth, p. 223. Herndon, p. 218. Castelnau. Bates, ii., p. 406. Raimondi, p. 115. Spruce's Notes.

MAZANES.—A tribe between the Rivers Nancy and Napo. Villavicencio's Map.

MENDÓS.—A tribe on the River Uexiá. Martius.

MEPURYS.—A tribe between the Rivers Cunicuríá and Mariá, tributaries of the Rio Negro. Martius. Penna.

MEQUES.—A branch of the Moxos.

METINAS.—A tribe of the River Juara. Penna.

**MIGUANAS.**—A branch of the YAMEOS. They were preached to between 1727 and 1768. Velasco.

**MIRANHAS.**—A race of cannibals between the Rivers Iça and Japura, in the neighbourhood of the JURIS, also met with near Ega. Very hostile to strangers. They have a slit cut in the middle of each wing of the nose, in which they wear a large button made of a pearl river shell. Each man carries his little bag of salt, when they go to fight, as an antidote against poisoned arms. Wallace, p. 510. Bates, ii., pp. 197, 377. Simson, p. 574. Chandless.

**MIRITIS.**—See UAUPÉS and UAINUMÁS.

**MOACARANAS.**—See CARABUYANAS.

**MOBIMAS.**—A tribe on the River Mamoré: probably a branch of the Moxos; settled in the mission of Santa Ana. Heath collected a vocabulary of their language, and says they are seldom under 6 feet high. They are fond of agriculture and stock raising. Keller, p. 22. Dr. Heath in "Kansas City Review," April, 1883.

**MOCHOVOS.**—A branch of the PIRROS. Velasco.

**MOCOBILAS**, or **MOCOVIES.**—A tribe of the Gran Chacu. They are a savage people allied to the TORAS. In 1712 the Spaniards from Tucuman invaded their country. They are insolent and turbulent, very cruel, and given to rapine and robbery. They possess horses. Lozano. Hervas, i., p. 179. Pelleschi, p. 31, who calls them **MOCOVITOS**.

**MOIMAS.**—A civilized tribe of the Mamoré. Heath.

**MOMANAS.**—A tribe of the Solimoens settled at Fonteboa. Martius.

**MOPECIANAS.**—A branch of the Moxos.

**MOPITIRUS.**—A tribe of the Araganatuba. Acuña, p. 105.

**MORONAS.**—A branch of the JEVEROS. Villavicencio.

**MOROPAS.**—A tribe on the River Mamoré, probably a branch of the Moxos. They are settled at the mission village of San Borja. Keller, p. 22.

**MOROTOCAS.**—A branch of the CHIKUITOS.

**MORUAS.**—A tribe of the River Jutay. Acuña, p. 99.

**MOSETENES.**—See LECOS.

**MOTAQUICAS.**—A branch of the CHIKUITOS.

**MOTILONES.**—A tribe of the River Huallaga. The expedition of Pedro de Ursua started from their country in 1560. They were probably the same as the LAMISTAS. Velasco. Fray Pedro Simon, "Not. Hist., VI."

**MOVIMOS.**—A branch of the Moxos.

**Moxos**, or **MUSUS.**—A numerous group of tribes on the Rivers Mamoré and Beni. They submitted to the dominion of the Inca Yupangui more through persuasion than by force. The Inca sent a colony into Moxos. In 1564 Don Diego Aleman started from La Paz, with a few followers, in search of the gold of Moxos; but he was defeated by the Indians and taken prisoner. During the inundations of the rivers the Moxos live on the rising grounds surrounded by the floods. When the dry season arrives, the sun acting on the stagnant waters generates pestilence. The climate is, therefore, unhealthy. The Moxos are now quite under the dominion of the Bolivian Government, and their country forms a province of the department of Beni, separated from Brazil by the Rivers Mamoré and Iteñez. In 1674 a Jesuit, named Cypriano Baraza, entered the country of the Moxos, and spent four years with them, collecting them into mission villages. He dressed their wounds, administered medicines to their sick, and taught them agriculture,

weaving, and carpentry. The first mission village was at Loreto, the second at Trinidad, where Baraza built a handsome brick church. He was killed by the BAURES in 1702.

The Moxos are a grave, sedate, and thoughtful people, and fond of cultivating the soil. They have set aside the bow and arrow, and taken up the lasso, which they handle well. They are civil, quiet, peaceable, and seldom quarrel among themselves. The Bolivians treat them worse than slaves. They number over 30,000 souls, settled in fifteen mission villages :—

|                      |                        |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| Trinidad             | Loreto                 |
| San Ignacio          | San Xavier             |
| San Pedro            | San Ramon              |
| Sta Maria Magdalena  | San José de Guacaraje  |
| Concepcion (BAURES)  | Carmen de Chapacora    |
| San Joaquim (BAURES) | Exaltacion (CAYUBABAS) |
| Santa Ana (MOBIMAS)  | Reyes                  |
| San Borja (MAROPAS)  |                        |

The language is discussed and a list of words given by Latham.

The MOXOS are sub-divided into twenty-six branches, speaking nine, or according to Southey, thirteen languages, besides sundry dialects. These branches are the—

|               |            |           |
|---------------|------------|-----------|
| BAURES        | PECHUYOS   | NAYRAS    |
| MOVIMOS       | CORICIARAS | NORRIS    |
| ERIRUMAS      | MEQUES     | PACABURAS |
| TAPACURAS     | MURES      | SINABUS   |
| ITONAMAS      | SAPIS      | CUTZARAS  |
| CANICIANAS    | CAYABABAS  | CABINAS   |
| BOLEPAS       | CANACURES  | PACANABAS |
| HEREPEPOCONOS | MAYACAMAS  | OCORONOS  |
| ROTORONNOS    | TIBOIS     |           |

G. de la Vega, i., lib. vii. ; ii., cap. 14 and 15. Southey, iii. Stocklein "Reise Beschreibungen," No. 112, p. 62. "Lettres Edifiantes." Hervas, i., p. 247. Martius. Dalence. Gibbon, p. 235. Latham, p. 500. Keller, p. 22.

MUCUMS.—See MAUHÉS.

MUEGANOS.—A branch of the ZAPAROS.

MUNDRUCUS.—A tribe called by their neighbours PAIGUIZÉ ("Cutters off of heads"). One of the most powerful tribes on the Amazon and Tapajos, met with also at the mouth of the Abacaxis. In 1788 they entirely vanquished their ancient enemies the MURAS. The MUNDRUCUS form a numerous tribe of 30,000 to 40,000 souls. Since 1803 they have been at peace with the Brazilians, and portions arc now civilized. When a man is hopelessly ill his friends kill him, and children consider it a kindness to kill their parents when they can no longer enjoy hunting, dancing, and feasting. They are very dirty. A broad chested and very muscular people, with broad, strongly developed, good natured, but rough features. Their glossy black hair is cut close across the forehead, and the whole body is tattooed in small lines. They are very warlike, and are the Spartans amongst the Indians of north Brazil, as the GUAYCURUS are of the south. The women are very pleasing in their manners, their brightness and vivacity being unconscious and quite distinct from forwardness. The MUNDRUCUS are noted for their honesty. There are many TUPI words in their language, as well as many traits in their manners, which make it likely that they once belonged to that great family of tribes which, being split into hordes some centuries

ago, seems to have spread over the whole of Brazil. The MUNDUCU language, like the TUPI, is not harsh, but is pronounced with much modulation. The MUNDUCUS do not believe in immortality. Southey's "Brazil," iii. Martius, iii., p. 1235. Wallace, p. 479. Chandless, R.G.S.J., 1870, p. 425. Herbert Smith (1880), pp. 242, 252.

MUNICHES.—A tribe of the River Huallaga, preached to between 1638 and 1683. M. Rodriguez. Velasco. Maw, p. 141. Hervás, i., p. 262.

MUPARINAS.—A tribe supposed to be extinct. Velasco.

MURAS.—A populous tribe on the Amazon, who were very formidable to the Portuguese at the time of Ribeiro's tour of inspection in 1775, and until they were vanquished by the MUNDUCUS, when they began to settle in the Portuguese villages. They used a bow 6 feet long, arrow and spears, and construct very good canoes. Their houses are grouped together in small villages, and scarcely ever consist of more than a roof supported on poles, without walls. They live on fish, game, and fruit, and do not cultivate anything. They are partly civilized and are met with at the mouths of the Madeira and Rio Negro. But in the interior and up the River Purus, many still live in a perfectly savage state. They are rather a tall race with beards, and the hair of the head is slightly crisp and wavy. They used to go naked, but now they all wear trousers and shirts, and the women have petticoats. Each village has a "Fashauá," or chief, the succession being hereditary, but the chief has little power. The MURAS trade with the Brazilians in sarsaparilla, turtle oil, Brazil nuts, in exchange for cotton goods, knives, spear and arrow heads. Bates classes the MURAS as the lowest and most debased of all the Amazonian tribes. Chandless says they are indolent, drunken, dishonest, and prone to acts of violence. Southey's "Brazil," iii., p. 723. Wallace, pp. 479 and 511. Martius. Gibbon, p. 306. Edwards, p. 132. Chandless. Bates, ii., p. 242.

MURATOS.—A branch of the ANDOAS, preached to from 1727 to 1768. Forty years ago they were very troublesome, pillaging and burning the villages of Santander and Andoa, in Sept., 1856. They do not fight with bows and arrows, but with iron lances and a few muskets obtained from Ecuador. Raimondi makes them a branch of JEVEROS. Velasco. Comercio de Lima. Raimondi, p. 115.

MURES.—A branch of the Moxos.

MURIATES.—A tribe of the River Putumayu. Directly their children are born they hide them in the depths of the forests, that the moonlight may not cause them any harm. Martius. Von Spix, iii., p. 1186.

MUSQUIMAS.—A branch of the URARINAS.

MUSUS.—See Moxos.

MUTAYAS.—A tribe whose feet are shipped with the toes pointing aft, according to Acuña. Acuña, p. 119.

MUTUANIS.—A tribe of the River Purus. Acuña, p. 107.

NAGUEGTOAGUELES.—A branch of the Abipones.

NAMBIQUARAS.—A hostile tribe near the head waters of the River Tapajos. Chandless.

NANERUAS.—A branch of the CAMPAS.

NAPEANOS.—A branch of the YAMEOS.

NAPOTOAS.—A branch of the SIMIGAEAS.

NATOKOL.—See TOBAS.

NAUAS.—A tribe of the Upper Jurua. Bates, ii., p. 379.

**NAUNAS.**—A tribe of the River Jutay ; marked on Fritz's Map between the Rivers Ucayali and Yavari. Fritz's Map. Acuña, p. 99.

**NAYROS.**—A branch of the MOXOS.

**NEGUAS.**—A branch of the AGUARICOS.

**NEOCAYAS.**—A branch of the ENCABELLADOS.

**NEPAS.**—A branch of the SIMIGAES.

**NERECAMUES.**—A branch of the IQUITOS.

**NESAHUACAS.**—A branch of the CAMPAS.

**NEVAS.**—A branch of the AVIJIRAS.

**NHENGABIBAS, or NIENGABURAS.**—Martius mentions them as living on the island of Marajo. They are called also IGARA-UÂRAS, "Canoe-men." Bates says they were formerly on the River Para. Martius. Bates.

**NORRIS.**—A branch of the MOXOS.

**NUGAMUS.**—A branch of the ZAPAROS.  
between 1638 and 1683. M. Rodriguez. Velasco.

**NUSHINOS.**—A branch of the ZAPAROS.

**OAS.**—A branch of the SIMIGAES on the banks of the Napo, preached to

**OCORONOS.**—A branch of the MOXOS.

**OALAPIS.**—A tribe of the Jari, tributary of the Guaratabarú. Martius.

**OIACAS.**—A tribe of the Rivers Majari and Parima. Penna.

**OIRA AÇU TAPUÛJAS.**—See JURIS.

**OJOTAES.**—A tribe of the Gran Chacu. Lozano, p. 51.

**OMAGUAS, UMANAS, or CAMBEBAS.**—Orellana mentions a chief named Aomagua or Machiparo, near the mouth of the Putumayu river. The fabulous stories respecting the wealth of the OMAGUAS led to several expeditions in quest of them, the most famous of which were those of George of Spires in 1536, of Philip von Hutten in 1541, and of Pedro de Ursua in 1560. Hutten is related to have seen the city of the Omaguas from a distance, in the centre of which were the palace of Quarica, the chief of the tribe, and a temple containing many idols. The guides added that farther on there were other cities, larger and richer than the one they saw. The OMAGUAS defeated Hutten and forced him to retreat. In 1645 the Jesuit missionaries arrived in their country, on the banks of the River Marañon. Velasco says that the OMAGUAS are the Phœnicians of the river for their dexterity in navigating, that they are the most noble of all the tribes, that their language is the sweetest and most copious, and that these facts indicate that they are the remains of some great monarchy which existed in ancient times. After eight years of hard work, Father Cujia succeeded in collecting them into villages. In 1687 Father Fritz came amongst them and established forty villages. He is known as the "Apostle of the OMAGUAS." Father Michel lived with them from 1726 to 1753. San Joachim de Omaguas, a village of the Marañon, was the residence of the Vice-Superior of the Missions. The Portuguese carried on hostilities against these mission villages, and took many OMAGUAS away for slaves. From these Indians the Portuguese first obtained the caoutchouc or india-rubber. In the Tupi language they are called CAMBEBAS, which, equally with OMAGUAS, signifies "Flat heads." La Condamine says that of all the savages who inhabit the banks of the Marañon, the OMAGUAS are the most civilized, notwithstanding their strange custom of flattening their heads. The Ouvidor Ribeiro, in his official tour in 1774, came to the village of Olivença, on the Marañon, 13 leagues below Tabatinga, where he found the chief remnant of the OMAGUAS. They were fairer and better shaped than the other Indians, and were considered to be the most



civilized and intelligent of the tribes. They had then abandoned the practice of flattening their heads. In a Report of one of the Viceroy's of Peru (1796), it is stated that the OMAGUA women tamed small monkeys for pets, just as Spanish ladies have little dogs. The men wear beautiful head dresses of feathers.

The OMAGUAS appeared to Lieut. Maw (1827) to be more active and industrious than the other Indians, and their huts were cleaner. Smyth considered them a finer race than any he had hitherto seen ; and Herndon gives the population of San Joachim de Omaguas, in 1852, as 232 souls.

Von Spix, who calls them by their Portuguese name of CAMBERAS or CAMPEVAS, says that they are very good-natured and honest, and that their language has many Tupi words in it. *Cambéba* comes from the Tupi word *Cav-péwa*, composed of the two words *Acarga* (head) and *péwa* (flat). They, like many others of the Amazonian tribes, have a custom of proving the fortitude of the youths by scourging them, and of the maidens by hanging them up in a net and smoking them. After a death the family shut themselves up for a month with continual howling ; and their neighbours support them by hunting. The dead are buried in large earthen jars beneath the floors of their huts. Martius and Spruce consider the OMAGUAS to be a branch of the TUPIS. They are still numerous and powerful towards the head waters of the Japura and Uaupés, though much diminished in the villages on the main stream of the Amazon. Piedrahita, "Hist. Gen." Orellana, p. 27. Fray Simon "Not. Hist., VI." Acuña, p. 48. Velasco, iii., p. 197. Condamine, p. 189. Southey's "Brazil," iii. Maw, p. 185. Smyth, p. 259. Herndon, p. 218. Spix und Martius, iii., p. 1187. "Mem de los Vireyes," vi., p. 131. Latham, p. 507. Hervas, i., p. 265. Spruce's Notes.

OREGUATUS.—A tribe on the south side of the Amazon below the mouth of the Madeira. Acuña, p. 117.

OREJONES.—See CHICHAS OREJONES.

OREJONES, or COTOS.—A tribe on the left bank of the Lower Napo, near its mouth, so called from the practice of inserting a stick into the lobes of their ears. They are also met with on the Putumayu. The physiognomy of the men is described as repulsive, with broad face, high cheek bones, thick lips, flat nose, a low retreating forehead, and long coarse hair. They smear their bodies with *achiote*. Their ears are sometimes stretched until they reach the shoulders. The women are talkative and merry, and appear healthier than the men. The OREJONES are very fierce and go naked. Their huts are closed in on every side, no door, entry being effected by raising the thatch. They use large stone hatchets for felling trees, and prepare poison for arrows. They trade in hammocks, poisons, and provisions. Their language is nasal, guttural, and spoken with great velocity. Villavicencio. Raimondi, p. 114. Simson, R.G.S.J., p. 573. Tyler, R.G.S.J.

ORELHUDOS.—See AROAQUIS.

ORITOS.—A tribe of the River Napo, below the mouth of the Aguarico. Villavicencio.

OROUPIANAS.—See CARABUYANAS.

ORUMANAOS.—A tribe of the Padauari. Penna.

ORYSTINESIS.—A tribe of the Gran Chacu. Lozano.

OTANAVIS.—A branch of the MUNICHES.

OZUANAS.—A tribe of the River Jutay. Acuña, p. 99.

PACABARUS.—A branch of the MOXOS.

**PACAGUARAS.**—A branch of the **MOXOS**, the same as the **PACABARUS**. They live below and to the north of the **ARAONAS**, from the Beni to the Madre de Dios, or Mayu-tata, on both sides of the river. They were once numerous. They thrust a feather through the septum of the nose, and wear the eye teeth of alligators in their ears. Their complexion is white, and the women are beautiful. Their movements and conversation are rapid. They count by closing their hands, and as each finger is opened they say *nata*. When the fingers are finished they say *echesa*. Then they go to the toes. They are cultivators, and are docile. Dr. Heath collected a vocabulary of their language. Armentia, p. 42. Church. Heath in "Kansas City Review."

**PACAJAS**, or **PACAXAS**.—A tribe of the River Pacaxa in Vicuña's time. Martius mentions them as inhabiting the continent opposite the island of Marajo, and as being called **IGARA-UÂRAS**, "Canoe-men." Acuña, p. 130. Martius.

**PACAJAZES**.—A tribe on the River Pacajaz. Martius.

**PACANABAS**.—A branch of the **MOXOS**.

**PACAS**.—A wandering tribe on the Solimoens. Martius.

**PACHICTAS**.—A branch of the **MANAMABOBOS**. Velasco.

**PACIMONARIS**.—A branch of the **BARRÉS**.

**PACUNAS**.—Formerly on the River Icabo and at Fonte Boa, but perhaps no longer to be found there. Martius. Penna.

**PACURYS**.—See **BACURIS**.

**PAICONECAS**.—A branch of the **CHIKUITOS**.

**PAIGUIZES**.—See **MUNDRUCUS**.

**PALPUMÁS**.—A tribe of the River Jurua. Penna.

**PAMARIS**.—See **PAMMARYS**.

**PAMBADEQUEZ**.—A tribe of the Marañon, preached to between 1638 and 1683. M. Rodriguez.

**PAMENUÁS**.—A tribe of the Rivers Japura and Uaupés. Penna.

**PAMMARYS**.—A tribe of the River Purus, a branch of the old tribe of **PURUPURUS**, the name of which is now extinct. A very peaceful tribe, good-humoured and famed for singing, but often afflicted with a skin disease. They plant bananas and mandioc, but are essentially a water-side people, good at shooting fish or turtle with arrows, but unskilled at shooting upwards. Chandless saw more than sixty canoes floating down the river, each with a woman steering and a man standing like a statue in the bow. In the dry season they live in huts of palm-leaf mats, on the sand banks. In time of floods they retire to the lakes, and make their mat huts on rafts, moored in the middle to avoid mosquitoes. Each family lives in a separate hut, on its own raft. They work at making india-rubber. Polak gives sixty words in their language and Chandless sixteen. Chandless, R.G.S.J. Polak.

**PANAJORIS**.—A branch of the **SIMIGAES**.

**PANANAS**.—A branch of the **CHIKUITOS**.

**PANATAGUAS**.—A tribe of the Huallaga visited by Father Lugando in 1631. Mercurio Peruano.

**PANOS**.—A tribe of the Huallaga, Marañon, and now of the Ucayali. In 1670 Father Lucero collected some of them into the village of Santiago de la Laguna, near the mouth of the Huallaga. In 1830 they joined the mission of Sarayacu on the Ucayali. At Sarayacu they wear a short jumper which reaches down to the waistband of the trousers, dyed red or blue. Both sexes are very much addicted to intoxication. Smyth and Castelnau say that the **PANOS** of Sarayacu belong to the tribe of **SETEBOS**. When Smyth was at Sarayacu the

population amounted to 2,000. The canoes of the PANOS are 30 or 40 feet long, and 3 to 5 feet wide. Their manners are frank and natural, showing without any disguise their affection or dislike, their pleasure or anger. They have an easy, courteous bearing, and seem to consider themselves on a perfect equality with everybody.

In the last century a missionary among the PANOS alleged that he found manuscripts written on a kind of paper made of plantain leaves containing, according to the statements of the Indians, a history of events in the days of their ancestors. Most of the tribes of the Ucayali talk what is called the *Pano* language. Rivero, "Antiq. Peru," p. 102. Smyth, p. 213. Raimondi, p. 119. Castlenan, iv., p. 378. Penna, p. xxiii.

PAPAGUAS.—A tribe of the Marañon preached to between 1683 and 1727. Velasco.

PAPUNAUAS.—See ISANNAS.

PARAHÚS.—A tribe of the River Jurua. Penna.

PARANAPURAS.—A branch of the CHAYAVITOS preached to between 1638 and 1683. M. Rodríguez.

PARAQUIS.—A tribe of the Río Negro now extinct. Martius.

PARARAUATES.—A tribe near the River Tapajos which has an annual war with the MUNDUCUS. Chandless.

PARATOAS.—A branch of the ENCABELLADOS. Velasco.

PARAUAMAS.—A tribe of the Japura. Penna.

PARAÜANOS, or PARAVILHANOS.—A tribe on the lower part of the course of the Río Branco. Martius. Penna.

PARENTINTINS.—A tribe on the Madeira, and at the sources of the River Canumá. Martius. Penna. Herbert Smith, p. 253.

PAREXIS.—A tribe near the sources of the River Tapajos. They are indolent and inoffensive, and their trade with Diamantino consists chiefly in the sale of sieves. Chandless.

PARIAMAS.—A tribe of the Beni. Armentia.

PARIANAS.—A tribe of the Tocantins. Penna.

PABIQUIS.—A tribe of the Rivers Uatumá and Yaapiri. Penna.

PARRANOS.—A branch of the YAMEOS preached to between 1727 and 1763. Velasco.

PASSES.—Once the most numerous tribe on the River Japura. They believe the sun to be stationary, and that the earth moves. They call rivers the great blood vessels of the earth, and small streams its veins. They pay great respect to their conjurers. Their dead are buried in circular graves. The pleasing features and slight figures of the PASSES confirm the report that they are the most beautiful Indians of this region. Their white colour and fine build distinguish them from their neighbours. Their hands and feet are smaller, their necks longer, and their appearance more resembles the Caucasian type. Their features are agreeable, and the women are sometimes beautiful. The men have no beards. The eyes are more open, finer, and farther from each other than is the case with other Indians, the nose finely formed and arched. They have a tattooed mark under the eyes and continuing along the face to the chin. The men cut the hair close, but the women wear it long. The PASSES are very clean. The women usually wear a shirt with short arms, and the men a kind of cloak. They are clever, gentle, open, peaceful, and industrious. Martius says they intermarry very much among relations. They are now nearly extinct. Bates says they are the noblest of the Amazonian tribes. Von Spix, iii., p. 1186. Martius, iii., p. 1201. Southey's "Brazil,"

iii., p. 722. Bates, ii., p. 194. Penna, p. xxiv. Simson, p. 574.

PASTAZAS.—A branch of the JEVEROS.

PASTIVAS.—A tribe of the Marañon preached to between 1727 and 1768. Velasco.

PAUTES.—A branch of the JEVEROS. Villavicencio.

PAUXIANAS.—A small tribe on the Rio Branco. Martius.

PAYAS, PEVAS, or PEBAS.—A branch of the ANDOAS, preached to between 1727 and 1768. They are met with between the Rivers Napo and Putumayu, and inhabit the villages of Pebas and Loreto. Velasco. Villavicencio's Map. Raimondi, p. 114. Anonimo, p. 365.

PAVIANAS, or PAYANAS.—A tribe of the River Iça. Martius.

PAXIANAS.—A tribe of the Rio Branco. Penna.

PAYABAS.—A tribe of the River Iça. Penna.

PAYAGUAS.—A tribe near the mouth of the River Napo. Hervas, i., p. 186. Villavicencio.

PEBAS.—See PAVAS.

PECHUYOS.—A branch of the Moxos.

PELADOS.—A tribe of the Huallaga, preached to between 1683 and 1727. They are marked on Fritz's Map between the Rivers Ucayali and Yavari. Pedro Bohorques, who declared himself Inca in 1659, lived among the PELADOS until 1665, believing the fabulous empire of the "Gran Paytiti" to be near the mouth of the Huallaga. The PELADOS were possibly the same as the JIBITOS, but Spruce, who investigated the subject on the spot, cannot identify them with any existing tribe. Velasco. Fritz's Map. Spruce's Notes.

PEQUEYAS.—A branch of the ENCABELLADOS, preached to between 1727 and 1768. Velasco.

PEQUIBAS.—A branch of the CHIQUITOS.

PERIATÉS.—A tribe of the River Japura. Penna.

PEVAS.—See PAVAS.

PICUAMAS.—See JUMANAS.

PINCHES.—A branch of the ANDOAS, preached to between 1683 and 1727. They are met with between the Rivers Tigre and Pastaza. Velasco. Villavicencio. Anonimo, p. 365.

PINDOS.—A branch of the JEVEROS. Villavicencio.

PIOCOCAS.—A branch of the CHIQUITOS.

PIOJES.—A tribe of the Aquarico and Napo, also met with on the Putumayu. They are profuse drinkers of the *Yoco*, an infusion of the bark of a liana, which causes vomiting. Their language is harsh. Simson.

PIRAS.—See UAUPÉS.

PIRA-PEREIRAS.—"Fish Indians." See MAUHÉS.

PIRIQUITAS.—A tribe of the River Tapajos. Martius.

PIRROS, CHUNTAQUIRUS, or SIMIRINCHES.—A tribe of the Ucayali, preached to between 1683 and 1727. The name *Chuntaquiru* is derived from the two Quichua words *chonta* (a palm) and *quiru* (tooth), from their habit of dyeing their teeth black with the root of the chonta palm. They are marked on Fritz's Map (1707) on the east side of the Ucayali. Velasco says they are descended from Inca Indians. They wander from place to place in canoes, and are good boatmen and fishermen. They are employed by traders to collect sarsaparilla, and to make oil from the fat of the manati. They navigate nearly the whole length of the Ucayali, and trade with the ANTIS within a comparatively short distance of Cuzco. Their chief resort is Santiago de los Pirros, at the junction of the Rivers Tambo and Santa Ana. They wear a cotton frock of a

black colour called *cusma*. The Pirros are the most intelligent, handsome, and brave of all the tribes on the Ucayali. Fritz's Map. Velasco. Smyth. Castlenau. Girbal MS. Raimondi, p. 116.

PIUMS.—A tribe of the River Isanna. Penna.

POCHETYS.—A tribe on the River Tocantins, said to be cannibals. Martius.

POCOANAS.—See CARABUYANAS.

POGISOCAS.—A branch of the CHIKUITOS.

PUCHACAS.—A tribe on the Juina, a tributary of the Tocantins. Martius.

PUNAUS, or MAPIARUS.—A tribe in the centre of the northern part of the Pampa del Sacramento. They are not numerous, and are rarely seen by the mission Indians. Smyth, p. 235.

PUMACAÍS.—A tribe of the Jurua. Penna.

PUNOYTS.—A tribe on the south side of the Amazon, below the mouth of the Madeira. Acuña, p. 117.

PUNTAGICAS.—A branch of the CHIKUITOS.

PUPUNHA TAPCŪJAS.—See UAINUMAS.

PURENUMAS.—A tribe of the River Japura. Penna.

PURU-PURUS.—A tribe of the River Purus, from sixteen to thirty days' voyage up. Chandless found that the name was extinct in 1865. They are almost all afflicted with a peculiar disease. The body is spotted with white and brown patches of irregular size and shape. *Rio dos Purus* means "River of the spotted ones." Men and women go perfectly naked. Their huts are very small and of the rudest construction. Their canoes are flat-bottomed, with upright sides; mere square boxes, quite unlike those of any other Indians. They use neither the blow-pipe nor bows and arrows, but have an instrument called *palheta*, a piece of wood with a projection at the end, to secure the base of a dart, the middle of which is held with the handle of the *palheta* in the hand, and thus thrown, as from a sling. They have surprising dexterity in the use of this weapon, and readily kill game and fish with it. They make earthen pans for cooking. In the wet season, when the beaches are flooded, they make rafts of the trunks of trees, bound together with creepers, and erect their huts upon them, thus living until the water subsides again. Their skin diseases perhaps arise from their habit of sleeping naked on the sands, without hammocks. They are probably now represented by the tribe called PAMMARYS. Spix and Martius, iii., p. 1174. Castlenau. Wallace, p. 514. Chandless.

PUTUMAYUS.—A general name for the tribes of that river.

QUAJAJAS.—A tribe of the Arinos, a tributary of the Tocantins. Martius.

QUAPACUS.—A branch of the CHIKUITOS.

QUARITERES.—A tribe between the River Juary and the hills of Guapore. Martius.

QUARUARES.—A tribe between the Rivers Xingu and Tocantins. Martius.

QUATAUSIS.—See CATAUXIS. Acuña, p. 107.

QUEIANAS.—A tribe of the Rio Negro. Wallace.

QUERERUS.—See CARABUYANAS.

QUEUANACAS.—A tribe of the River Japura. Penna.

QUIBAÑAS.—A tribe of the River Jurua. Penna.

QUIBIQUIBAS.—A branch of the CHIKUITOS.

QUILIVITAS.—Supposed to be extinct in Velasco's time. Velasco.

QUIMAUS.—A tribe on the south side of the Amazon, below the mouth of the Madeira. Acuña, p. 117.

QUIMECAS }  
QUIMOMECAS } Branches of the CHIQUITOS.

QUINANS.—A tribe on the south side of the Amazon, below the mouth of the Madeira. Acuña, p. 117.

QUINARUPIANAS.—See CARABUYANAS.

QUINHÃOS.—A tribe of the River Uraricoera. Penna.

QUIRIVINAS.—A branch of the ANDOAS.

QUITAGICAS.—A branch of the CHIQUITOS.

RARIGOARAI.—A branch of the great TUPI nation. Hervas, i., p. 149.

REMOS.—A tribe of the River Ucayali, considered by Velasco as a branch of the CAMPAS. They are a numerous and courageous people, and occupy a large tract of inland country, seldom coming down to the river. They are very fierce, and wage war against all strangers. They are fair, their faces rounder than those of the other tribes of the Ucayali, their eyes like Chinese, and their stature very short. Velasco. Smyth. Raimondi, p. 119.

RIMACHUMAS.—A branch of the MAYNAS. Velasco.

ROAMAYNAS.—A tribe of the River Pastasa, preached to between 1638 and 1683. They are marked on Fritz's Map (1707) between the Pastasa and Tigre. Villavicencio places them between the Morona and Pastasa. M. Rodriguez. Fritz's Map. Velasco. Villavicencio.

ROTORONNOS.—A branch of the MOXOS.

ROTUNOS.—A branch of the ZAPAROS.

RUANABABAS.—A branch of the CAMAVOS.

RUCAHEES.—A branch of the ABIPONES.

RUMOS.—A tribe of the River Napo. Acuña, p. 94.

SACOPÉS.—A race of cannibals. Martius.

SAINDARÚS.—A tribe of the River Jurua. Penna.

SAPARÁS.—A tribe of the River Mucajahis. Penna.

SAPARUNAS.—A tribe on the River Beni. Armentia.

SAPIS.—A branch of the MOXOS.

SARABECAS.—A branch of the CHIQUITOS.

SARÉS.—A tribe on the Rio Negro, now nearly extinct. Martius.

SARUS.—A tribe of the River Madeira. Penna.

SARUMÂS.—A tribe between the Jamary and Tapajos. Martius.

SAUCANES.—See MAUHÉS.

SEDAHIS.—A tribe of the Uatumá. Penna.

SENCIS.—A bold, warlike, and generous tribe of the Ucayali, inhabiting a hilly country north-east of Sarayacu. They are on friendly terms with the Indians of the missions, though not converted themselves. Father Plaza was well received by them, and he described them as the greatest warriors of the Ucayali. They have bows and arrows, lances, clubs, and *kouas*. The latter is a short spear pointed at one end, the other being in the shape of a club, with stag's antlers fixed down the sides. They cultivate the soil and are very industrious. Those who are idle are killed, as useless members of society. They have knowledge of the properties of medicinal herbs, and apply them with skill and success. They wear ornaments on the ears, nose, neck, and arms. They use canoes and live on fish during the dry season. Herndon says he saw no difference between the SENCIS and the other tribes of the Ucayali, and he seems inclined to throw doubt on the account of this tribe given by Smyth, from information supplied by Father Plaza. Mercurio Peruano, No. 381. Smyth, p. 225. Herndon, p. 209.

SEÑOS.—A tribe of the River Napo. Acuña, p. 94.

SEPAUNABAS.—A branch of the CAMPAS. Velasco.

SERECUMÁS.—A tribe of the River Uatamá. Penna.

SETEBOS.—A tribe of the Ucayali, living north of the CASHIBOS. Since 1651 the Franciscans have occasionally visited them, but have generally been killed. Father Girbal, when he founded Sarayacu in 1792, induced some of them to settle there. They are now said to be quiet, tractable, and well disposed towards the missions. They trade up and down the Ucayali in canoes. They wear a cotton robe of copper colour, called *cusma*. The SETEBOS speak the *Pana* language. MS. Viaje de Girbal. Mercurio Peruano, No. 51. Smyth. Herndon. Raimondi, p. 119.

SETABOHIS.—A tribe of the River Japura. Penna.

SHIMIGAES.—See SIMIGAES.

SHIPIBOS, SÍPIVÍOS, or SUPEBOS.—A tribe of the Ucayali coupled with the SETEBOS by Smyth and Herndon. The Franciscans visited them from time to time since 1651. In 1736 they routed and almost destroyed the SETEBOS in a bloody battle. In 1764 the Franciscans brought about a reconciliation between the two tribes. In the same year the SHIPIBOS were collected into a village on the River Pisqui by Father Fresneda, but in 1767 all the missionaries were killed. After that fatal event Father Girbal was the first who visited them, in 1790. They are reported to be wonderfully weather-wise. They have very rough skins, caused by mosquito bites. The SHIPIBOS speak the *Pana* language. Girbal MS. Mercurio Peruano, No. 51. Mem. de los Vireyes, vi., p. 139. Smyth. Herndon. Raimondi, p. 120.

SHIRIPUNAS.—A branch of the ZAPAROS.

SHUMANAS.—A tribe of the River Tocantins. Bates, ii., p. 241.

SIBUCAS.—A branch of the CHIQUITOS.

SIGUIYAS.—A tribe of the Araganatuba. Acuña, p. 105.

SIMARRONES.—A branch of the MAYNAS.

SIMIGAES, or GAES.—A group of tribes living on the banks of the Curaray and Tigre. They were preached to between 1638 and 1727. The remnant of them is now gathered into the small village of Andoas, near the confluence of the Pastasa and Bobonaza. There are some wild people of their tribe. Fritz's Map. Velasco. Villavicencio. Spruce's Map.

SIMIRINCHES.—See PIRROS.

SINABUS.—A branch of the MOXOS.

SINCHICTUS.—A branch of the ZAPAROS.

SINGACUCHUSCAS.—Another name for the ITUCALES. Anonimo, p. 367.

SIRINEYRIS.—See CHUNCHOS.

SIRIONOS.—See GUARAYOS.

SIROAS.—A tribe between the sources of the Rivers Apapuris and Cayairy, western branches of the Uaupés. Martius.

SIUSYS.—A tribe of the River Isanna. Penna.

SOLIMOENS, or YURIMAUAS.—A tribe of the Amazons, formerly powerful, from which the Portuguese gave the name of the river.

SUARIRANAS.—The same as the SOLIMOENS. Once a tribe of the Rivers Tefé and Coari, and extending all along the main stream of the Amazon from Barra to Peru, but now extinct. In 1788 Ribeiro reported that the chief remains of this once numerous tribe were settled at the mouth of the Coari. Southey's "Brazil," iii. Ribeiro.

SUCHICHIS.—A tribe believed to be already extinct in the time of Velasco. Velasco.

SUCHIMANIS.—A branch of the CHUNCHOS.

SUCUMBOS.—A tribe to the eastward of Cuzco. Velasco.

SUORIRANAS.—A tribe of the Tapajos named after a palm tree called *saouari*. Martius.

SUPINUS.—A branch of the ZAPAROS.

TABALOSOS.—A branch of the JEVEROS. M. Rodriguez.

TABOCAS.—A branch of the JURIS.

TABUCAS.—A branch of the CHIQUITOS.

TACANAS.—A tribe inhabiting the banks of the Rivers Mapiri and those of the lower part of the Mayu-tata or Madre de Dios. They live exclusively on the river banks, and are met with at Guanay. Their food is fish and monkeys. They are clever in making woven articles from cotton. Dr. Heath collected a vocabulary of their language. D'Orbigny, iii., p. 364. D. Forbes. Church, "Geog. Mag.," April, 1877. Heath in "Kansas City Review," April, 1853, p. 679. Armentia.

TACANHOPES.—A tribe of the Xingu river. Martius.

TACUHUNOS.—A tribe between the Rivers Tacuhuno and Tocantins. Martius.

TACUNAS.—See TICUNAS.

TACUS.—A tribe of the Rio Branco. Penna.

TAGARIS.—A tribe of the River Nhamunda. Penna.

TAGUACUAS.—A branch of the MANAMABOBOS.

TAGUAUS.—A tribe dwelling on the river up which the race of Amazons was said to live. Acuña, p. 122.

TAKANAS.—See TACANAS.

TAMARES.—A tribe on the River Jurua. Martius.

TAMAS.—A tribe of the River Napo. A branch of the AGUARICOS. Acuña, p. 94. Velasco.

TAMOEENOS, or TAMUANAS.—A tribe of the River Tefé and at Ega. Southey's "Brazil," iii. Martius. Penna.

TANNOPICAS.—A branch of the CHIQUITOS.

TAOS.—A branch of the CHIQUITOS.

TAPACOAS.—A tribe on the mountainous eastern side of the Tocantins. Martius.

TAPACURAS.—A branch of the Moxos.

TAPAJOSOS.—A tribe of the River Tapajos. Acuña, p. 124. Martius.

TAPANHONAS.—A hostile tribe near the head waters of the Tapajos. They reject all attempts at intercourse. Chandless.

TAPAXANAS.—A tribe of the Jurua and Jutay rivers. Martius.

TAPICARIS.—A tribe of the River Mucajahi. Penna.

TAPIRAPES.—A tribe on the western side of the Araguay. Martius.

TAPUCURACAS.—A branch of the CHIQUITOS.

TAPURAS.—See UAUPÉS.

TAPUYAS.—A tribe of the River Pacaxa. See TUPIS. Acuña, p. 130.

TARIANAS.—See UAUPÉS. Also a branch of the BARRÉS. Spruce.

TARUMAS.—A tribe of the Rio Negro which peopled Barra. The first Portuguese settlement on the Rio Negro was formed of these Indians in 1669. Martius. Penna. Spruce's Notes.

TASIAS.—A branch of the CAMPAS.

TASUIAS.—See MAUHÉS.

TATUS.—See UAUPÉS and MAUHÉS.

TAUMOCAS.—A branch of the CHIQUITOS.

TAUNIES.—A tribe of the Gran Chacu. Lozano, p. 75.

TAYASSU TAPUŪJAS.—A tribe at the sources of the Apururis. Martius.

TENIMBUCAS.—See UAUPÉS.

TEQUETES.—A branch of the CHUNIPIES.



TERARUS.—A tribe of the Araganatuba. Acuña, p. 105.

TEREUMAS.—A tribe between the Rivers Uatuma and Anavilhana. Martius.

TIARIS.—A tribe of the River Purús. Martius.

TIASSUS.—See UAUPE'S.

TIBOIS.—A branch of the MOXOS.

TICUNAS, TACUNAS, or JUMANAS.—A tribe of the Marañon, neighbours of the OMAGUAS, who were preached to between 1683 and 1727. They people Tabatinga, the frontier Brazilian post on the Marañon, and San Paulo de Olivença. They go naked and have a tattooed oval round their mouths, which the men wear broader than the women, and lines from the corners of the mouth to the ears. They believe in a good and an evil spirit, named *Nanuloa* and *Locazy*. They fear the evil spirit, and believe of the good one that, after death, he appears to eat fruit with the departed and take them to his home. Their dead bodies are arranged with the extremities placed together, and the face towards the rising sun, with broken weapons and fruit placed on the bosom. They are then buried in great earthen jars, and the ceremony is concluded by a drinking festival. Wives are obtained by presents to the parents, and it is said that the chief has the "*jus primæ noctis*." As soon as a child can sit up it is sprinkled with a decoction from certain leaves, and receives the name of one of its forefathers.

Next to the PASSES and JURIS the TICUNAS are the best formed Indians of this region. They are not so well built as the former, though more slender than most of the tribes. Their faces are round, nose thin and sharp, and expression generally good-humoured and gentle. Their disposition is open and honest. They are darker than most of the Indians of the Marañon, and beardless. They adorn their necks with strings of jaguar's and monkey's teeth, and their arms with feathers. One of their occupations is the preparation of poison. Acuña, p. 96. Velasco. Von Spix, iii., p. 1182. Martius, iii., p. 1206. Castelnau. Herndon, p. 234. Bates, ii., p. 395. Raimondi, p. 115. Simson, p. 574.

TIJUCOS.—See UAUPE'S.

TIMINABAS.—A branch of the CHIQUITOS.

TINGANESES.—A tribe of the Huallaga preached to by Father Lugando in 1631. Possibly identical with the CHOLONES. Velasco. Mercurio Peruano.

TIPUNAS.—A tribe of the River Jutay. Acuña, p. 99.

TIPUTINIS.—A branch of the JEVEROS according to Velasco, but Villavicencio places them under the ZAPAROS. They were visited by missionaries from 1727 to 1768. Velasco. Villavicencio.

TIVILOS.—A branch of the JEVEROS.

TORAS.—A savage tribe of the Gran Chacu on the banks of the Rivers Pilcomayu and Bermejo. The word "*toba*" means "opposite" in Guarani. The Spaniards were told by the GUARANIS of people on the opposite side of the Paraguay or "*tobai*." They have a very low type of skull. Exclusively hunters. Unable to count beyond five. Lozano, p. 51. Dobrizhoffer. Hervas, i., p. 176. Gibbon, p. 164. Moreno, p. 176. Pelleschi. Graham Kerr, Brit. Ass. Anthro. Soc. (1894).

TOCANHOSES.—A tribe near the River Xingu, in the country between the Pacojaz and Guanapu. Martius.

TOCANTINOS.—A tribe at the mouth of the Tocantins. Martius. Hervas, i., p. 149.

TONOCOTES.—A tribe of the Gran Chacu. Lozano, p. 51.

- TOQUEDAS.—A tribe of the River Jutay. Martius. Penna.
- TOQUISTENESES.—A tribe of the Gran Chacu. Lozano, p. 51.
- TORAS, or TORAZES.—A tribe formerly on the Lower Madeira but not now heard of in that region. Martius.
- TOROMONAS.—A branch of the CHIQUITOS, along the Madre de Dios, and Madidi. Church. Armentia.
- TRACUÂS.—A wandering tribe of the Solimoens. Martius.
- TREMAJORIS.—A branch of the SIMIGAES.
- TUBACICAS.—A branch of the CHIQUITOS.
- TUCALES.—A tribe between the Rivers Tigre and Pastaza. Villavicencio's Map.
- TUCANOS.—See JURIS and UAUPÉS.
- TUCUJUS.—A tribe on the River Tuere. Martius
- TUCUNAS.—See TICUNAS.
- TUCUNDERAS.—See UAUPÉS.
- TUCURIYS.—A tribe living on the south side of the River Amazon. Acuña p. 100.
- TUCURUJUS.—A tribe of the River Uraricoeras. Penna.
- TUINAMAYUAS.—See CARABUYANAS.
- TULUMAYUS.—A tribe on a tributary of the Upper Huallaga. They were first visited by Father Lugando in 1631. Mercurio Peruano.
- TUMARORES.—A tribe between the Rivers Jamary and San Simao. Martius.
- TUMBIRAS.—A tribe of the Rivers Iça and Japura. Penna.
- TUNACHOS.—A branch of the CHIQUITOS.
- TUPAJAROS.—A branch of the TUPIS on the River Para. Martius.
- TUPIGOCIS.—A branch of the TUPINAMBAS. Hervas, i., p. 149.
- TUPINAMBAS.—A powerful and numerous Brazilian tribe in former days, a branch of the great TUPI stock. They fled before the European invaders. In the time of Acuña some of them were settled on the great island at the mouth of the Madeira, also on the Lower Amazon, and the River Pará. Many interesting particulars respecting their history and customs will be found in Southey's "Brazil." Acuña, p. 119.
- TUPIS.—A very extensive Brazilian tribe. The word "*Tupi*" means "comrade." They called all other people "*Tapuyas*" or foreigners. The original site of the TUPI nation, in Spruce's opinion, was on the River Amazon, and from its mouth they spread far southwards along the Brazilian coast. When pressed by the Portuguese they seem to have fallen back up the Amazonian valleys to the very roots of the Andes. Thus the language of the OMAGUAS, COCOMAS, and other Peruvian tribes proves them to be descended from the great TUPI stock. Martius gives the TUPI nation a very wide range, from the Atlantic to the roots of the Andes, and from Paraguay to the River Amazon. Latham classes the TUPIS and OMAGUAS as a branch of the great GUARANI stock, as also does Hervas. The "*Lingoa Geral*," or language which is the general medium of communication between the Indians of the Amazons and the Portuguese, is a corruption of the TUPI language. In the TUPI there are terms, often very complicated, to express exact degrees of relationship, through at least three generations. All the grandchildren of the same grandfather consider themselves as brothers and sisters. The first TUPI grammar and vocabulary were by Father Joseph Ancheta.

The descendants of the TUPI stock, on the shores of the Lower Amazon and at Pará, have long been civilized, and the Portuguese corruptly call them TAPUYAS. They are stout, short, and well made.

They learn all trades quickly and well; and are a quiet, good-natured, inoffensive people. They form the crews of the Pará trading canoes. Martius. Wallace, p. 478. Spruce's Notes. Hervas, i., p. 147. Latham.

**TUPITIMIS, or TUPUTINIS.**—A branch of the ZAPAROS.

**TURURIS.**—A tribe of the Rio Negro and Madeira. Martius. Penna.

**TUYUNERIS.**—See CHUNCHOS.

**UABIXANAS.**—A small tribe on the Rio Branco. Martius.

**UACARAUHAS.**—A tribe of the River Jutay. Martius. Penna.

**UAENAMBEUS.**—"Humming Bird Indians." A tribe on the lower part of the Japura. They much resemble the CURETUS, but are distinguished from other tribes by a small blue mark on the upper lip. Their women always wear a small bark apron. Latham gives twenty-two of their words, and their language shows them to be of the same family as the BARRÉS. Wallace, p. 510. Latham, p. 488. Spruce's Notes.

**UAIAPANAS.**—Name of a tribe. Martius.

**UAINAMARYS.**—A tribe far up the Purus on the left bank. Chandless.

**UAINUMAS.**—A tribe of the Rivers Iça and Caunari. They intermarry very much among relations, and Martius thinks this is a cause of degeneracy. He mentions six branches of this tribe, namely—

MIRITI TAPUÛJAS

MOIRA TAPUÛJAS

PUPUNHA TAPUÛJAS

JAUARETE TAPUÛJAS

ASSAI TAPUÛJAS

JACAMI TAPUÛJAS

Martius. Bates.

**UAIURUS.**—A tribe of the Rio Branco. Penna.

**UAMANIS.**—A tribe of the River Coari and on the Upper Mara  n. Probably extinct. Ribeiro. Martius. Penna.

**UAYAN  S.**—A tribe of the River Japura. Penna.

**UANIBAS.**—A tribe formerly on the Aniba, now extinct. Martius.

**UAPIXANAS.**—A tribe of the Rio Branco. Penna.

**UARANACOACENAS.**—A tribe formerly settled at Caroveiro. Martius.

**UARAPAS.**—A tribe on the Tapajos. Martius.

**UARAPIRANGAS.**—"Red men." A tribe so called. Martius.

**UARAYCUS.**—A tribe of the Rivers Jutay and Jurua, and also on the Amazon. To try the fortitude of their maidens they hang them in a net to the roof of a hut, exposed to continual smoke, where they fast as long as they can possibly bear it. The youths are flogged for the same purpose. A youth must hunt and work for his bride, to whom he is engaged from a child, long before he can marry her. They burn their dead and bury the ashes in their huts. See GUARAICUS. Spix und Martius, iii., 1187-90.

**UAUP  S.**—An extensive group of tribes inhabiting the banks of the River Uaup  s, a tributary of the Rio Negro. Two of them, the PIRAS and CARAPANAS, are mentioned by Ac   a (p. 105). The other branches of the UAUP  S are as follows :—

QUEIANAS

JACAMIS (Trumpeter)

ANANAS (Pine-apples)

MACUNAS

ARAPASSOS (Woodpeckers)

MUCURAS (Opossum)

BANHUNAS

PIRIAIURUS (Fish's mouth)

COBEUS (Cannibals)

PISAS (Net)

COHIDIAS

MIRITIS (Palm)

COROCOROS (Green Ibis)

TAIASSUS (Pig)

COUAS (Wasp)

TAPURAS (Tapirs)

DESANNAS

TARIANAS

GYS (Axe)

TATUS (Armadillos)

IPECAS (Duck)

TENIMBUEAS (Ashes)

TUCUNDERAS (Ant)  
UARACUS  
UMAÜAS

UACARRAS (Heron)  
TIJUCOS (Mud)  
TUCANOS (Toucans)

They are tall, stout, and well made. Hair jet black and straight, worn in a long tail down the back, often to the thighs; very little beard, skin a light glossy brown. They are an agricultural people cultivating mandioc, sugar-cane, yams, maize, tobacco, and camotes. Their weapons are bows and arrows, lances, clubs, and blow-pipes. They are great fishermen. Many families live together in one house, a parallelogram 115 feet long by 75, and 35 feet high. The roof is supported on fine cylindrical columns smooth and straight, formed of the trunks of trees. At the gable end is a large doorway 8 feet high. The furniture consists of net hammocks, earthen pots, pitchers, and baskets. Their canoes are all made of a single hollowed tree, often 40 feet long, paddles about 3 feet long with an oval blade. The men wear a cloth round the loins, but the women go quite naked. The men use many ornaments, and a circlet of feathers round the head. A cylindrical white quartz stone is invariably carried on the breast as a charm, suspended by a chain of black seeds. The dead are buried inside the houses. Every house has its *Tushuna*, or chief, the office being hereditary. They have sorcerers called *Payés*, but do not believe in a god. Some of the Uaupés tribes never intermarry among themselves, but obtain wives from other kindred tribes; and these intermarrying tribes always live at peace with each other. This is the case with the TARIANAS and TUCANOS. The intermarrying Uaupés tribes are perhaps more industrious and agricultural than any other Amazonian people.

The Uaupés derive their name from a little bird with a very glistening forehead called "Uaupe" or "Aupe," which makes its nest and gets its living among aquatic plants. These Indians, when sweating freely, rub their faces with certain leaves which remove all impurities from the skin, and leave it smooth and shining. Hence the name UAUPÉS or "Shining Faces." The modern names of the Uaupé tribes have chiefly been given them by their Portuguese and TUPI neighbours, from peculiarities in their persons and customs. Wallace, pp. 480-506. Spruce's Notes.

UAYUPÉS.—A tribe of the River Coari. Ribeiro.

UBAHIAS.—*Uba úvas*, "Men of the forest." Neighbours of the SARUMAS.

UBI TAPUÜJAS.—See JURIS.

UCAYALES.—A branch of the OMAGUAS. M. Rodriguez.

UCHUCAS.—A tribe between the Rivers Tigre and Pastaza. Villavicencio's Map.

UEBYTÚS.—See JURIS.

UEREUEÑAS.—A tribe on the River Isanna, a tributary of the Rio Negro.

Ribeiro reported on them (1775), and Southey repeats some strange stories. Ribeiro. Southey, iii., p. 723.

UGARANNAOS.—A branch of the CHIQUITOS.

UGIARAS.—A tribe of the Marañon below the mouth of the Huallaga. M. Rodriguez.

UJAGUAS.—A tribe of the River Iça, and settled in villages of the Iça and Rio Negro. Martius.

UMAÜAS.—See OMAGUAS. A tribe of the River Japura, on the other side of the falls of the Arari-coara, who are said to be cannibals. Martius, iii., p. 1243.

UNGUMANAS.—A branch of the MAYNAS.

- UNIBUESAS.—A tribe of the Ucayali, visited by Father Lucero in 1691, and also by other missionaries between 1683 and 1727. Velasco.
- UÑONOS.—A branch of the UGIARAS. Velasco.
- UPANAS.—A tribe on the east side of the River Morona. Villavicencio's Map.
- UPATANINABAS.—A branch of the PIOROS. Velasco.
- URARICUS.—A tribe of the River Aucruhi. Penna.
- URARINAS.—A tribe of the Pastaza, preached to between 1727 and 1768 Velasco. Hervas, i., p. 262.
- URAYARIS.—See CARABUYANAS.
- URINAS.—Constantly at war with the *Omaguas*. Edwards, p. 77.
- URIZSAMMAS.—See JUMANAS.
- URUBATINGAS.—A tribe of the south side of the Amazon, below the mouth of the Madeira. Acuña, p. 117.
- URUBUS, or "Vulture Indians."—A tribe of the River Jutay. Martius. Penna.
- USPAS.—A tribe supposed to be extinct in Velasco's time. Velasco.
- UŪ TAPUŪJAS.—See MAUHÉS.
- UYAPÁS.—A tribe of wild Indians, north of the MAMBARES. Martius.
- VARAUAMAS.—See JUMANAS.
- VELERAS.—A tribe of the Gran Chacu. See CHUNIPIES.
- WAWAYANAS.—A tribe of the Beni. Armentia.
- XACURUHINAS.—A tribe on the river of the same name. Lozano, p. 85. Martius.
- XAMAS.—A tribe of the Rivers Tefé and Japura. Ribeiro. Penna.
- XAPERUS.—A tribe of the River Mucajahi. Penna.
- XIBAROS.—See JEVEROS.
- XIMANAS.—A tribe between the Rivers Putumayu and Japura, who kill their first born children. They are esteemed for willing industry. They burn the bones of their dead, and mingle the ashes with their drink. Southey's "Brazil," iii., p. 722. Wallace, p. 511.
- XIMBIUAS, or XIMBOAS.—A tribe on the western side of the River Araguay. Martius.
- XUBARAS.—See MAUHÉS.
- XUBERSAS.—A branch of the CHIQUITOS.
- YABAHANES.—A branch of the BARRÉS between the Rivers Inabú and Maraviá, tributaries of the Rio Negro. Martius. Spruce's Notes.
- YACARIGUARAS.—A tribe of the River Putumayu. Acuña, p. 99.
- YACUCARAES.—A tribe of the Rio Negro. Acuña, p. 110.
- YAGUANAS.—A tribe of the Araganatuba. Acuña, p. 105.
- YAGUAS.—A tribe on the Marañon and Putumayu, preached to between 1683 and 1727. In 1852 they had a village below Omaguas. They form part of the population of Loreto, Pebas, and other villages on the Amazon. Velasco. Herndon, p. 226. Raimondi, p. 114. Simson, p. 574.
- YAMEOS.—A tribe of the Marañon preached to between 1683 and 1727. Marked on Fritz's Map between the Tigre and Napo. Fritz's Map. Hervas, i., p. 262. Velasco. Penna.
- YAMORUAS.—A tribe of the Araganatuba. Acuña, p. 105.
- YANMAS.—A tribe of the Rio Negro. Acuña, p. 110.
- YAPUAS.—A branch of the ENCABELLADOS.
- YARAPOS.—A branch of the YAMEOS.
- YARIBÁRUS.—See CARABUYANAS.
- YARUCAGUACAS.—See CARABUYANAS.
- YASHEOS.—A branch of the ENCABELLADOS.
- YASUNIS.—A branch of the ZAPAROS.
- YAUANAS.—A tribe of the River Japura. Penna.

**YAUÁPERYS.**—A tribe of the river of that name, a tributary of the Rio Negro. They are reported to be savage and hostile. Lacerda.

**YAUARAS.**—A tribe of the River Madeira. Penna.

**YAVAIMS.**—A tribe on the River Tapajos. Martius.

**YEQUETOS.**—A branch of the PUTUMAYOS. Velasco.

**YETES.**—A branch of the PUTUMAYOS. Velasco.

**YGUARANIS.**—A tribe of the ARAGANATUBA. Acuña, p. 105.

**YIRITUCAS.**—A branch of the CHIQUITOS.

**Y MIRAYARES, or IBIRAJARES** ("Wood men").—Only one tribe known by this name, a branch of the TUPIS. Martius.

**YNURIS.**—A branch of the SIMIGAES.

**YQUITOS.**—See IQUITOS.

**YUCUNAS.**—A tribe living some distance up the River Japura. The chief lives in a conical pyramid. Their shields are covered with tapir skins. They have poisoned spears. They cultivate mandioc, which they use in the form of tapioca. Southey's "Brazil," iii, p. 721. Martius. Penna.

**YUCUNAMPAS.**—A tribe of the Gran Chacu. See CHUNIPIES. Lozano, p. 85.

**YUMAGUARIS.**—A tribe of Indians near the River Amazon, who are employed in washing for gold. Acuña, p. 103.

**YUPIAS, or YUPUAS.**—A tribe of the River Teffé. Ribeiro. Martius.

**YURACARES, or YURACARECAS.**—A branch of the CHIQUITOS, living in the Bolivian department of the Beni, along the base of the Andes, in a province of which Chimoré is the capital. They are not numerous. Hervas. Gibbon, p. 202.

**YURIMAGUAS.**—A branch of the OMAGUAS, preached to between 1683 and 1727. The village of Yurimaguas is situated on the Huallaga, above Laguna, and has about 250 inhabitants. Velasco. Herndon, p. 171. Raimondi, p. 113.

**YURIS.**—See JURIS.

**YURUNAS.**—A tribe of the Putumayu. Acuña, p. 99.

**YURUSUNES.**—A tribe of the River Napo, living to the south of the ENCABELLADOS. Acuña, p. 94. Velasco.

**YXISTENESES.**—A tribe of the Gran Chacu. Lozano, p. 51.

**ZAHENOS.**—A branch of the CHIQUITOS.

**ZAMANUCAS.**—A branch of the CHIQUITOS.

**ZAMINAUAS.**—A branch of the COXIBOS, near the sources of the Jurua. Bates, ii, p. 379.

**ZAMORAS.**—A branch of the JEVEROS. Villavicencio.

**ZAMUCOS.**—A branch of the CHIQUITOS.

**ZAPAS.**—A branch of the SIMIGAES.

**ZAPAROS.**—A tribe of the River Napo. According to Velasco these were a branch of the SIMIGAES DEL CURARAY, but Villavicencio considers them to be an important parent tribe. They occupy the country between the Rivers Napo and Pastasa, close to the Curaray on the south, 0° 40' S. to 2° 20' S., over about 12,000 square miles. Villavicencio divides them into three branches all speaking the same language, which is copious, simple in grammatical construction, somewhat nasal and guttural. Tyler gives thirteen branches or sub-divisions:—

AHUISHIRIS  
ANDOAS  
CURARAYES  
MATAGENES  
MAUTAS  
NUGAMUS  
NUSHINUS

ROTUNOS  
SHIRIPUNOS  
SINCHICTUS  
SUPINUS  
TIPUTINIS  
YASUNIS

This family of tribes is more pacific than that of the JEVEROS, but more dexterous in hurling the lance. Uniting against a common enemy, they live in a state of continual feud among themselves. Yet they are said to be docile, hospitable, obliging, and ready to mix with Europeans. Their physiognomy resembles that of the Chinese, rounded faces, small, oblique-set eyes, thick, flat noses, thick lips, and beardless. They are indolent, but very hardy. Those who live by fishing on the banks of the rivers are of a copper colour, but those who live in the shade of the forests have white skins. They live in small collections of huts, and sleep in hammocks. The women have agreeable, expressive countenances, black, animated, beautiful eyes, humane and sensitive hearts, generous and hospitable dispositions. Polygamy is general. Their abodes are open on all sides, and contain nothing but palm fibre hammocks. These sheds are temporary, for the ZAPAROS move about after game. The CURARAYES, YASUNIS, and TIPUTINIS are exceptions, as they remain in villages, and cultivate the ground. Their only industries are plaiting hammocks and weaving fishing nets. They wear a long shirt of bark fibre called *Llanchama*. Their weapons are the *macana* (club) and spear, the blow-pipe and poisoned arrows, the poison carried in bamboo tubes.

The *Shimantu* is their oracle or medicine-man, who has access to the *Munjuu* or evil spirit. He drinks the divining liquor, called *Ayahuasca* (a Quichua word) which throws him into a delirious trance. They feed on game and fruit, and drink *guayusa* or Napo tea, made from a small shrub, and *masato* or fermented yuca. Acuña, p. 94. Velasco. Villavicencio. Jameson, 1857. C. D. Tyler, R.G.S.J.

ZAPITALAGUAS.—A tribe of the Gran Chacu. Lozano, p. 51.

ZEMUQUICAS.—A branch of the CHIQUITOS.

ZEOQUEYAS.—A branch of the PAPAGUAS. Velasco.

ZEPAS.—A branch of the CAMAVOS. Velasco.

ZEPUCAYAS.—A tribe living on the River Amazon, below the mouth of the Madeira.

ZEUNAS.—Supposed to have been extinct in Velasco's time. Velasco.

ZIAS or ZIYUS.—A tribe of the River Putumayu. Acuña, p. 99.

ZIBITOS.—See JIBITOS.

ZUCOYAS.—Same as the ZEOQUEYAS.

ZURINAS.—A tribe on the River Amazon, below the mouth of the Purus. They were very expert in making comfortable seats, and in carving images. Acuña, p. 107.

JUNE 12TH, 1894.

Prof. A. MACALISTER, F.R.S., *President, in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and signed.

The presents which had been received were announced, and thanks voted to their respective donors.

The elections of Dr. H. G. BREYER and Mr. N. CRICHTON YOUNG were announced.

Skulls and other remains of Esquimaux, collected by ELIOT CURWEN, Esq., M.D., were exhibited by the President.

Australian (Queensland) skulls from Tree Burials were exhibited by W. L. H. DUCKWORTH, Esq., B.A.

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ETHNOGRAPHICAL NOTES *Relating to the CONGO TRIBES.* By  
HERBERT WARD, F.R.G.S.

IN the following ethnographical notes relating to the Congo tribes, I submit a selection of my personal observations of manners and customs peculiar to the native tribes inhabiting the area between the mouth of the Congo River and Stanley Falls. My information was gathered during the period between 1884 and 1889. In presenting these general notes, I would state that I am prompted by the appreciation of the fact, that no opportunity should be neglected in recording knowledge concerning races whose primitive manners and customs are, in many cases, passing away.

Among the native tribes of the Congo basin there exists no form of history. There is no written language; no tradition of the past; and no indication of an attempt, on the part of the natives, to perpetuate any epoch in their lives by means of monumental erections.

The languages spoken by the native inhabitants of the Congo basin are all of the same grammatical structure; and philologically the Congo tribes are allied to the great Bantu group; one of the most extensive of the African racial divisions. Having before us as an ethnological fact, that the Congo tribes are all, primarily, of the same race, it is the more interesting to observe the great diversity in mental condition, and in general character, prevailing among tribes inhabiting different localities.

Typically, the native inhabitants of the Congo region, to whom I refer, are closely allied to the negro race; although in many individual cases, the physical characteristics of the negro are by no means pronounced. These variations in character and in type will afford an important subject for the student, who seeks to study, and to scientifically analyze, the psychology of African nations. In the absence of information we must content ourselves by inferring that these remarkable divergencies in the type and character of the Bantu race of the Congo region, are attributable to admixture with former negroid



ances, and also in some degree to the phenomena of environment.

### *Superstition.*

Superstition is a strongly pronounced element in the lives of the native tribes of the Congo region. In the open country of the cataract region particularly, the native tribes are much involved in fetichism, and in propitiating the evil spirit. The rites and ceremonies, imposed with a view of propitiating the natural powers, become somewhat weaker in the observance among tribes inhabiting the forest region of the far interior. In disposition, the forest dwellers of the interior are more martial than credulous. The Congo natives are entirely ignorant of the laws of Nature; all sensations are ascribed to the influence of spirits. All that is unaccountable to the native mind is at once enveloped with the property of magic. All ills and misfortunes are supposed to emanate from the evil spirit. Theologically the Congo natives are worshippers of the evil spirit, *i.e.*, a mysterious power, which is supposed to be an arbitrary enemy to man's happiness. In the witchcraft practised by the Congo natives, we have an exemplification of that primitive sorcery, which is said to be a remnant of very ancient Nature worship. The Congo native's creeds are in harmony with his intellect; puzzled by the mysteries of life, he is always ready to accept unhesitatingly the wildest theory to account for natural events. Should a member of a Congo tribe distinguish himself by reason of his superior mental capacity, or by virtue of his individual courage and prowess, he is forthwith regarded as one favoured by the spirits. Availing himself of the opportunity afforded by such a distinction, he institutes himself a professional N'ganga N'Kissi (charm doctor), and professes to be endowed with power of communication with the spirits. The majority of the Congo tribes possess one or more charm doctors by whom their lives and actions are almost wholly swayed. The extravagant observances, and preposterous ordinances, which figure so prominently in native life, are functions introduced by the charm doctors with a view of mystifying their credulous followers; and in order to conceal the limit of their pretended power over evil influences. The charm doctor's ascendancy, and dominion over others is principally derived from the sentiment of respect and uncertainty with which his mystic power is regarded. The charm doctor is considered to be the connecting link between ordinary mortals, and the mysterious powers and spirits. With the Congo population there exists a universal belief in a future existence; the circumstance of the future life varying, according to different tribal beliefs. Death is

regarded in the light of a migration. Health is identified with the word "Moyo" (spirit, Lower Congo), and in cases of wasting sickness, the "Moyo" is supposed to have wandered away from the sufferer. In three cases a search party is sometimes led by a charm doctor, and branches, land shells or stones are collected. The charm doctor then will perform a series of passes between the sick man and the collected articles. This ceremony is called "vutulanga moyo" (the returning of the spirit). A common belief is prevalent (Lower Congo) to the effect that a man's "moyo" (spirit) can be stolen from his body, and consumed by an enemy. The influence of the charm doctor is directly opposed to all principles of progress: for example; should a man by natural shrewdness, or by personal energy, accumulate native riches, in the form of slaves, guns, or trade cloth, the cupidity of some designing charm doctor would soon be aroused. The charm doctor would publicly accuse his prospective victim of sorcery; with the probable consequence that he would be killed, and his goods divided between the charm doctor and his accomplices. In the event of the death of any person of importance (Lower Congo) a charm doctor is called to discover the person guilty of having exercised an evil influence; for among most Congo tribes death is seldom regarded in the light of a natural event. In most cases the charm doctor accuses an old person, or a slave, of having been the cause. The accused is forthwith secured, and at an appointed time is submitted to a poison ordeal. A decoction is prepared from a poisonous bark (N'Kassa) which is administered to the victim at sunrise. If, during the day, the potion acts as an emetic, this fact is accepted as proof of innocence. If, on the other hand, the poison acts as a purgative, the victim is strangled, and the body is thrown in a river. In the latter case, the action of the test is accepted as a proof of guilt, and the natives by killing the victim, are satisfied that an evil spirit has been exterminated. The Babangi and kindred tribes (Upper Congo) believe that evil-disposed people have the power of changing themselves into reptiles and savage animals in order to take life. The tribes in the vicinity of the Aruimi Rapids (Upper Congo) possess few definite creeds, beyond the belief that the spirits of their deceased kinsmen return to the world in the form of trees. They entertain no hope of a future life for women. Dreams are not usually considered to possess serious significance. Natives (Lower Congo) will frequently relate what they saw in "sleep-land" when recounting a dream. In the event however of a sick man dreaming twice of a particular individual a suspicion is aroused, and the individual who has figured in the ailing man's dreams is liable to be accused of consuming his "moyo" (Lower Congo).

Throughout the Congo region, the natives have a superstitious objection to talk of a deceased person. In the event of their doing so, it is customary to use the past tense of the verb "to live" before his or her name. If this be omitted, the anger of the deceased's relations or friends is immediately aroused. When a person dies, and is buried in the ground, all danger of the deceased being exposed to the caprices of this evil spirit are at an end; and to even mention the deceased's name is considered an unkind action.

### *Images.*

Wooden images, of human shape, are common among the Congo tribes, and more particularly among the inhabitants of the Lower Congo. These are generally carved, in more or less fantastic shapes, by the charm doctors; by whom they are sold, as representing certain peculiar properties, and with power to avert evil, and misfortune. If the images subsequently fail to justify the virtues ascribed to them by the vendor, they are either promptly resold to another, more credulous, or they are disfigured and cut to pieces, in angry disappointment. It is a common custom in the Lower Congo for natives to record an oath by driving a splinter of hard wood, or a piece of iron into the chief's big image. The oath is considered binding as long as the splinter or nail is allowed to remain in the image. These wooden images are called "nkissi" (witchcraft charms), and much ingenuity is displayed in their carving. The faces are frequently endowed with expression; and often the physical characteristics of a tribe are effectively portrayed.

### *Omens.*

It is customary for all Congo natives to believe in omens. Certain birds and animals are supposed to represent good and evil influences. The owl, for example, is known to the Babangi (Upper Congo) as the "evil spirit's spy." It is an evil omen for a man to point at another with his finger; ill fortune is said to be transmitted by so doing.

### *"The Secret Society" ("N'Kimba" or "Fua-Kongo").*

"N'Kimba" or "Fua-Kongo" is the title of a peculiar rite the practice of which is principally confined to the tribes inhabiting the cataract region of the Lower Congo. When the elders of a village consider that the women are not bearing the usual proportion of children, they proclaim an "N'Kimba." The charm doctors, and other active agents of the rite, take up quarters in

an isolated forest, where they are soon joined by numbers of voluntary initiates. Boys and men of any age are eligible as are also girls, and women who have not borne a child. Full sexual license is permitted. Upon entering the "N'Kimba," the body of the initiate is painted with white chalk. A complicated form of language is adopted. The initiate is supposed to die, and to be resurrected, and to have entered upon a new life. At the conclusion of the "N'Kimba," which usually lasts five or six years, the members of the craft take a new name, and pretend to have forgotten their former life, and do not recognise their parents and friends. Through after life, there exists a bond of union between individuals who have been members of this strange fraternity.

### *Condition of Women.*

Proceeding inland from the coast, in point of general physique, the male type improves: the female type however is higher near the coast; far inland, the female type is much lower than that of the male. Throughout the entire Congo population women cultivate the soil, provide and cook food, collect firewood, and attend to all domestic matters.

Broadly speaking, women represent a current value, they are liable at any time to be sold. The proportion of free women is very small. A wide difference exists between men and women in regard to the occupations of daily life. Women, generally, occupy an inferior position in the social scale. The various gradations of the scale of savagery may be fitly estimated by the condition and treatment of women.

### *Domestic Circumstances of Women.*

Throughout the Congo region, ten years is the age at which girls are considered to be eligible for marriage. A sitting posture is adopted for the operation of accouchement. It is a common practice for women to eat clay or sand at childbirth. Twins are generally considered to be an omen of good, and the mother takes pride in the event. When women realise their pregnancy, they take up their quarters in huts built some little distance from the village. Here they reside until their children are weaned; and during this time they are supposed to maintain a life of celibacy. The huts used upon these occasions are "nzo yabuti n'kento." (The house of the bearing women. Lower Congo). Adultery is pronounced a crime and is punishable by death, but in many instances the offence may be condoned by the payment of a small fine. Marriage is invariably a matter of purchase. If a married woman dies before bearing a child, the husband may

demand the repayment of the amount of his purchase currency from the deceased woman's parents.

### *General Customs.*

When taking into consideration the great diversity in the mental condition, and the general modes of living, which exist between tribes who form the population of the Congo, it is obviously difficult to detail even a comprehensive list of customs. The following bare facts may however serve to illustrate a few of the more important of the native customs. The natives of the Congo region are divided into clans, tribes, and small communities under the nominal government of chieftains and head-men. The clans are distinguished by difference of language and type: and in the case of the Upper Congo tribes, by the various designs of their cicatrization marks. Hereditary chieftainship seldom exists, but in the event of blood succession, the eldest son of the chief's sister (by the same mother), is considered to be the heir. Old people are seldom to be met with; they are either sacrificed at witchcraft ordeals, or are allowed to starve, when by reason of their age they are unable to provide for themselves. Among all the Congo tribes of my acquaintance I have ascertained that incest is considered a deadly sin, productive of a loathsome disease. Cases of suicide occasionally occur, and are attributed to anger, which is the principal emotion. Circumcision is largely practised, although it is not universal. Boys between the age of three months and ten years are submitted to the operation, which is frequently performed with a sharp edged flint. Throughout the Congo, the natives are very strict in the observance of their market laws; any infringement renders the culprit liable to death. Upon such occasions the culprit is either buried to his neck in a hole, in the centre of the market place, and his skull crushed by a heavy stone; or he is beaten to death with sticks, and his body is subsequently lashed to a pole, which is erected alongside a native path. Whether natives have business or not, they always make it a matter of conscience to attend the market. (Lower Congo.) If the crime of adultery be committed within the village, both the man and the woman are liable to such punishment as the circumstances warrant (according to individual tribal laws): if outside the village boundary, then the man only is held to be liable. An analogy will be observed between this custom and the ancient Hebrew law. Evidences of symbolism are occasionally to be met with, as in the case of a Balolo chief who sent a spear to the

Congo State Station, to signify that he needed assistance in war. Time is reckoned by the moon. The Aruimi tribes signify the time of day by measuring off portions of the thumb, the middle joint signifying noon. No record is kept of birth or age. The Congo natives have no appreciation of the value of time. The Lower Congo natives divide the period of the moon into weeks of four days: "NKandu," "NKonsu," "NKenge," and "Nsona," and each of these days is distinguished by a market-meeting in different localities. Several tribes of the Upper Congo, notably the Babangi of Bolobo, celebrate the occasion of the settlement of a political dispute between rival chieftains by the sacrifice of a slave as an indication of their seriousness. Upon such occasions the victim's arms and legs are first broken with sticks, after which torture he is buried to his neck at the junction of two paths, where he is allowed to die a lingering death.

Astonishment is expressed by placing the hand over the open mouth and elevating the eyebrows. Placing the first finger upon the eyelid and uttering the word "Nyo" signifies the negative (Babangi). In speaking upon a momentous question, the negative is usually pronounced at the conclusion of the sentence. Breaking a stick, or cutting a bunch of leaves into two portions, are common methods of expressing satisfaction, and the sealing of a bargain. In the Babwende tribe (Lower Congo) passing the open left hand across the open mouth from left to right, emitting at the same time a puff of air, signifies the settlement of any matter. A precisely similar gesture with certain Upper Congo tribes denotes an expression of truthfulness. All Congo natives count in fives, upon fingers and toes, a closed hand signifies ten. It is customary for the men of the Upper Congo to be armed upon all occasions. An unarmed man is treated with contempt, and is told to "go and rear children." In lieu of openly laughing at a companion's shortcomings, the Congo natives usually utter a derisive howl, and tap their mouths with their open hand. Deformed children are usually killed at birth. Albinos are allowed to live, but they are generally objects of contempt and derision. Whatever may be the inner promptings of their hearts the Congo natives display but little sympathetic feeling or unselfishness. It is considered a sign of weakness for either man or woman to express emotion and sensitiveness.

Ti n'deko (blood-brotherhood) is a ceremony in common practice throughout the greater part of the Congo region; more especially among the tribes of the Upper Congo. It is a form of cementing friendship, and a guarantee of good faith

that is oftentimes respected even by the most unscrupulous. The ceremony even partakes of religious significance. An incision is made in the right arms of the two contracting parties, and as the blood flows, powdered potash is sprinkled upon the wounds; the master of ceremonies at the same time delivers a speech, the gist of which relates to the mixing of blood in brotherhood, and the importance of maintaining the sanctity of the sacred contract. The arms are then rubbed together, so that the flowing blood intermingles, and both parties are then proclaimed to be brothers of one and the same blood. In some tribes the blood of each party is mixed and placed in a broad leaf, together with a sprinkling of mysterious powder. The leaf is then cut into two portions, which have to be consumed by the two individuals who enter into the blood bond.

The natives of the Upper Congo always become much excited at the sight of blood, whether it be blood of man or beast.

#### *Disease and Sickness.*

The prevailing maladies to which the Congo natives are exposed, comprise smallpox, sleeping sickness, known as "ntolo" and "Bokono" (Babangi and Bangala languages), which is a very prevalent and fatal ailment, the nature of which has not yet been fully determined. The symptoms are simple; a pain in the spine, and an ever increasing desire to sleep. Within six weeks the sufferer generally becomes wasted and dies. To so great an extent is this malady dreaded, that the direst and most effective curse a native can pronounce is "May you die of sleep." Fever, malarious and bilious, elephantiasis, ulcers, and sores; dysentery, this last being perhaps the most fatal disorder.

The crudest and most extravagant remedies are applied, apparently upon the principle that one ill drives out another. Herbal medicines are used, occasionally with beneficial results, but the nature of the herbs is kept secret by those who derive profit by applying them. Being ignorant even of the primary laws of sanitation, it is remarkable that more epidemics do not ravage the country; indeed, were it not for the scavenging of birds and insects, the cleansing rains, and high winds, life in a native village would be rendered intolerable.

#### *Costume and Ornaments.*

Although the native men and women of the Congo indulge in little clothing, barely sufficient in many cases to cover their nakedness, and in some tribes, the Bopoto for example,

complete nudity prevails among the women; yet as a race, the Congo natives are by no means insensible to the charms of personal adornment. There exists, throughout the Congo population, a marked appreciation of the sentiment of decency and shame, as applied to private actions. The costume and ornamentation prevalent with the Lower Congo men is principally confined to a grass loin cloth, and mutilation of the two incisor teeth of the upper jaw; the women wear a small apron in front and behind, suspended from a belt of grass cord; ear decorations of wood and metal, and in many instances a stick 6 inches long is inserted through a hole in the dividing cartilage of the nose. Among the Upper Congo natives the variety in costume and ornamentation is more extensive. The men wear a strip of grass fibre cloth, or beaten bark, suspended in front and behind from a waist belt. Their bodies are frequently marked with lines and designs of pigment; charcoal, clay, ochre, and lime, or pipe clay, and cam-wood, constituting the basis of colour. The red cam-wood dye, so extensively used by the natives of the Upper Congo, appears to have been in common use in very ancient times in the East. The hair and beard are either shaved, or are plaited with elaborate braids and points, according to the tribal custom in vogue. The hair of the eyebrows and the eyelashes, in men and women, is invariably extracted—a depilatory process which was also a common practice with the ancient Greeks and Romans. A native of the Babangi tribe careless of his personal appearance is dubbed “Mesu n’kongea” (hairy eyes). The finger nails are pared and scraped to the quick. Among the cannibal tribes, the front incisor teeth of the upper and lower jaws are chipped to points, by means of an iron chisel. Iron anklets and bracelets, of varied weight, are extensively worn by both men and women. Necklets and bracelets of human teeth are frequently worn in communities where cannibalism is practised.

In explanation of the women’s nudity at Upeto, a chief once informed me that “concealment is food for the inquisitive.”

It is a universal custom among the Upper Congo natives to anoint the body with a preparation of palm oil and cam-wood; by this process the skin is to a certain extent protected against sudden chills. In time of war, the men of most Upper Congo tribes blacken their faces and necks with palm oil and powdered charcoal, in resemblance of a certain species of monkey (soko); they explain that by so doing they derive “monkey cunning.”

In the districts of the Aruimi and Stanley Falls, the men frequently wear round or conical shaped hats, of monkey or leopard’s skin. The same fashion exists in a much smaller extent among the tribes between the Aruimi, and Bukumbi and



Mobeka (400 miles lower down the Congo). The natives who reside upon the banks of the Congo at the mouth of the Lomami, (between Stanley Falls and the Aruimi,) smear their hair, foreheads, and throats with a tar-like substance, composed of palm oil and charcoal. In the upper lip a circular piece of ivory is inserted, in size averaging an inch in diameter.

#### *Cicatrization.*

The process of cicatrization is universally practised among tribes of the interior, above Bolobo; each tribe or clan adopts a distinct cicatrized tribal mark. At the age of four or five the process is first commenced, a series of incisions being cut in the skin and flesh of the face, breast, and abdomen, in accordance with the tribal design. Every few months the incisions are re-cut, and are filled with cam-wood powder, or wood ashes. After frequent repetitions of this painful mutilation, extending over a period of years, the flesh protrudes, in the form of excrescent warts. The faces of the Balolo tribe, of the Malinga and Lupuri country, are much disfigured by this process, lumps of flesh, as large as pigeon's eggs, protruding on each temple, above the base of the nose, and upon the chin. The Bopoto, and kindred tribes, are distinguished by an elaborate system of cicatrization, which covers the entire face. Both men and women are similarly marked in all tribes. This custom of cicatrization, or raising lumps of flesh by means of frequent incisions, and filling the wounds with ashes, was practised by the ancient Thracians. The origin of this custom would appear to be based upon a motive for tribal identification.

#### *Nomenclature.*

The natives of the Upper Congo seldom bear more than one name, a proper name, which has no connection with parentage or tribe. The natives of the Lower Congo are usually in possession of six names; the clan name, the surname, the Christian name, the native baptismal name, the Fua-Kongo name, and the Kitoko, or fancy name, bestowed upon young men by the girls of their village.

#### *Songs.*

The natives of the Congo region, in common with the negro race, possess melody. They frequently indulge in chants, the nature of which is suggestive of primitive origin. In all cases, the native chants are monotonous in tone, and without great variety. A man will frequently sing a solo, and the strain will be taken up by the women. Drums are usually the only musical

accompaniment. The subject matter of the native songs is generally of an impromptu character, and tends to ridicule popular foibles and peculiarities.

### *Musical Instruments.*

Considering the love of music, which is a distinct characteristic of the Congo natives, the limited variety of their musical instruments is remarkable. Drums are composed of goat skin stretched across the ends of a hollowed section of a soft wood tree; and also of sections of hard wood trees, hollowed through a narrow longitudinal crevice, the edges of which are beaten with small drum sticks with balls of rubber attached. It is by means of drums of this latter shape that the wonderful system of "drum talk" is carried on. Rattles and castanets are in common use at witch ceremonies and dances. The Bateke tribe of the Middle Congo use a crude stringed instrument, resembling a lyre in shape. The Lower Congo tribes use the "mbichi," a small instrument composed of tongues of iron, attached to a sounding board, which is held in the hands and played by both thumbs.

### *Smoking.*

Both men and women smoke tobacco in all the tribes from the coast, as far as Bukute, (the equator district) from thence proceeding inland, the practice of smoking becomes less prevalent. The tobacco plant, introduced from the West, flourishes in Congo soil. Pipes are composed of clay bowls, cane, eland horns, gourds, banana stalks, iron, and elephant tusks. Each tribe boasts of a pipe of distinctive shape and composition. In smoking, the smoke is inhaled; and after two or three deep draughts, the pipe is generally passed on to a neighbour. The tobacco leaf is merely plucked and dried. In the district on the north bank of the Congo, opposite Lukolela, however, the tobacco leaf is rolled, tied, sometimes saturated with wine, and prepared in a coil. Wild hemp smoking (liamba) is practised by the natives of the Lower Congo, with sad results. The practice of wild hemp smoking, however, is not extensively indulged in, and it would appear to be a habit of comparatively recent origin.

The natives of the Lower Congo indulge largely in snuff. Snuff is prepared by drying tobacco leaves over a fire, grinding them in the hands, and mixing the powder with the white ashes of a hard wood fire. Snuff is generally applied to the nostrils upon the blade of a knife.

*Proverbs and Fables.*

There are but very few maxims in use among the Congo tribes. I have failed to obtain any examples from the people of the Upper Congo; and the following represent the extent of my success among Lower Congo tribes:

"All things are pleasant to the young."

"If you have to sleep there on a bed, sleep in the middle."  
(The beds are composed of bamboo, with three cross battens. Generally 4 feet long, 3 feet wide, and raised 6 inches from the ground.)

"My mother-in-law is angry with me: but what do I care? we do not eat from the same dish."

Disu kungsi lukaya—An eye under a leaf.

Kiesi vana n'dabu—Happiness on the eye lid.

These two expressions (Bakongo) are illustrative of insincerity and hypocrisy.

The various tribes of the Lower Congo are familiar with a version of our nursery fable "The goose with the golden eggs." "Four fools owned a fowl. The fowl laid blue glass beads instead of eggs. (Blue glass beads, introduced probably by the Portuguese; have been the chief medium of currency with the tribes near the coast, since the seventeenth century.) A quarrel arose concerning the ownership of the fowl. The fowl was subsequently killed, and divided into four equal portions. The spring of their good fortune dried up."

The natives of the Babangi, and adjacent tribes (Upper Congo) relate a fable regarding the origin of monkeys. Many generations ago, a tribe of natives who lived upon the banks of the Congo River, near Bolobo, fell into a condition of debt and difficulties with their neighbours. In order to escape the persecutions of their wrathful creditors, they retired into the Great Forest. Time passed, but they still remained poor. Forest life degenerated them. Hair grew upon their bodies. They arranged to forego speech, lest they should be recognised. They are now still in the forest, and they are known as "Bakewa" (monkey men). This fable applies principally to chimpanzees.

Upon being asked if they ate chimpanzees, a member of the Babangi tribe replied, "No! We are not cannibals!"

The natives of the Lower Congo in the earliest days of Congo exploration (1878, 1879) related a fable concerning the inhabitants of the far interior: "Far away inland, many moons' journey, there dwell a tribe of small people. Their heads are so big and heavy that when they fall down, they cannot get up again without assistance." It is interesting to note this knowledge of

the dwarf race among the Lower Congo tribes, on account of the entire absence of communication between the intervening tribes ; and also on account of the extreme isolation of the dwarfs who inhabit the heart of the Great Forest region.

### *Food.*

It appears obvious that the present inhabitants of the Upper Congo cannot have occupied the country until within comparatively recent times. At no very distant date the physical conditions of the Great Forest region were such as to prevent extensive settlement, the region being largely submerged. A consideration of the native diet alone, indicates that great changes have taken place in this part of the African Continent within the last two or three centuries. The staple food of the present inhabitants of the Congo region is almost all of American origin. The dwarf tribes of the Great Forest region are the only natives who appear able to subsist entirely upon indigenous foods. In the event of the failure of their crop of exotic food, a Bantu tribe will be reduced to a condition of absolute starvation. Many instances of this latter fact can be cited. In the far interior, in districts situated around the Aruimi and Lomami rivers the staple food consists of plantains, manioc, and fish. Towards the west coast, the natives cultivate, in addition to plantains and manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, peanuts, egg fruit, bananas, pumpkins, yams, pine-apples, and tobacco, and obtain nuts, oil, and wine from the oil palm.

### *Weapons.*

The Congo tribes may be said to live in an iron age. In the far interior, iron forms the principal element of trade ; and iron is a necessity to the Upper Congo natives for the manufacture of their weapons. The tribes of the interior, in addition to adopting distinguishing cicatrization designs upon their faces and bodies, also adopt local designs and forms for the iron knives and spear heads, which constitute their weapons for purposes of attack and defence. In the manufacture of these weapons, the Upper Congo tribes display a remarkable artistic taste and mechanical ingenuity. Most of the fighting knives manufactured by the tribes far distant from the coast, possess an infinite grace of form ; and display a high sense of decorative art. The iron ore, from its raw state, is reduced and smelted in ant hills by means of charcoal fires and primitive bellows. It is then beaten into shape by the aid of a smooth stone, and is subsequently fashioned, and decorated. Every man in the Upper Congo tribes is more or less able to manufacture his own weapons

*Language.*

The Bantu languages spoken by the Congo tribes are as distinct from each other, in about the same degree as French is distinct from Italian; and were we permitted to study the mother tongue of the Bantu languages, we should in all probability find the present languages allied to the mother tongue in the same extent as French and Italian are allied to the original Latin. The Bantu languages are rich in vowels and liquids. The form of prefixes and the alliterative concords are the remarkable characteristics of all the languages of this family.

*Native Eloquence.*

It has been said that oratory constitutes the negro's one fine art. The same statement may be aptly applied to the Bantu tribes of the Congo, leaving aside for the moment the ingenuity and decorative faculty displayed by the latter race in iron work. The Congo natives of all tribes are naturally eloquent and ready speakers; employing many flowery expressions. They are also adepts in the use of metaphor. They reason clearly, and are ready debaters. The sonorous effect of their speech is greatly aided by the soft inflections and the harmonious euphony of their language. Among many of the Upper Congo tribes it is a common practice for the speaker to hold in his hand a number of small sticks, each representing a preconsidered point of his argument. Each point is subsequently enumerated and emphasized by selecting and placing one of these sticks upon the ground. It is customary for a Congo native in making an important speech, upon personal matters, to commence by referring to incidents which happened in his earliest recollection, and in this manner to refer to every favourable incident in his career, indifferent as to the applicability of his narratives, which in most cases are quite irrelevant to the subject under discussion. When speaking in his defence, upon being charged with committing a breach of the native laws, a Congo native will systematically refer to the good actions of his past life, and to the evil actions in the lives of his accusers; in this manner he will seek to prejudice the judicial authorities in his favour.

*Cannibalism.*

Cannibalism is practised throughout the Upper Congo, the western boundary being the Oubangi River, on the north bank; and the Lulungu River on the south bank. The motive for eating human flesh is mainly attributable to two sources: firstly, by eating prisoners of war, certain tribes consider they gain

courage; and secondly, because human flesh is relished. Cannibalism, originating apparently from stress of adverse circumstances, has become an acquired taste, the indulgence of which has created a peculiar form of mental disorder; with lack of feeling, love of fighting, cruelty and general human degeneracy as prominent attributes. All parts of the human body are eaten, with the sole exception of the generative organs, which are respected by superstition. An organised traffic in human flesh still exists in many parts of the Upper Congo; men, women, and children, being continually purchased and sold expressly for cannibal purposes.

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NOVEMBER 13TH, 1894.

Prof. A. MACALISTER, F.R.S., *President, in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and signed.

The elections of Col. C. K. BUSHE, Rev. J. G. JENKINSON, Messrs. VICTOR HORSLEY, J. S. KRAUSS, B.A., R. C. BROOK, J. GRAY, R.Sc., J. KENNEDY, A. P. MAUDSLAY, and Miss H. PENGELLY, were announced.

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NOTES on COREA and its PEOPLE. By H. S. SAUNDERSON.

*Race.*

THERE is little doubt but that the Coreans are of Mongolian extraction, but the frequency with which features, almost European in refinement and Caucasian in cast, are met with seems to point conclusively to the fact that the natives are not all of the same family, a fact which greatly adds to the difficulty of tracing the race to its source. To increase the difficulty, the Coreans themselves have very vague ideas on the subject, and, though the antiquity of their race is the one point on which *par excellence* they pride themselves, their early records have been so scattered and destroyed in the course of their numerous wars with China and Japan that little if any information has been obtained from them. In the early Chinese records, however, we have a tolerably complete account of the events which led to the conquest of the country by one of the wandering tribes of Mongolia. I trust I shall be excused if I give the merest outline of this story.

In the year B.C. 1122 Ki-tzu, one of the principal ministers of the last Emperor of the Shang dynasty, left China with some 5,000 followers after the assassination of his master, and proceeded to the somewhat mythical kingdom of Fuyu which is supposed to have been situated in Manchuria on the South bank of the Sungari River, and which was an offshoot from the larger kingdom of Korai situated on the north bank of the river. Here Ki-tzu settled down with his followers and became king of the country. In the course of years the population increased to such an extent that a large portion led by one Kao (or Ko) migrated southwards and formed the kingdom of Ko-Korai, so called by Ko in order to perpetuate his own name and that of the nation from which his race had originally sprung. In the third century of our era this nation, then having become very powerful, pursued its way southwards into Northern Corea driving out the aborigines as it marched and eventually founded a kingdom with Ping-yang as capital. Dropping the first Ko of Ko-Korai they re-named their nation Korai—in Chinese, Kao-li—whence its modern appellation, Corea. In the eleventh century A.D. this nation absorbed the two States which occupied the south of the Peninsula, and in A.D. 1392 the capital was fixed at Han-yang or Seoul (which means *capital*). Thus, if we accept this story, we see that the race is a mixture of the Chinese of the Shang dynasty, the Fuyuans, and the aboriginal tribes, which will account for the presence of the different types among the Coreans of to-day. The country is also known as Chao-hsien (or, in Japanese, Chosen), which was the name of an ancient nation inhabiting what is now the Chinese province of Shing-king.

#### *Physique.*

The Coreans are a tall finely-built race. The average height of the men I should put down as about 5 ft. 6 in., but the women are remarkably small, averaging little above 5 ft.

In features the men are more pleasing than either the Chinese or Japanese and approach more nearly to the European cast of countenance than do either of those races; while the women on the other hand are far plainer than their Chinese and Japanese sisters.

The cheek bones of both sexes are high and prominent, and the eyes small and set widely apart: but the latter are far less oblique than those of the Chinese and are usually black or dark brown in colour. The eyelids droop heavily over the eyes so as to almost conceal them. The nose is broad at the base and is more prominent than with most Asiatics. It is impossible, however, to lay down any hard and fast rules about their fea-

tures, for one frequently encounters eyes that are hazel or even blue in colour, and which are not in the least oblique.

Their hair is almost invariably black; sometimes, however, shading to a brown tint. Before marriage boys and girls alike part their hair in the middle and plait it into queues behind. After marriage the men cut off their queues and tie up what remains of their hair into upright columns on the top of their heads. It may here be remarked that the Korean manner of dressing the hair is the same as that of the Chinese before their conquest by the Manchus. The women part their hair in the middle and make it into chignons at the back of their heads, where it is secured with enormous hair-pins made of wood, silver, or jade, according to their rank.

Both sexes have extremely small hands which they are very careful to keep clean and soft. Their feet are also very small, but the women do not follow the Chinese custom of rendering them additionally so by cramping them in bandages. In complexion they are not so dark as the Chinese, nor are they so yellow. Their foreheads are remarkably high, a feature which would seem to denote a considerable amount of intelligence, and their voices are low and well-modulated.

#### *Character.*

The Korean is a very genial person if you treat him properly. Always ready to laugh at a good joke and to throw himself heart and soul into the fun of the moment, he presents an agreeable contrast to his more reserved relation, the Chinaman. He is intensely proud, but though he undoubtedly despises the foreigner, he does not allow his contempt to interfere with his good breeding. Foreigners are never cursed in the streets as they are in China, but in spite of their good manners I have not the least doubt but that the people, taken as a whole, would willingly kill every stranger in the country. They are arrant thieves, and in their utter disregard for truth, morality, and decency, they exceed both Chinese and Japanese.

For centuries their chief idea has been to be completely isolated from the outside world. To show the lengths to which they were willing to go to attain this end, it may be mentioned that they devastated a fair tract of country on their northern border, a proceeding which involved the destruction of three large towns and several villages, in order to keep the Chinese out of the country. They strove to restrict commerce to the holding of annual fairs, lasting half a day only, at Hunchun on the Tumen River and Ki-yu-wan near the Yalu, and remorselessly slew every foreigner who set foot in the country. They certainly had every excuse for this wish for isolation. Those



who have studied their history know the miseries they suffered from their innumerable wars with China and Japan, and will understand how they came to dread and distrust all foreigners. They adopted the only possible remedy which lay to their hands, but this protracted isolation has told heavily on them. From being a race of energetic warlike people, they have become a nation of loafers. Long years of stagnation have made them incorrigibly idle; no man ever dreams of doing any work unless he is forced to, or cannot make his wife do it for him. They have been aptly described as a nation of Micawbers. The sloth of the people shows itself in the institutions of the country. Everything is at a standstill: government, art, manufactures, and customs, have degenerated or remained stationary for centuries, and the people are quite contented that this state of things should continue. This exclusiveness, however, is in individuals counteracted by their curiosity, and the Corean is ever ready to avail himself of a foreigner's hospitality—too ready indeed, for after the first invitation he will come again and again on the slightest pretext, until the employment of a strong hint that he is not wanted becomes necessary.

Vanity is one of their weak points. Every Corean down to the commonest coolie carries about with him a piece of looking-glass and a comb, and during the intervals in his desultory occupation he will squat down on his heels, whip out his comb and looking-glass, and proceed to beautify and admire himself. He is exceedingly proud of his beard, and you have but to express your admiration of it to rise immensely in his estimation.

The Coreans by no means lack intelligence, as is shown by the extraordinary rapidity with which they will pick up a foreign language, but unfortunately, like most Asiatics, they assimilate with avidity all that is bad in European civilization, and either utterly disregard the good or turn it to an evil use.

### *Dress.*

The sumptuary laws in Corea are very strict. The actual design of the dress is the same for all classes; but it is the material of which it is made and its colour that is affected by the law. The lower and middle classes may wear none but garments of cotton or hemp; while silk is the prerogative of the officials, who have the right also of wearing violet, which is a sign of good birth or officialdom. In design the dress, which is usually white, is simplicity itself, and consists of an enormous pair of trousers, which are tied on under the armpits, and two or more outer coats (or robes) reaching to the ankles. To these robes are attached strings of the same material, which are tied

high up on the right side of the chest. The socks are of thickly wadded cotton; and the foot-gear consists of straw sandals, in the case of the lower classes, and shoes lined with leather, with string soles and cloth uppers, in the case of the gentry. In wet weather the lower classes wear wooden clogs almost identical in shape with the French *sabots*. No man is allowed to wear the long outer robe till he is married; while single he has to don a much shorter garment, and when he is engaged to be married he sports a red jacket. The sleeves of the long robe are very large, and resemble greatly those of the Japanese *kimono*. The garments of both sexes are wadded in the winter, while the upper classes line theirs with fur—generally with sable.

The women's costume consists of a pair of white cotton trousers, so full as to be almost a divided skirt, which narrow considerably towards the ankles where they meet the socks. Over these is worn a very full skirt, generally white, kilted at the top into a band about 8 inches wide. This band it is considered correct to bind tightly round the chest under the arms, but the practice causes so much discomfort that the common women, who have to work hard, often tie their skirts lower down and leave the body between the jacket and skirt exposed. The jacket is not more than 6 inches long. It is sometimes yellow, green, or blue, and at other times white. The socks are similar to the men's.

The wives of soldiers are compelled to wear their husbands' green regimental coats thrown over their heads like shawls. The object of this law was to make sure that the soldiers should have their coats in good order, in case of war suddenly breaking out. The soldiers have long ceased to wear green coats, but the custom is still observed.

Coreans pay great attention to the cleanliness of their outer robes. No one who respects himself will ever appear in a dirty coat. Consequently the women's chief occupation consists of washing the raiment of their "lords and masters," and far into the night can be heard the tapping of the sticks with which the wet clothes are beaten—a most destructive process. As the clothes are but roughly tacked together and are glued at the seams with rice paste, they come to pieces every time they are washed, and have to be re-glued when dry. The starch used consists of a mixture of rice paste and honey, and it gives the surface a peculiarly beautiful gloss. It may be here remarked that Corean rice is much more glutinous than that of China, so much so that the Chinese dislike eating it.

In summer, basket-work frames are worn on the arms, back, and chest, under the robes, in order to keep the latter clean and dry and also for the sake of coolness.

The head-gear of the men is very extraordinary. In shape the hats are not unlike inverted flower-pots with broad straight brims. The brims measure about 2 feet across, and the crowns are about 6 inches high and 3 inches in diameter at the top. The shape is undoubtedly due to the way in which the hair is dressed. These hats are made of horse-hair, or very finely split bamboo, beautifully plaited, and are varnished as a protection against the weather. They are invariably stained black, except for half-mourning, when they are string-colour. They are usually fitted with bands which are tied under the chin, but, in the case of high officials, these bands are replaced by a very long string of beads joined at each end to the hat. This hat does not fit upon the head itself, but rests on a tightly fitting skull-cap held in place by strings tied round the head. The natives are very careful of their hats for they are very expensive, and when it rains they always protect them with little coverings of the oiled paper for which the country is famous, and of which they make their waterproof coats, tobacco pouches, and fans. The officials when on court duty wear even more extraordinary hats than these, but their shapes are so fantastic that it is perfectly impossible to describe them.

In the winter, fur and wadded head-dresses are worn under the hats. The best hats all come from the Island of Quelpart, at the southern extremity of the peninsula. The official servants wear hats made of black or brown camel's-hair felt with small round crowns and large flat brims; while those worn by the soldiers are much the same in shape as the gentry's but are made of black felt, have much smaller brims, and are bound with red. But the most peculiar of all are the mourners' hats, which are in shape not unlike enormous toadstools, and are so large as to completely hide the face. These are made of plaited bamboo strips and are not coloured.

The women wear no head-gear whatever, except in the winter when they don curiously shaped fur caps, which are open at the crown and are adorned in front and behind with red silk tassels.

#### *Social Customs.*

Up to the age of eight the boys and girls of the respectable classes are allowed to grow up together, but after that age the girl retires into the women's quarters where she lives in utter seclusion until her marriage. Marriage for her means but the exchange of one prison for another. She is taught that the most disgraceful thing a woman can do is to allow herself to be seen or spoken to by any man outside her own family circle. After

the age of eight she is never allowed to enter the men's quarters of her own home. After her marriage, which takes place usually at the age of 16 or 17, she is allowed to see no man but her husband. The boys in the same way are told that it is unbecoming and undignified to enter the portion of the house set apart for the females. The men and the women have their meals separately, the women waiting on their husbands. Thus, family life, as we have it, is utterly unknown in Corea.

The men marry at any age, but usually at about 15 or 16, and it is considered correct for them to marry girls a year or two older than themselves. They never see their brides until the wedding-day, for all preliminaries are arranged by the fathers of the young couple whose inclinations are not consulted at all. Usually the matter is settled through the medium of a go-between, as in China. Very often the marriage is decided on when the future bride and bridegroom are in their early infancy, and it is not uncommon to see a little fellow of four or five wearing the red jacket which signifies his betrothal.

The marriage ceremony is a very simple affair. The bride and bridegroom invite their most intimate friends to assist them in dressing their hair in the manner befitting their new state. Then the bridegroom mounts a white pony, which is led by two servants while two others on either side support the rider in the saddle. Thus he proceeds to the bride's house, accompanied by his relations. At their destination they find a pavilion erected in the courtyard of the house, in which the bride and her relations are awaiting their arrival. A goose (the Korean symbol of fidelity), which the bridegroom brings with him, is then produced. The bride (who has to cover her face with her long sleeves) and the bridegroom then bow to each other until their heads almost touch the ground. This they do three or four times and they are man and wife. A loving cup is passed round and then the bride is taken off to the women's apartments of her husband's home, where she is looked after by her mother and mother-in-law, while the groom entertains his friends. Fidelity is imposed on the wife, but the husband is under no such obligation. He can marry but one wife it is true, but he is allowed as many concubines as he can afford. These however, never inhabit the same house as his principal wife. The husband is forced to maintain his wife properly and treat her with respect.

Marriage is the great event in a Korean's life, for he then attains man's estate. Before marriage, no matter how old he may be, he is treated as a boy, and has to maintain a deferential attitude towards the married men even though they be half his age. Widows are never supposed to re-marry, but

among the common people they frequently do so when they lack means of support.

There is great joy in the family when a son and heir is born. A woman who bears nothing but daughters or has no children is considered a disgrace to her husband, and in such cases she usually adopts a son of one of her husband's concubines. As with the Chinaman the great ambition of the Corean is to have an heir to succeed him and carry on the family.

In Seoul (the capital) they have a curious curfew law called *pem-ya*. A large bell is tolled at about 8 p.m. and 3 a.m. daily, and between these hours only are women supposed to appear in the streets. In the old days men found in the streets during the hours allotted to women were severely punished, but the rule has been greatly relaxed of late years. When a lady wishes to visit her friends, she is carried in a small square sedan chair, which is devoid of windows and is borne by two bearers. The bearers are not allowed to see her get into or out of her chair. So when their destination is reached they push the chair before them along the ground through the door of the women's quarters, and then hastily retire until their mistress succeeds in getting out—an exceedingly difficult feat, as the sides of the sedan are barely a yard long and the lady has to sit cross-legged and on her heels. The women are very graceful in their movements and their method of sitting down is peculiar and must be very difficult of attainment. The right leg is swung round behind the left, so as to form the figure of a cross, and then she very slowly allows her knees to bend until finally she is seated on her feet.

When a Corean servant wishes to enter a room he does not knock at the door, but stands outside and coughs in a peculiar way until bidden to enter.

The mourning colour is that of raw hemp or of string. A man has to mourn three years for his father and the same period for his mother. During the first period of his mourning, which lasts a year, he goes about in the mourner's hat already described, and holds a small screen before his face in such a way as to completely hide it. No man may speak to him nor interfere with him in any way, and during this period he may do no work. The French Jesuits made use of this very convenient disguise when they first came to Corea in 1835. After the first period of his mourning he lays aside this head gear and screen, and wears an ordinary hat of the same colour as his mourning clothes which are very coarse in texture and made of hemp.

It is an unwritten law in Corea never to turn away even the sorriest tramp from the door without giving him a meal; consequently there are very few beggars in the country.

The classes into which the people are divided are as follows. First come the civil and military nobility, named *niang-pan*, by whom the high offices of State are filled. The nobility is hereditary, and, though the king has the power of ennobling persons of the lower classes, such persons are greatly looked down upon by the rest. Then comes a small class of half-nobles who fill the lower official positions. After these come the civic class, which consists of the merchants, manufacturers, and artisans; and the people's class, viz., the villagers, farmers, fishermen, &c. Then follows the despised class, which includes the butchers and leather-workers. Curiously enough the people of this class, though despised, are usually chosen to fill the posts of clerks and secretaries to the prefectural officials. Below this class and on a level with the slaves come the Buddhist priests; the reason of their being placed so low in the social scale will be shown hereafter. There are two classes of slaves—Government slaves and those belonging to the nobility. They are very well treated and rarely evince any desire to become freemen. Indeed Coreans frequently offer themselves and their families as slaves to the richer nobles. Slavery, however, is fast dying out. The *niang-pan* (literally *the two classes*) never dream of doing any work: they are not allowed to. Even if reduced to the utmost poverty nothing will induce a noble to abase himself by working—he would rather die!

In person the Coreans are extremely filthy. They are commonly supposed to be washed only twice in their lives:—when they come into the world and when they leave it. Their ideas of cleanliness are confined to their hands, faces, and outer garments. The state of their bodies and inner clothes is best left to the imagination.

#### *Food, &c.*

These people are very coarse feeders. Their staple food consists of dried fish, chickens, beef, pork, venison, turnips, beans, rice, maize, honey, and *kimchi*. *Kimchi* is a dish peculiar to the country and is made of turnips, chilies, and dried fish, soused in native vinegar. This mixture is kept in jars until it ferments and is then eaten. It has a most atrocious smell, so atrocious indeed that I have never heard of a European being so bold as to taste the stuff. The richer classes improve the dish by the addition of *ginseng*—a native medicinal root much valued for its strengthening properties. This root, which is greatly prized by all Easterns, grows wild in Corea. A considerable trade is done with China in it, and it forms part of the annual tribute due to the Emperor of that

country. The beef is very good, the cattle, though small, being fine sturdy animals. The meat is almost invariably grilled. Mutton is unknown—except such as is imported for the use of foreigners—for sheep will not live in Corea; and, as in China, milk is not used as an article of food. Fish are usually split open and dried in the sun, but some kinds are eaten raw after being dipped in soy. Chilies are grown in vast quantities and are an invariable adjunct to their meals. In the autumn the roofs of the houses will be seen covered with them drying in the sun, and these vivid red patches produce a peculiar and picturesque effect on the landscape. Eggs are largely eaten—usually hard boiled—and the Coreans appear to be perfectly indifferent as to whether they are fresh or stale. Game of all kinds abounds and is eaten largely. Although fertile, the country is very deficient in fruits—persimmons and mulberries being the most common. Gourds, pumpkins and egg-plants, are extensively grown, and of the former they make their water-bottles, ladles, &c.

The foregoing comprise the principal articles of food, but the natives will really eat anything: dogs, rats, weasels, crows, magpies—none of these come amiss to them.

The Coreans squat on their heels when eating, and each person has a small low table to himself, though occasionally a friend will be invited to share his host's table. Chairs are used only on ceremonial occasions and by the officials. They eat with spoons and knives; chopsticks also are used but not so largely as in China.

The native spirits are made from rice or millet, and vary in colour from that of beer to that of pale sherry. Coreans are great drunkards, and the spirits, which are full of fusel oil and are drunk immediately after distillation, produce a tremendous effect on them. The blood mounts rapidly to the head and excessive drinking often causes the natives to run amuck. Drunkenness is considered no disgrace; indeed at dinner a certain amount of inebriety is a compliment to the host. Their wine cups are of brass and the spirits are often warmed.

Tobacco was introduced into the country by the Japanese, and the Chinese in their turn obtained the plant from Corea. The native tobacco is very good and is smoked all over the country by men and women alike. The men will squat for hours in front of their houses stolidly smoking their long pipes, while their wives work like slaves. The pipes are nearly a yard long, and are made with young-bamboo stems and metal bowls and mouthpieces. The Coreans have a characteristic method of doing work. Half of those engaged smoke while the other half attend to business; as soon as the first lot have

finished their pipes they take their turn at the work while the others have their smoke, and so on. Hence the Korean custom of counting time by pipes. If asked how long a piece of work will take, they will answer "Between two pipes" or "Between five pipes," and so on according to the length of time required. The Koreans do not smoke opium, nor do they take snuff as a rule. Fire is produced by flint and steel, which they always carry about with them, but of late years matches imported from abroad have come into use to a large extent.

### *Diseases.*

The natives suffer greatly from small-pox, but have no dread of the disease, and it is an everyday experience to see men, women, and children, walking about unconcernedly with the eruption out all over their bodies. They are so anxious that their children should get over the malady early, that, when one member of the family catches it, those who have not had it are placed in the same bed as the sufferer. Children who have not had small-pox are not counted. Thus a father of five children, two of whom have not had the disease, will tell you he has but three. In Seoul, the bodies of those who have died of this disease are swathed in several layers of matting and placed on scaffolds, one above the other, against the N.E. wall of the city. There they are allowed to remain, apparently for ever, in order (it is said) to frighten the small-pox devil away from the city. Of late years the people have taken very kindly to vaccination.

The disease they most dread is peculiar to the country and is called *Impiong*. It is a virulent fever resembling typhus, and is very infectious. In Seoul, the patients are placed on the west wall of the city under very low mat sheds with a jar of water and some food. There they remain, visited occasionally by their relations, until they recover, which is seldom the case, or die. Although this treatment sounds barbarous it is really not so, as plenty of fresh air is the best remedy for the disease. If the patient dies, he is left on the wall until his family can get together enough money to bury him.

Almost the entire nation suffer from scrofula in one form or another. Usually its effect is to weaken the lungs and the result is consumption, to which they are very subject. To the same cause may be attributed their tendency to contract ophthalmia. The art of healing being in its infancy, unless the sufferer can manage to throw off the disease by himself, he gets gradually worse until at length he goes stone blind, and blind men are only too common in Corea. In the summer they are subject to cholera. This disease, however, comes in waves;



some years there will be very little of it about, while, in others, the people will die of it in thousands.

They are great fatalists and if a sick native makes up his mind that he is going to die, die he will and that too in spite of the best of treatment.

### *Religion.*

It is hard to discover what religion the Koreans now profess. Confucianism supplanted Buddhism in 1400 A.D., but Confucianism can hardly be called a religion and the worship of the Sage is limited to the erection of tablets to his memory at the public expense. Ancestor-worship is universal, but neither can that be termed a religion; it is rather a form of filial piety. The worship of ancestors is confined to the burning of incense before tablets inscribed with the names of the departed.

Buddhism, in former times, was the established religion of Korea. It was introduced from China and flourished from A.D. 905 to A.D. 1392. Towards the close of that period, however, the Buddhist priests took to interfering in the Government of the country and headed numerous insurrections, until they were put down with a firm hand. The Bonzes were not allowed to enter the cities under pain of death, and as a finishing stroke Confucianism was universally adopted. The religion went from bad to worse; the temples became, and are to this day, sinks of iniquity; while the priesthood is a byword and a reproach, because of its evil practices. Its ranks are recruited solely from the lower classes, and, in consequence of the contempt with which they are regarded, their position in society is on a level with the slaves. In their palmy days the Buddhists did good service to the country. They were the chief, if not the only, disseminators of learning and to them the Koreans owe their language, which is said to have been invented in the eighth or ninth century by a learned Bonze named *Pi-tsung*. From Korea the religion spread to Japan and many of the special features of the great Buddhist Temples at Kioto and Kamakura are of Korean origin. Owing to the ravages of the Japanese, there are few temples now remaining, and these are almost identical in appearance with those of China.

Shamanism is rampant. The people are grossly superstitious and believe firmly in the continual presence among them of malign spirits. Every disease has a special devil of its own, and part of the cure invariably consists in propitiating it or striving to drive it out of the patient. Then there are the spirits of hills, water, air, trees, tigers, leopards, and so on *ad infinitum*. Soothsayers abound, and these are always consulted when important events, such as marriages, are about to take

place. Before burial, geomancers are called in to determine whether the place of interment is propitiously situated: if not, another is selected. If the *pung-sui*<sup>1</sup> (literally *wind and water*) of the burial ground is not good, they believe great disasters will befall the family. In order to propitiate the spirits of *pung-sui* curious bells with brass fish attached to the clappers are hung to the temple roofs, where they tinkle in the wind.

Graveyards are usually situated on hills and face the south, whence the good influences are supposed to come. In the case of the upper classes the family graveyards are protected from the north, whence come the evil influences, by horse-shoe shaped mounds. This is also the custom in China.

Devils are supposed to inhabit certain withered trees, and the natives are careful never to pass a devil-tree without throwing a stone at it or tying a piece of cloth to one of its branches. If they omit to do this, evil, they believe, is sure to come to them and their families. Often they erect little huts at the feet of these trees for the accommodation of the devils. When trouble befalls a Corean he will place an offering of rice and wine in one of these huts, and, should it have disappeared when he next passes, he believes the devils have forgiven him and that his troubles will pass away. When a death occurs, the family of the dead person gather round the body and beat gongs, kettles, and cans, with all their might for three days and nights, keeping up a monotonous dirge the while and never stopping for an instant. They believe that unless they do this, a devil will enter into the dead person, who will then come to life, try to kill them, and do as much damage as possible to the property. There are numerous witches and wise women, who are greatly respected.

The women usually wear bunches of charms, which include a pair of mandarin ducks,—an emblem of conjugal happiness,—and curious little twin Josses which are supposed to insure the wearer becoming a mother of sons. Cash inscribed with lucky characters are great favourites. They also wear images of butterflies and Buddha's fingers (a species of citron one end of which is shaped like a hand), and small round coin-shaped charms, but I am ignorant of the signification of any of these. Brass is the material most generally employed in their manufacture; but they are also made of silver, and decorated with enamel of different colours.

### *Arts and Manufactures.*

As has been already stated, no progress has been made in either arts or manufactures for centuries. Worse than that,

<sup>1</sup> In Chinese *feng-shui*.

they have lost some arts for which they were formerly famous, and their skill in others has deteriorated. The art of making porcelain, for instance, seems to have entirely gone from them. Their pottery of to-day is of the crudest possible kind and has no artistic value whatever. It is strange to think that the Japanese learnt the art of making porcelain from the Coreans. In 1597, at the conclusion of Hideyoshi's second invasion of the country, the Daimio Nabeshima brought to Satsuma a colony of Corean potters, in order that his countrymen might be taught the art. Thus the famous Satsuma ware is nothing more or less than the ancient pottery of Corea, doubtless with improvements. It is a curious fact too that the Japanese should also in their turn have lost the art of making this wonderful porcelain. Since this invasion of the Japanese, they have ceased to bury pottery with the dead as was formerly their invariable custom. This pottery consists of flasks and bowls, in which were placed the wine and rice supposed to be required by the dead person on his road to heaven. Now-a-days, the wine and rice are placed on the graves, but are no longer buried in them. As it is a capital offence to dig up this pottery, it is very hard to obtain specimens.

The only likely reason for their extraordinary decadence in this art would seem to be that the Japanese forced all the best workmen to accompany them to Japan, and that, in the general demoralization that followed the war, no one had the heart or the time to continue the manufacture.

Another art that Japan owes to Corea is that of music, and yet now Corean music is excruciating to Japanese ears. Not that the music is of a debased type: on the contrary, a great deal of their music is very melodious, and, were it not for the running accompaniment they insist on keeping up on cymbals and drums, would be quite charming. Their musical instruments are very numerous, and comprise flutes, fiddles, curious instruments composed of bamboo pipes, zithers, guitars, and drums shaped like dumbbells.

The art of painting too seems to have gone from them, though they once must have possessed considerable skill as is shown by the painting on their ancient screens.

They manufacture a great deal of brass-work, of which metal nearly all their cooking and eating utensils are made, but they make little attempt at decoration. The great brass-fair is held at the New Year, and no brass will be found in the shops at any other season: consequently at that time whole streets are lined with booths where nothing but brass is sold, and an immense amount of business is done. They are very clever at inlaying iron with silver. Their treasure chests are almost always bound

with iron inlaid in this manner. The padlocks, which are curious, are also inlaid in this fashion, and they make highly ornamental tobacco-boxes of the same material. They also make very pretty boxes and cabinets inlaid with mother-o'-pearl, but what they are most famed for is their paper, which is said to be made of cotton wool. Some of it is so strong that, in former times, armour made of ten to fifteen layers of it was worn by the soldiers, and is believed to have been capable of resisting a musket ball. They manufacture very good material of cotton and hemp, but Manchester piece-goods are gradually supplanting the native article. Very little silk is manufactured in the country and most of it is now imported from China.

The houses are for the most part built of mud and wood. The framework of the house, which is constructed of rough beams, is first run up; then the roof—generally thatched but occasionally tiled—is put on; and lastly the interstices in the framework are criss-crossed with straw rope and then filled up with a mixture of mud and chopped straw. The houses are invariably of one storey, and are partitioned off into divisions—or *k'angs*—which are always of the same size, viz., 8 Corean feet square. Thus, a Corean who wishes to build a house will order one of so many *k'ang*, just as a Chinaman would contract for one of so many *chien*, and a Japanese for one of so many mats. The floors of the rooms are raised about a foot from the ground, and into the hollow space thus formed the hot air and smoke from the kitchen fire are conducted by means of a flue, while from it run chimneys half way up the sides of the house at which point they open into the air. A very small amount of fuel will suffice to turn the house into a gigantic oven, and in the winter the fire is kept going day and night. The Chinaman warms his bed only, but the Corean warms his whole house and sleeps on a mat on the floor, which is always covered with oiled paper to keep out the smoke. In the better class of houses special fireplaces are used for warming the *k'angs*, but usually the kitchen fire is made to serve the double purpose of heating the house and cooking.

They make very fine matting in Corea and that which they use for beds is nearly 2 inches thick and very soft. For pillows the upper classes use bolsters filled with rice, with ornamental bosses at each end, and the lower classes content themselves with logs of wood or anything else that comes handy. Some of the houses are built of rough stonework, but mud is the usual material employed. The windows are made of oiled paper, as glass is not manufactured in the country. If, however, a Corean can manage to get hold of a piece of glass, no matter how small, he will at once stick it in his window, thus making a

peep-hole. Ordinarily, when he wishes to look through his window, he puts his finger through the paper and pastes up the hole afterwards.

### *Amusements.*

Among other games they play backgammon, dominoes, cards and chess. Their cards are thin strips of oiled paper divided up into four packs. The game they play is similar to whist, and the cards are cut and shuffled as with us. Card playing is forbidden by law and the amusement is confined to the lower classes. The children are fond of see-saw and have a curious game of jumping off spring-boards. They spring high up in the air off them and alight again on the board in a squatting posture.

As a race they are born gamblers and never lose an opportunity of indulging in the practice. Most of their games are played for money, usually with dice. At times they erect enormous swings with poles some 15 feet high, and swing to immense heights in a standing position. The peculiar thing about the games is that each game has a fixed season of the year allotted to it. Thus, they fly kites in the spring, swing in the summer, see-saw in the winter, and so on.

Their most extraordinary form of amusement, however—if indeed it can be called amusement—is stone-fighting. Every spring, leave is granted to the people to fight with stones, and the men (and even boys) proceed to open spaces where there are plenty of stones. There they form sides—usually town *versus* country—and have regular pitched battles. Every year quite large numbers are killed, and the wounded are legion. I have never been able to discover the origin of this curious practice.

Dancing girls are present at all important functions, and the Coreans will sit for hours watching them. These girls, who are called *ki-sang*, wear enormous head-dresses of false hair and are clothed in silk gauze, one colour over another, which produces a pretty shot effect. Their sleeves fall over their hands about half a yard, and are made of different coloured strips of gauze sewn together. Each girl has her name embroidered on her sash. The dancing consists of a series of graceful gestures and poses, the feet being little used, and the long sleeves are waved backwards and forwards in a very effective manner. They are not great singers, and there are no theatres in the country. Their music, of which they are intensely fond, I have already described.

*Miscellaneous.*

The children, with the exception of those of the very poor—boys and girls alike—are taught to read and write Corean. After the age of 8 the girls learn to sew, and how to keep house, in the seclusion of the women's apartments. It is a very curious fact that China and Corea, the two countries where women are most despised, should each be virtually governed by a woman, and that neither of these sovereigns should have attempted to ameliorate the condition of her sex.

If the boy is to become an official, he receives the regular Chinese education, for Chinese is the official language. He learns his Classics, and in due course goes up for examination at the capital of his province. If successful he proceeds to Seoul for further examination, after passing which he takes his degree, and is then considered competent to hold an official position.

The Government is an almost exact copy of that of China, and, as in that country, all Palace business is transacted in the small hours of the morning. When the king is in need of money he adopts the expedient of debasing the coinage, which consists of cash similar to that in use in China. At present the cash appears to be made of a mixture of brass and sand, in lieu of copper. Gold and silver coins are not in use, though the Japanese have made several attempts to introduce a coinage similar to their own. Gold exists in large quantities, but it is a monopoly of the king, and mining is forbidden under heavy penalties. A large amount, however, finds its way out of the country, more especially at Yuensan.

Sedan chairs and ponies are the only means of locomotion, the officials having the exclusive privilege of riding on donkeys. The native ponies are very small—seldom exceeding Shetlands in size—but they are very strong and will carry a heavy man with ease. The larger ponies of China and Japan are also seen. Their carts which are drawn by bulls are of a very rude description, and have but two wheels. The body of the cart resembles a huge ladder more than anything else, and in appearance the whole concern is similar to the French *camion*. There are two shafts between which the first bull is harnessed, and the rest of the team are connected by rope traces to the shafts. As the carts are not covered in any way, they are not adapted for passenger traffic. Farm produce is usually carried on pack-saddles which are very clumsy affairs of wood. The load is first attached to the saddle and then saddle and all is lifted on to the back of the bull or pony. The saddle is not fastened on to the back of the animal, but is maintained in position solely by the weight of the load.

Coreans carry everything on their backs in rough wooden cradles called *chikkies*. The *chikky* is shaped like the letter A with a smaller V-shaped rest joined at right angles to it where the stroke of the A comes. It is from 3 to 5 feet long and is attached to the body by two loops of straw rope, through which the shoulders are passed. When loaded, the coolie bends slightly forward in order to maintain his equilibrium, and when he is tired he simply sits down and withdraws his arms from the loops of the *chikky*, which is so made that it will stand of itself. A strong Corean can carry upwards of 300 lbs. weight in this manner. The majority of the lower classes are engaged in farming or fishing. Their agricultural implements are very crude, and consist of ploughs, hoes, and spades. Bulls are yoked to the ploughs, which are made of wood and only turn up the soil lightly. The spades are made entirely of wood, and are so large and heavy that it takes three men to wield them. Ropes are attached to the handle near the blade, and are held by two men, one on either side of the spade; the third man thrusts the spade into the ground with the assistance of his comrades, who haul at the ropes, and the latter then lift the spadeful which the man at the handle guides to its destination. They use rakes made of bamboo; these are employed for collecting hay and leaves to feed the *kang* fires.

As seamen they are not enterprising and seldom sail out of sight of land. This is perhaps due to their vessels, which are similar in shape to those of the Chinese, being all of small size. Their fishing-nets are made of hemp. It may also be noted that geese are largely used as watch-dogs.

In concluding this imperfect sketch of the customs of the Coreans, I trust I may be allowed to express the hope that they will come well out of their present unfortunate position. The experience they are now undergoing is by no means a novel one to them, for on two previous occasions they have suffered in precisely the same way. Let us hope they will emerge this time unharmed from the struggle, and above all with a new and better form of Government.

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*Notes on the DOLMENS and other ANTIQUITIES of KOREA.* By W. GOWLAND, A.R.S.M., F.C.S., &c., late of the Imperial Japanese Mint.

[WITH PLATE XVI.]

FOR many years during my residence in Japan, I had been interested in the country of Korea, and especially so, as it

seemed likely to be the original home, or at all events the point of departure from the mainland of the Japanese race, to the study of whose early history as derived from prehistoric remains I had devoted a considerable portion of my leisure.

In 1884, I visited Korea and made a journey through the central and southern provinces from Söul to Fusan, partly for geological purposes, and partly to ascertain whether the tumuli, dolmens, and other antiquities were identical with or bore any relation to those of Japan. An enumeration of the chief towns passed through will sufficiently indicate the route which I followed:—Chuk-san, Chhung-ju, Mun-gyöng, Sang-ju, Tai-ku, and Mil-yang.

These notes are a brief *résumé* of some of the observations made on that journey. They are not confined to the remains of a prehistoric age, but deal also with others of more recent times relating to the last Japanese invasion, and the decadence of Buddhism in the country. I have also included some observations on the customs of the present day, which are of importance in showing us something of the superstitious animistic beliefs which prevail among the people.

Another matter, that of the retrogression of the nation in the higher phases of civilization, cannot be passed over in silence by any traveller, and before proceeding to the special subjects of these notes, I will state in the briefest manner what my impressions were respecting it.

During my stay in the capital and on the whole of my route, and especially in the walled cities I passed through, I was everywhere struck with the marked example Korea affords of a country which in literature, art, and population has undergone considerable decadence, if the accounts given in Japanese records and traditions of its condition in early times are to be accepted as being even approximately true. In the walled towns, we find large tracts of waste or cultivated land within the walls, over which are scattered the foundations and remains of buildings, indicating that in former times these towns were much more extensive both in houses and population than at present.

On the other hand so great is the rarity of old works of art either of the sculptor, metal worker or painter and of old literature, that the reputed extent of its civilization and former culture becomes a matter of grave doubt. I saw no metal work, no sculpture, no painting, in any way comparable with the fine examples in Japan which are attributed to Koreans of the early date of the seventh century, and if these works of art preserved there are by Koreans, then the decadence of the nation has been so great since that period as to have but few parallels in history.



The chief antiquities of Korea are as follows :—

Prehistoric—

Dolmens.

Stone Implements.

Sepulchral Pottery.

Later times—

Buddhist remains.

Japanese fortifications.

Native fortifications.

I have not included the colossal rock figures termed "Miriok" in this list as they have been previously described, and none were seen on my route.

### *Dolmens.*

As dolmens are so numerous in Japan it seemed not unreasonable to expect that they would be of frequent occurrence in Korea. I found, however, that only three had been reported on, although others had been seen, and all were situated in the northern half of the peninsula. I saw none on my journey southwards, although I kept a sharp look out for them on all hillsides and eminences, and also on the plains. On my visit to the most important of the three dolmens I was accompanied by my friend Mr. W. G. Aston, then British Consul-General in Korea, who had heard of its existence from the late Mr. H. M. Beecher, a mining engineer then engaged in explorations not far from it. The dolmen is situated on the plain, about 30 miles from Söul on the bank of a small stream, 3 miles beyond the posting village of Tsolmorro, and not far from the entrance of the hamlet of Pha-pal-mak on the main road from Söul to Gensan. It is not more than a hundred yards distant from the road and is visible from it. The ground surrounding it is level and cultivated.

The actual site of the dolmen is an irregularly shaped grassy plot about 1 foot to 18 inches higher than the adjoining field, but there are no existing traces of a mound, and probably from its construction it was never covered by one but was intended to stand as a monument above ground; and in this respect it differs from Japanese dolmens, which without exception are all buried in tumuli. The representation of the dolmen given in Plate XVI, Fig. 1, in plan and elevation, is from sketches and measurements which I made on the spot. The stones composing it are of granite, and had been brought from the neighbouring hills. At first sight it seemed to consist of hewn stones, but a closer examination showed that their flat sides and slab-like form were not due to artificial fashioning but to the geological structure of the granite of the district. The stones bear no traces whatever of tool marks or artificial

dressing, and there are no designs or characters inscribed on any of them.

The chief megalithic feature of the dolmen is its cap-stone, the dimensions of which are—length, 14 ft. 6 in., breadth, 13 ft. 2 in. In thickness it varies from about 9 to 18 inches, the average being rather more than 1 foot. Each of its four sides is formed of a single stone set up perpendicularly. Three of these stones are *in situ* and unbroken. The fourth, which probably formed the south-west side, is imperfect, only its base being in position, but about 10 yards west from the dolmen there is another stone which appears to have been broken off from it.

The chamber is small, measuring but 6 ft. in length, 4 ft. 1 in. in breadth at the north-east end, and 3 ft. 9 in. at the south-west end. Its present height is 2 ft. 9 in. from the floor to the lower side of the cap-stone, and its open end faces the south-west. The stones forming the long sides are only from 8 to 9 in. in thickness, and the end stone only about 6 in. No remains were found in the chamber, not even fragments of pottery. One of the chief peculiarities of this dolmen is the disproportionate size of the cap-stone compared with the side stones and the size of the chamber. In most dolmens wherever found, one of the most marked features is generally the large size of the cap-stone or cap-stones if there are more than one; but I know of no other example in which it so greatly exceeds the size of the chamber and supporting stones as this. One is mentioned by Fergusson<sup>1</sup> in Western India, in which the cap-stone measures 15 ft. 9 in. by 8 ft. 6 in., and the chamber 8 ft. by 6 ft., but the upright stones are there more than 1 ft. in thickness. In other respects dolmens of a somewhat similar form have thus far only been found in Asia in two places far distant from Korea—in Western India as cited above, and in Syria.

The two other Korean dolmens have only been meagrely described by their discoverers, and so imperfect is the description in each case that even diagrammatic representation of them is impossible.

One of these, which was observed by Vice-Consul Carles, is situated not far from the dolmen which I visited. It is described by him as consisting "of a rough flat stone about 7 feet square resting on two small upright stones placed at its north and south ends."<sup>2</sup>

The other was discovered by Mr. Allen of the British Consular Service, who was then travelling with Mr. Carles. It occurs on the north-east of the plain, which extends from near

<sup>1</sup> "Rude Stone Monuments."

<sup>2</sup> "Life in Corea." By W. R. Carles, p. 55.

Chhön-mal to Soraiyol, about 40 to 45 miles from Söul. The account<sup>1</sup> given of it is that it is a dolmen of slabs of lava, the upper stone being of irregular shape and measuring 6 feet to 9 feet long by 6 feet wide, and 15 inches thick, resting on three stones 3 feet high, leaving an opening facing almost due north. The three dolmens are hence similar in structure but differ in the size of the cap-stone. And although in the last two examples the dimensions of the chambers were not determined, it is probable that they do not differ much from those of the chamber of the Tsol-morro dolmen.

Besides these, one or two have been observed in the valley near the main road to Gensan, and are said to resemble those described, but no measurements of any appear to have been taken. Until others of different construction are discovered, I think we may accept these three as typical examples of the form and structure of the dolmens of Korea.

The dolmens of Korea may hence be considered as intermediate in form between a cist and a dolmen. In the size of its chamber it resembles a cist, whilst its large cap-stone gives to it the characteristic feature of a megalithic dolmen. The Korean name of these rude stone monuments is "Koin-dol," which according to Mr. Aston signifies "a stone resting on another" (dol=stone, Koin=rest). So that the native name throws no light on the Korean beliefs respecting their origin or uses. It is stated, however, by Mr. Carles that a legend connects them with the Japanese invasion of the sixteenth century, when the invaders were said to have erected them to suppress the influence of the earth (*ti chi*). But this, on the face of it, is merely a legend of modern times, invented to account for monuments the origin and use of which had been long forgotten, and does not require any refutation. These dolmens are entirely distinct from those of Japan. I have already stated above that there are no free standing dolmens in that country, all are more or less completely covered by mounds. Japanese dolmens too either possess a distinct chamber which is approached by a gallery of greater or less length, and narrower than the chamber itself, or more rarely, they are of the form known as "Allée couverte," in which the space enclosed by the side stones resembles a long gallery of considerable dimensions. There is no example in Japan of any dolmen resembling these Korean forms either in size or construction. Unfortunately we have no internal evidence such as that afforded by pottery or other remains, and no ancient legends attached to them, to assist us in assigning to them even an approximate date. It is hence difficult to say who their builders were. They were

<sup>1</sup> F.O. Report, Corea, No. 3 (1885).

certainly not built by the Japanese either in remote times before their migration from the mainland, or during even the first invasion of Korea in the early centuries of our era. This is clearly demonstrated by ample evidence derived from the ancient tumuli and dolmens of Japan and the remains found in them. This evidence proves conclusively, firstly, that the Japanese even for some time after their settlement in the islands they now occupy were only builders of simple tumuli and not of dolmens, and were in the bronze age of their existence. Secondly, that when in their iron age they became dolmen builders, the dolmens they constructed were entirely different in size and form from those of Korea, and it was during this period that their first invasion of that country took place.

Hence we must conclude that the Japanese did not construct them. They were not dolmen builders when they left the mainland, and in later times when they became dolmen builders, the dolmens they built have no points of resemblance to the Korean forms.

No similar dolmens have been discovered in the countries adjacent to Korea, I hence think we may not unreasonably hold—at all events, until further explorations in Eastern Asia disprove this view—that they were built by an early tribe, ancestors of the present Koreans, and subsequent to the migration of the Japanese.

It is important to record in connection with these rude sepulchral monuments of Korea, that they are not surrounded by circles of standing stones, and the same is true both of the dolmens and the simple tumuli of Japan. Circles of standing stones in fact never occur either in Korea or Japan. Monoliths are found in the latter country, but they are all of later date than the introduction of Buddhism, indeed many centuries later.

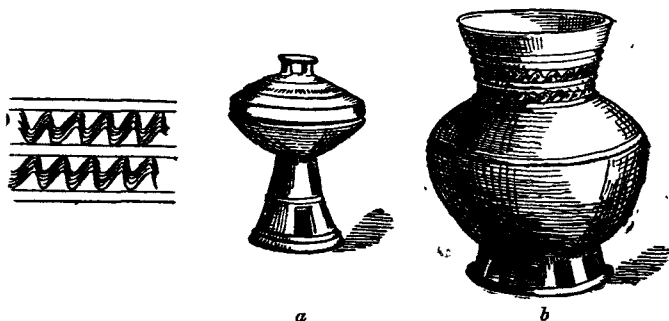
Between Chhōng-do and Un-chhōn (60 miles from Fusan) on a small plain near the base of the craggy slope of a range of hills of basic igneous rock, there are twenty-two large boulders lying in three somewhat regular lines. These lines have a general direction of south-east and north-west, and appear to be about 6 or 7 yards apart, the stones in each line being separated from one another by about the same distance. In the middle line there are seven, and in the outer lines seven and eight respectively. The boulders are all large, one of medium size measuring 12 feet by 9 feet by 5 feet, and are of the same rock as others which are strewn over the slope of the hill. I was unfortunately prevented from taking measurements or making a plan of their arrangement owing to the extreme hostility of the people on

that part of my route, and though I walked round and among them several times I could not decide whether they had been artificially placed in the position they occupy, or whether the regularity of the lines was accidental. None however were set up erect. I mention these so that some future traveller may examine and report on them, as they are the nearest approach to grouped standing stones I have seen in the far East.

*Ancient Sepulchral Vessels.*

These ancient vessels consist of a moderately hard burnt, dark iron grey unglazed pottery, and are without any decoration in colours. They are sometimes plain, sometimes more or less covered with mat marks, and are generally ornamented with simple geometric line patterns, or with a band or bands of waves in several lines made with a comb-like instrument.

The first piece of this ancient pottery I met with was at Söul. It had been brought from Song-do, formerly the capital, where it had been dug out of the ground. It was said that vessels of this pottery were rarely found; those generally unearthed there being of a cream-coloured glazed ware, to which also a great age is ascribed by the Koreans, although it is unquestionably of much later date than the former kind. I saw only two or three other specimens of the dark grey pottery in Söul, but on reaching Fusan I found that it was well known there. A few pieces were brought into the Japanese settlement from time to time by the Koreans, who said that they obtained them from old mounds from which they had been washed out by the rain. They would not, however, divulge the exact locality of the mounds, but all admitted that they were situated near Kim-hai, a walled city to the north-west of Fusan. They also stated that the mounds did not contain stone chambers.



These ancient vessels are of various forms, two of the most typical being a tazza covered or uncovered with a pedestal pierced with quadrilateral holes (Fig. *a*), and a wide-mouthed jar

which also is generally furnished with a pierced pedestal, but is sometimes without one (Fig. *b*). Both of these forms occur of many sizes, the former ranging in height from 4 inches to 12 inches, and the latter from 6 inches to 12 inches.

In their outline and design they also present many variations in addition to these two types. One specimen I obtained is in the form of a bird bearing very archaic markings, but this is the only representation of animal form known to me.

In form, inscribed designs, marks of matting, and the material of which they are made, many are allied to the sepulchral vessels of the dolmens of Japan, but they are not identical—with the exception of a form to be mentioned subsequently—and the Korean vessel is distinguished without difficulty from the Japanese. The perforations, too, which form an important feature in the decoration of their pedestals are entirely different in form and arrangement from those found in similar positions in the dolmen pottery of Japan.

There are also many forms of vessels found in Japanese dolmens which do not occur in Korean tumuli, and similarly several Korean forms are not represented in Japan. This pottery and also the Japanese is well represented by specimens in the British Museum (Gowland collection). Another point in connection with it is worthy of note. All ancient Japanese sepulchral vessels, whenever they are not of small size, are marked in the interior with numerous concentric circles, confusedly overlapping, which have been stamped in the clay whilst the vessel was being "thrown" on the potter's wheel. These are called by the Japanese "*chōsen-guruma*," or "Korean wheel," because it is supposed that the mode of manufacture in which these markings are produced was introduced into Japan from Korea during the dolmen period. Yet such markings never occur on any ancient Korean pottery, but are almost always found on many kinds of large earthenware pots, chimney pipes, &c., of the present day. It would hence seem that as these stamp marks are never found in ancient Korean pottery, some of which at least must have been contemporaneous with the ancient Japanese, which always bears them, that the mode of manufacture in which this stamping is employed was followed in Japan many centuries before it was adopted in Korea, and that its attribution by the Japanese to a Korean origin is erroneous, and has probably been due to the assumption by them that the Koreans always manufactured this pottery by the same methods which they practise now. Other kinds of pottery were indeed first made in Japan by Koreans, but only during recent centuries.

An approximate determination of the date of the ancient Korean pottery is, I think, possible, owing to the occurrence in Southern Korea and in Northern Kyushu (Japan) localities not far remote from each other, of a form of vessel which is common to both. This vessel is a kind of beaker or large cup furnished with a handle, and those which have been taken from the Kyushu dolmens are identical with those washed out with other forms of sepulchral pottery from the tumuli of Kim-hai. It is hence extremely probable that they were contemporaneous. Now the dolmens of Kyushu are not of later date than about the seventh century A.D., and probably not earlier than the second, and I would on the above grounds assign the same age to this ancient Korean pottery.

Of course in these notes only the chief characters of the pottery are dealt with, as the subject is a very wide one, and will need a special paper for its adequate treatment.

### *Stone Implements.*

I made careful inquiries for stone implements everywhere, but did not hear of a single specimen having been found in the districts I passed through.

Yet it by no means follows that none exist, as the Koreans are not in the habit of making collections of ancient things, so that workers in the fields have had no inducement to seek for them.

However on reaching Fusan I found that Mr. Jouy, a collector of the Smithsonian Institute residing there, had succeeded in obtaining a few. One of these, a small stone celt with a partially polished edge, had been picked up in the street of the settlement. His other and more important specimens were two daggers and several arrowheads of highly finished workmanship. These daggers are about 8 inches long with the hilt and blade in one piece, and each so closely resembles a bronze dagger in form that it is extremely probable they are copies of metal weapons and not true stone age implements. Their blades are two edged and both daggers are very similar in shape to the bronze hafted weapon illustrated in "The Bronze Implements of Great Britain," by Sir John Evans, Fig. 293, p. 235, although they are much smaller and more delicately made than it. The stone of which they are made appears to be agalmatolite, and the softness of this material as well as the thinness of the blades indicates that they could not have been intended for use as weapons. Possibly they are models of the bronze daggers used during life by the occupant of the tumulus, and which were of too great value to be interred with him at death. They as

well as the arrowheads were obtained by a Korean from one of the groups of tumuli near Kim-hai.

One of the arrowheads which Mr. Jouy kindly gave me (now in the British Museum) is shown in Plate XVI, Fig. 2. Its dimensions are: length 4 in., breadth  $\frac{9}{16}$  in., thickness  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. The others are all similar to it. No allied form of arrowhead either of stone, bronze or iron occurs in Japan. Like the daggers they are perfect examples of polished stone work, and as they are of the same soft agalmatolite, may like them be merely models of a metallic form. Unfortunately no pottery was found with these implements, but as they were taken from the same group of mounds near Kim-hai in which the ancient pottery occurs, they probably belong to the same period.

### *Buddhist Remains.*

Foundations, scattered tiles, and other remains of temples, mutilated or neglected images, which are of frequent occurrence, testify to the former importance and extent of the religion of Buddha in the country. Besides these, there also occur on the plains curious pagodas of stone which seem to have been left untouched or but little defaced even when the buildings and figures surrounding them, and the temples to which they were attached have been completely destroyed. They are, however, quite neglected and uncared for, and no offerings of flowers or incense are ever seen in front of them. One of the most important of these, on account of the fine sculptures in relief and other carvings with which it is decorated, is situated in a foul court at the back of some hovels in the city of Söul. It is constructed of white marble in thirteen stories, and although much mutilated is still an exquisite monument, unsurpassed by any stone structure either in Korea or Japan. A portion of its uppermost storey has been broken off, but even when complete it cannot have much exceeded 25 ft. in height. The subjects represented by the reliefs are founded on Buddhist traditions and Chinese legends, one of the most notable being the Buddhist Trinity—S'akyamuni with the Bôdhisattvas Mandjus'ri, and Samantabhadra. This Trinity similarly represented is also seen on some of the "mandara" or "pictures of groups of divinities" in the temples at Pumasa and other places. From this it would appear that the form of Buddhism which prevailed in Korea was a branch of the "Ten-dai-shu" which was introduced into Japan from China. This pagoda is said to have been brought from China about six centuries ago, and to have been erected in the court of a Buddhist monastery which stood here before Söul became the capital.

The pagodas which I saw in the interior, although of similar



general form, differ from this in being entirely without decoration or inscriptions. They are very simple structures consisting merely of rectangular blocks of granite with perpendicular sides, placed upon one another in such a way that each forms a storey. Each block is smaller than the one upon which it rests, so that the structure has a tapering pagoda-like form.

Some of the larger are of slabs of stone, but in other respects are exactly similar to those built of blocks.

The largest I saw is at Chuksan; it consists of granite slabs, and is in six stories. Its height is 20 feet, and the base of its lowest tier measures 8 feet by 8 feet.

Several mutilated figures of warriors wearing chain mail are lying round its base. Two other pagodas of smaller size were also seen in the fields on the same side of the town, and the ground near them for several acres is strewn with broken tiles, and here and there with fragments of Buddhist figures. A large rudely sculptured stone Buddha 16 feet high stands near one of the pagodas. These are the most extensive Buddhist ruins which I met with, and evidently in old days Chuksan was an important centre of the religion.

At Eum-sang, about 23 miles further south, there is another pagoda about 12 feet in height, and differing in structure from that just described in being built of solid blocks of granite. The block forming its base measures 3 feet 4 inches by 3 feet 4 inches. In addition to these I met with four others of similar size and form to the last at other places. With the exception of these pagodas there were no Buddhist edifices of any kind seen on the plains. They are probably not many centuries old and are not copies of the larger pagodas of China and Japan. It is curious that they should have escaped destruction when all the other Buddhist structures surrounding them were demolished, and I am inclined to think that their preservation is due to the Korean superstitious beliefs—allied to the Fung-shui of the Chinese—in the efficacy of such structures in repressing the evil influences of the earth and securing the protection of heaven.

But although Buddhism has been apparently almost stamped out on the plains, yet, on the mountains a few temples which had not been destroyed were occasionally met with. The chief of these are at Pushin on the south side of the Mun-gyöng pass, and at Pumasa near Tong-nai still further south, the groups at the latter place being in a better state of preservation than the others. Most are, however, falling into ruins as their priests are unable to keep them in repair, being usually in a state of great poverty owing to the very scanty contributions of the few pilgrims who visit them.

At Pushin there are three temples and some monastic buildings

high up on the mountain, and approached by a steep zig-zag road. Eleven priests were in residence, all with shaven heads and wearing loose yellow surplice-like garments. The highest temple is 1,270 feet, and the two lower 950 feet above the village, and they doubtless owe their preservation to their elevated position.

The arrangements of the interior are similar in all the temples. On the altars are placed two candlesticks, an incense burner, a vessel for water, and a covered bowl, all of brass. Behind the altar there is a small gilt figure of S'akyamuni. Behind this, hanging on the wall, a coloured altar piece representing S'akyamuni with several attendants, male and female, the latter being decidedly of Indian type, and closely resembling a similar group depicted on a mandara at Tayemadera in Yamato, Japan. The nimbus round the head of each figure is coloured green, and not gilt as in Japan. The Buddhist Trinity previously alluded to is also represented on other pictures.

The group of temples at the monastery of Pumasa (7 miles from Tong-nai, and about 15 miles from Fusan) is much more extensive and important than that of Pushin. The temples are situated on a range of granite hills at a height of about 880 feet above sea level, with fine pine forests and charming mountain scenery around them. They are larger, better preserved, and more elaborately decorated than those just described, but in the arrangements of the altar, and the artistic treatment of the subjects of the mandara, they are very similar. Thus we have the same altar utensils, the altar pieces represent the same divinities with green nimbi, and attendants of Indian type. But, in addition to these, I saw here figures of Dharma and Kwanyin, but they were not provided with altars.

Three hundred priests are said to have occupied the monastic buildings before the edicts against Buddhism were put into force, and at the time of my visit I was informed that there were still about one hundred in residence, but I did not see more than forty.

Pilgrims visit the temples chiefly on the 15th and 30th of each month, and they are not exclusively of the poorer classes, government officials, and even the governor of the province himself making frequent pilgrimages, chiefly of a picnic character, in which a minimum of religion is combined with a maximum of pleasure. The temples are consequently in a much more flourishing condition than any others I had seen.

#### *Japanese Remains.*

Ruins of Japanese fortifications in commanding positions were seen at several places, the most important being the remains of a castle on the summit of a hill behind Chuksan. Its walls

with their projecting towers are much broken down, but their structure, and the lines followed by them in their circuit round the crest of the hill are distinctly Japanese, and indicate that it had been built after the plan of the type of castle first adopted in Japan in the time of Hideyoshi.

It cannot hence be older than that date, and was probably erected during the last Japanese invasion in the sixteenth century.

#### *Old Korean Fortifications.*

Korean fortifications, consisting of simple walls with occasional towers, run across the valleys and along the crests of the hills at many points on the southern road, and towers for beacon fires are frequently seen on prominent peaks, but only one ancient fort, undoubtedly of Korean construction, and probably of great age, was observed. This is situated at Pushin, in the narrow valley which forms the approach to the Mun-gyöng pass from the south-east side, and commands the main road from the south to the capital. It is built in the form of a rectangle, its walls enclosing a space measuring 56 paces in length, and 38 paces wide. The walls are of remarkable strength although no mortar has been used in their construction. They are 11 feet 6 inches high, 8 feet 6 inches wide at the base, tapering on the inside by well made steps to a width of 6 feet 5 inches at the top.

The top is protected by a parapet, without loopholes, varying in height from 2 feet to 2 feet 6 inches. There are two gates, one opening on to the road, and the other down the pass. Nothing was known either at Pushin or at Mun-gyöng about its age or the date when it was last used.

#### *Spirit Worship.*

Evidences of the survival of an ancient pagan cult are seen in the piles of stones on which are strewn strips of white paper and calico, which occur everywhere in the interior. A belief that the spirits of trees, mountains, and of the earth and air must be revered or propitiated seems to be universal, and to that end these piles of stones are erected at the bottom of trees, on the summits of passes, and even by the wayside. No food or flowers are placed on them, these strips of paper and rags being deemed a sufficient offering even for the specially dreaded mountain gods. They are generally of irregular shape, as the stones are thrown on at random, but occasionally they are carefully built up with three perpendicular sides in front, the back alone being left untouched.

The latter examples have usually a small shed with a lean-to straw roof erected on them, in which the strips of paper are

hung. Sometimes these sheds contain a rounded boulder, or two boulders one placed on the other. When the pile of stones is placed at the bottom of a tree the strips are usually suspended from its trunk. On the tops of passes they are frequently of considerable size, often 20 feet or more in diameter, as almost every traveller carries up at least one stone from the valley and deposits it on them.

My coolies occasionally added a few stones to the heaps of more than usual importance even by the wayside, bowing before them and expectorating on them.

The offerings of white paper and rags bear a strong resemblance to the "Go-hei" of Shintoism in Japan, and like it they too are associated not only with these lower animistic superstitions but also with ancestral worship. Thus we find them frequently suspended in front of ancestral shrines and temples. But a still closer resemblance to an emblem of Shintoism is seen in the straw rope with paper strips and double pendants of straw suspended from it, which is often found stretched across the roads leading to some of the mountain passes. These ropes are in fact identical with the "shime-nawa" of Shintoism, the sacred cord which has the power of warding off the influences of the spirits which are adverse to man, and is sometimes regarded as marking the actual presence of a god.

Their offerings are, however, occasionally of a much more substantial character than shreds of rags or strips of paper.

On reaching the village of Brambe at the foot of the Mun-gyōng pass leading over the mountain range which forms the watershed, the Koreans of my party requested that a pig, a present from the Governor Chhung-ju, should be sacrificed to the spirit of the pass, so that we might be protected from attacks by tigers whilst passing over it. I readily consented, as I wished to ascertain how the sacrifice would be made and by what observances it would be accompanied.

The pig was slain and about a pint of its blood was at once brought to me to drink or taste; on my refusal to do so, it was taken to the coolies, who each drank a small quantity. The carcass of the pig was then dressed as if for food and carried on one of the horses up the pass. On passing through a gateway of an old fortification which runs across the top of the pass (2,300 feet above the sea level) the temple of the god with a group of smaller shrines was reached. Near it a man in the garb of a peasant was cutting wood; this was the resident priest. On learning that we wished to make an offering at the shrine he doffed a rough surplice of brown hempen cloth, and bringing a large metal salver from the shrine placed the carcass of the pig upon it, and inserted a knife in its throat. Then arranging

us in Indian file in the order of our rank, he took up the salver and led the way to the shrine, upon the altar of which he placed it with much ceremonial bowing. Some wine was then poured by him into a small cup and placed by the side of the offering. After again arranging us in a line, this time facing the altar, he produced a packet of slips of paper (measuring 12 in. by 3 in. each), and having written the names of the members of the party, each on a separate slip, he again took up his position before the altar, and muttering a short invocation, lighted a fire in a small brazier. With this he ignited one of the slips of paper, holding it by one corner and intoning a prayer until it was almost entirely consumed; he then let it go, when it ascended to the roof of the shrine. This he repeated until all had been burnt. The ascent of the unconsumed portions of the papers was pronounced by the priest to be a good omen.

The cup of what was supposed to be wine but which resembled vinegar, was then brought from the altar and presented to each of us to sip. Another intoned invocation followed, the carcass of the pig was handed to the coolies, the priest received his fee, 500 cash (about two shillings), and the ceremony was over.

The arrangements of the shrine were similar to those of an ancestral temple, but behind the altar there was hung a rudely executed painting, in barbaric colouring, of the deity of the mountain personified as a man of fierce aspect in ancient Chinese costume. My interpreter also worshipped at a small adjacent shrine, the god of which was represented by a picture, in the same style of art, of a warrior carrying off a tiger under one arm. Wine only was offered here, and the ceremony was a very simple one, the interpreter merely bowing three times and pouring a libation of wine on the ground in front of the altar. I should not omit to say, that on reaching our halting place at the opposite side of the pass, the carcass of the pig was cooked and a grand feast held by the Koreans of my party. Unfortunately my Korean interpreter, whom I had engaged on account of his knowledge of Japanese, was only imperfectly acquainted with that language, so that I was unable to obtain translations of the prayers and invocations, but I afterwards discovered on severely cross-examining him that he understood as little of their meaning as I did myself.

The preceding notes are, as I have already said, but a brief *résumé* of the observations made on my journey, and I hope at a future time to be permitted to communicate to the Institute, a more exhaustive report on some of the antiquities and especially on the forms, designs and uses of the ancient sepulchral pottery.

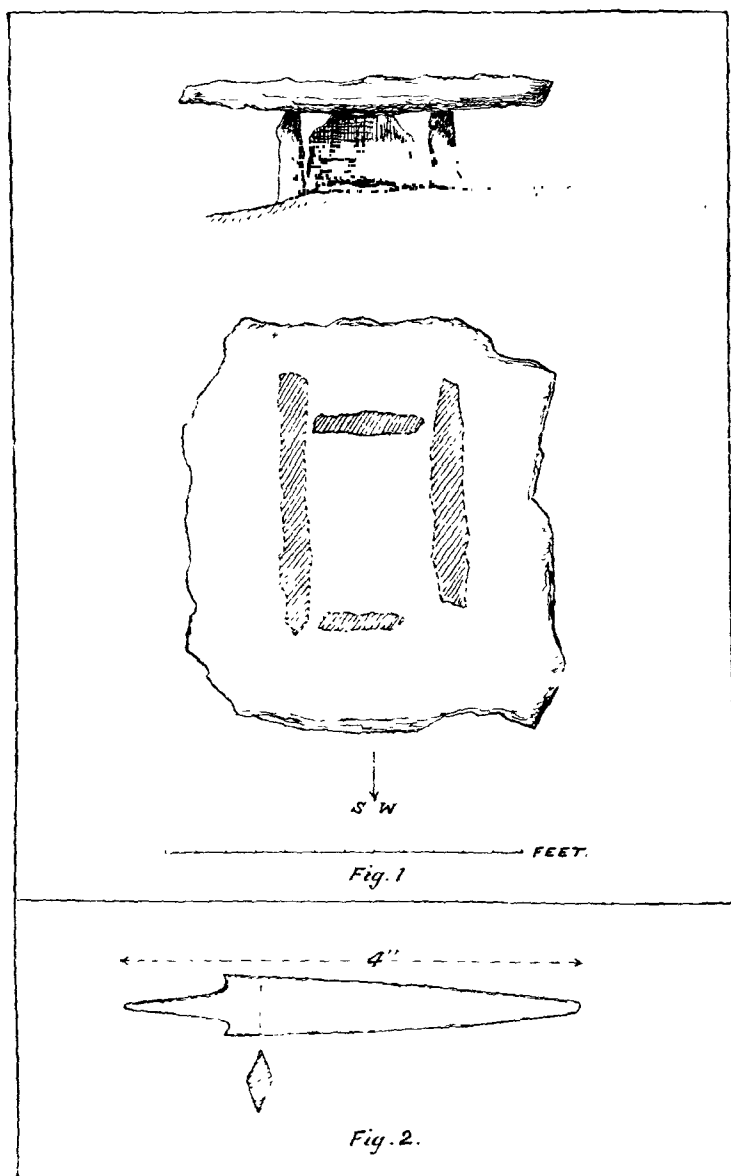


Fig. 1. Dolmen at Tsol morro, Korea (elevation and plan).  
 Fig. 2. Stone arrow-head from the neighbourhood of Kim-hai, Korea.



## ANTHROPOLOGICAL MISCELLANEA AND NEW BOOKS.

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**"The Buddhism of Thibet or Lāmaism."** By L. A. Waddell, M.B., Surgeon-Major, Bengal Army (Allen & Co.), 1895. 8vo. pp. 598. The author states that "some reference seems needed to my special facilities for undertaking this task. In addition to my having studied 'Southern Buddhism' in Burma and Ceylon, and 'Northern Buddhism' in Sikhim, Bhotan, and Japan, and exploring Indian Buddhism in its remains in 'the Buddhist Holy Land,' and the ethnology of Thibet and its border tribes in Sikhim, Assam, and Upper Burmah, and being one of the few Europeans who have entered the territory of the Grand Lāma, I have spent several years in studying the actualities of Lāmaism as explained by its priests, at points much nearer Lhāsa than any utilised for such a purpose, and when I could feel the pulse of the sacred city itself beating in the large communities of its natives, many of whom had left Lhāsa only ten or twelve days previously. On commencing my inquiry, I found it necessary to learn the language, which is particularly difficult, and known to very few Europeans, and afterwards, realizing the rigid secrecy maintained by the Lāmas in regard to their seemingly chaotic rites and symbolism, I felt compelled to purchase a Lāmaist temple with its fittings, and prevailed on the officiating priests to explain to me in full detail the symbolism and rites as they proceeded. Perceiving how much I was interested, the Lāmas were so obliging as to interpret in my favour a prophetic account which exists in their Scriptures regarding a Buddhist incarnation in the west. They convinced themselves that I was a reflex of the Western Buddha, Amitabha, and thus they overcame their conscientious scruples, and imparted information freely. . . . The special characteristics of the book are its detailed accounts of the external facts and curious symbolism of Buddhism, and its analyses of the internal movements leading to Lāmaism and its sects and cults."

The subject is divided into heads under History, Doctrine, Monasteries, Buildings, Mythology, and Gods, Ritual and Sorcery, Festivals and Plays, Popular Lāmaism. The work is profusely illustrated.

**"Medical History from the earliest times."** By E. T. Withington, M.A., M.B. (Scientific Press), 1894. pp. 424. The volume deals with medicine in prehistoric times, as practised by uncivilised man in ancient Egypt; Hindu, Chaldean, and Greeks; Hippocrates, the schools of Cos and Cnidus; the Alexandrine Anatomists; Roman Medicine; Celsus and ancient surgery;



Byzantine and Arabic medicine; the school of Salerno; the revival of learning; Paracelsus; Hawey; Van Helmont, &c., &c. Each chapter contains full notes as to authors quoted.

**"The Legend of Perseus."** Vol. i. By E. S. Hartland. Grim Library (D. Nutt), 1894. 8vo. pp. 228. The author "attempts an examination of the myth upon scientific principles. The first three chapters of the present volume are devoted to an account of the story as given by the poets and historians of antiquity and in modern folk-lore." A very full list of authorities is given.

**"The Migration of Symbols."** By Count Goblet d'Alviella, (Constable). 1894. 8vo. pp. 278. The work deals with (1) symbols common to different races. (2) The gaunadion or Swastika. (3) The causes and alteration in the meaning and form of symbols. (4) Symbolism and mythology of the tree. (5) The transmutation of symbols. (6) The winged globe, the Caduceus, and the Trisula. The work is profusely illustrated.

**"Climbing and Exploration in the Karakoram Himalayas."** By W. M. Conway. (Fisher Unwin), 1894. 8vo. pp. 127. The work contains the scientific results of Mr. Conway's expedition, the various sections being prepared by experts. Two Nagyr skulls are described by Mr. W. L. H. Duckworth.

**"Race and Language."** By André Lefèvre. (Kegan Paul), 1894. 8vo. pp. 424. The titles of the chapters are:—Embryology of language, formation of words, and the structure of languages; the spread of inflected languages, the agglutinative idioms of Central Asia, the agglutinative idioms of Southern Asia, the Malayo-Polynesian languages, African races and languages, Polysynthetic languages, the Semitic world, the Indo-Europeans; Indo-European roots, parts of speech—the noun, the Indo-European verb, the compounds—the indeclinable words, Indo-European phonetics—the continuous letters, Indo-European phonetics—the explosives, two analytical languages. The volume forms part of the International Scientific Series.

**"Journal of the Royal Statistical Society."** September, 1894. Statistics of Litigation in England and Wales, since 1859, by John Macdonnell. A comparison of the growth of Wealth in France and England, also of their economic conditions, specially with reference to their Agricultural Systems, and their position in case of War, by W. J. Harris.

**"The American Anthropologist."** Vol. vii. No. 3. The Book of the Dead and Rain Ceremonials, by Ellen Russell Emerson. A study of certain figures in a Maya Codex, by J. W. Fewkes. Migration and the food quest: a study in the peopling of America, by O. T. Mason. The Papago of Arizona and Sonora, by D. D. Gaillard. Distillation by early American Indians, by J. G.

Bourke. *The Chinook Jargon*, by M. Eells. *The Correlation of Anatomical or Physiological Measurements*, by Franz Boas.

**"The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay."** Vol. iii. Nos. 4, 5. (No. 4.) On some rude Stone Implements from Back Bay, Middle Colaba, Bombay, by F. Swynnerton. On Aghoris and Aghorapanthis, by H. W. Barrow. (No. 5.) On some Superstitions regarding drowning and drowning persons, by Sarat Chandra Mitra. On the ceremonies performed by the Kabirpanthi Mahauts of the Saran Districts, on their initiation as Chelas and on their succession to the Mahautship, by Sarat Chandra Mitra. Further notes on the Chowk Chândâ, and the Panchamî Vrata, by Sarat Chandra Mitra. On the Rite of Human Sacrifice in Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern India and other countries, by Purushottam Balkrishna Joshi.

**"Timehri, the Journal of the Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society of British Guiana."** New series, Vol. viii, part I. Reflections on the increase of town Populations, by C. E. Macnamara. The Life History of an Indian, by James Rodway.

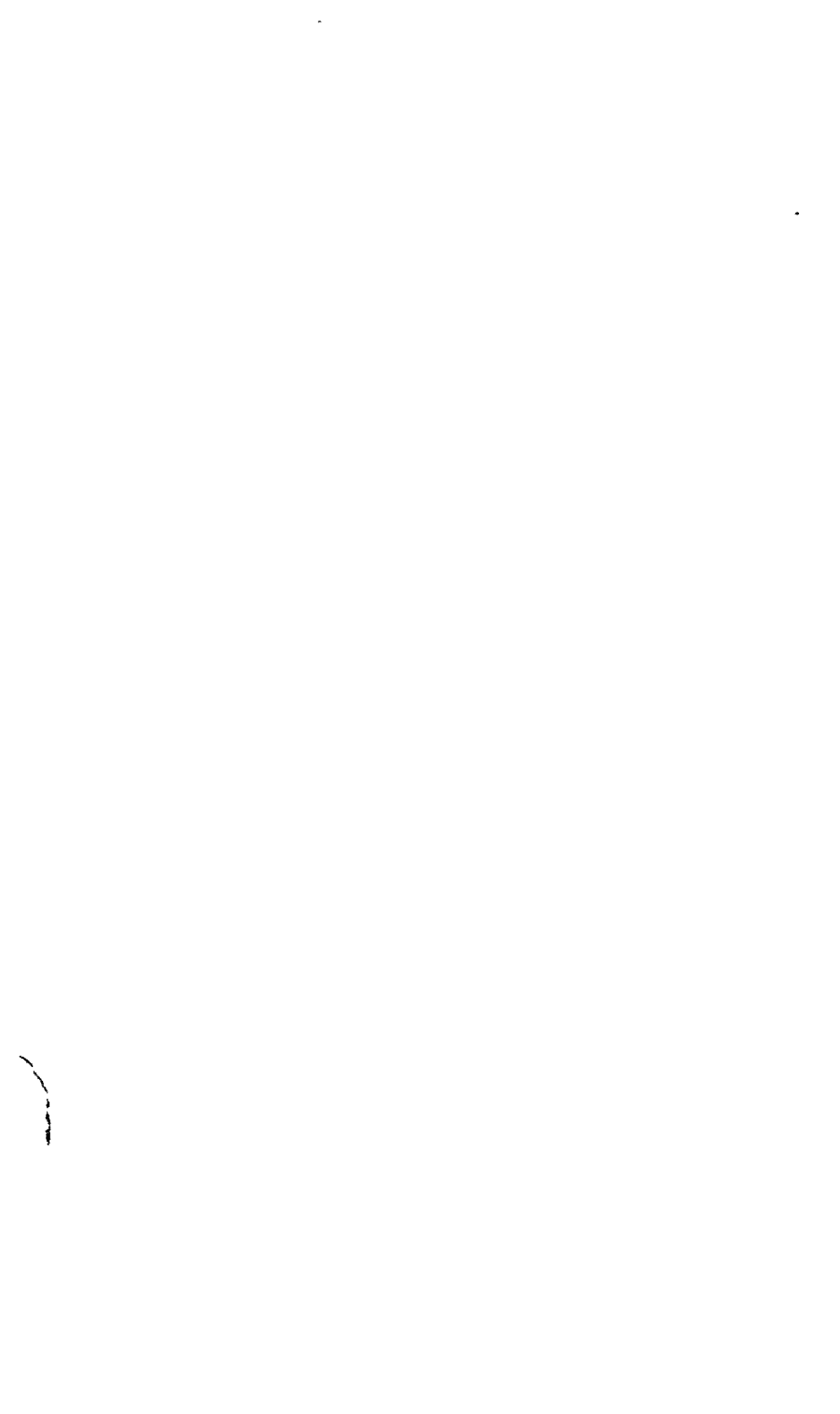
**"The Scottish Geographical Magazine."** Vol. x. No. 12. A review of Swedish Hydrographic Research in the Baltic and the North Seas (conclusion), by O. Pettersson. Bhutan and the Himalayas east of Darjeeling. The Island of Saghalin.

**"The Journal of Mental Science."** Vol. xl. No. clxxi. Presidential Address, by Conolly Norman. Insanity of Persecution, by René Semelaigne. On the alleged increase of Insanity in Ireland, by T. Drapes. Increase of Insanity in Ireland, by D. H. Tuke. On Brain pressure and trephining, by T. C. Shaw. On Cerebral pressure, by J. Macpherson. Trephining in Meningitis, by J. Keay. Hints towards the prevention of Mental Disorders, by Dr. Curwen. On moral Insanity and its relation to Criminology, by Prof. Benedikt. The need of special accommodation for the Degenerate, by J. Morel. The necessity for Legislation *re* Suicide, by S. A. K. Strahan. Criminal responsibility of the Insane, by O. Woods. The Insane in Workhouses, by M. J. Nolan. Lunacy Legislation for Ireland, by J. Eustace. Two cases of Insanity with Goitre treated with Thyroid Extract, by T. S. McClaghry. The morbid changes in the Cerebro-Spinal Nervous System of the aged Insane, by Conolly Norman. On a typical Microscopic Lesion found in the Brain in Insanity, by T. S. Clouston, J. Middlemass, and W. F. Robertson. On the normal constituents of a Convolution, and the effects of stimulation and fatigue on Nerve Cells, by J. B. Tuke, Sen. On some of the newer aspects of the Pathology of Insanity, by W. L. Andriezen.

**"Revue Mensuelle de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie de Paris."** Ann. iv. Nos. ix-xii. (No. ix). Sculptured figures on the

**Megalithic Monuments of France**, by A. de Mortillet. (No. x.) **Heredity: mechanism, theories**, by A. Bordier. **Paleo-ethnological Chronicle**, by G. de Mortillet. (No. xi.) **Human characters of Eocene Primates**, by P. G. Mahoudeau. **Slavery in the Animal Kingdom**, by Ch. Letourneau. (No. xii.) **Paleo-ethnology of Bosnia-Hercegovina**, by G. de Mortillet. **Neolithic Brachycephalics**, by Georges Hervé,

**"L'Anthropologie."** Tome v. No. 5. **On the history of the Cephalic Index in the British Isles**, by John Beddoe. **Note on the prehistoric stations of Gafsa (Tunis)**, by Dr. Couillault. **Ethnical Iconography. Imitators of Alex. Brunias: John Milton, Pierre Fréret, M. L. A. Boizot (1788-1794)**, by E. T. Hamy. **The Congress of Sarajevo**, by S. Reinach. **Note on a Dahomey figure representing an enceinte woman**, by M. Delafosse.

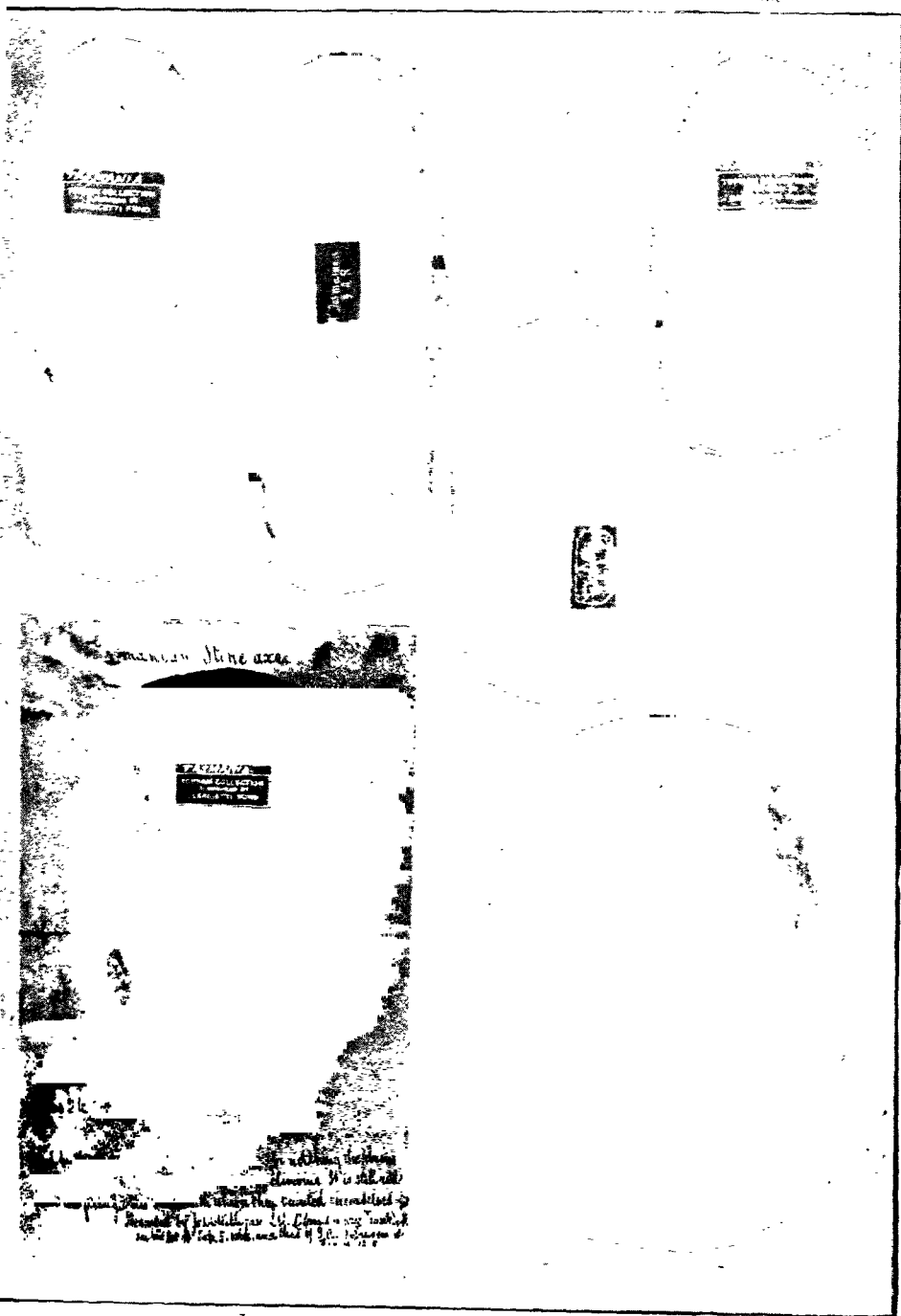


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THE JOURNAL  
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DECEMBER 11<sup>TH</sup>, 1894.

C. H. READ, Esq., *Vice-President, in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and signed.

The presents which had been received were announced and thanks voted to their respective donors.

The following papers were read:—

“On some Stone Implements of Australian Type from Tasmania.” By Dr. E. B. TYLOR, F.R.S.

“The Kalou-Vu (Ancestor-Gods) of the Fijians.” By BASIL H. THOMSON, Esq.

“The Classificatory System of Relationship, Australia.” By Rev. LORIMER FISON, M.A.

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*On the OCCURRENCE of GROUND STONE IMPLEMENTS of AUSTRALIAN TYPE in TASMANIA.* By EDWARD B. TYLOR, F.R.S.

[PLATE XVII.—1, 1a; 2, 2a; 3, 3a, represent respectively the obverse and reverse of the same stone.]

ON March 21st, 1893, I read a paper at this Institute “On the Tasmanians as Representatives of Palæolithic Man,” printed in the Journal, vol. xxiii, 1894, p. 141. In this paper, at the reading of which numerous specimens were exhibited, types of which are figured as illustrations, I showed that these agreed with the general evidence derived from eye-witnesses of the manu-

facture and use of stone implements by the natives of Tasmania. Among them is figured (Plate X, 1 *a, b, c*) the earliest implement known to have been brought over, which was given by Mr. Thomas Dawson to, the Somerset Archæological Society, in whose Museum at Taunton it may be seen. It was the sight of this which led me in 1862 to seek out Dr. Thomas Milligan, Commissioner for Tasmania at the International Exhibition of that year, acknowledged as the best authority as to the Tasmanian natives, of the survivors of whom he was official Protector. I take this opportunity of quoting the precise words set down at the time in my note-book: "Tasmanian.

Go quite naked, women carry quoit-like stones chipped round edge, two-thirds round, notched for climbing trees, women would carry good ones." I may be allowed to quote also the remark which I made in 1865 as to the Tasmanian stone implements serving to break down any imaginary line of severance between palæolithic man and the rest of the human species: "The Tasmanians sometimes used for cutting or notching wood a very rude instrument. Eye-witnesses describe how they would pick up a suitable flat stone, knock off chips from one side, partly or all round the edge, and use it without more ado; and there is a specimen corresponding exactly to this description in the Taunton Museum. An implement found in the Drift near Clermont would seem to be much like this."<sup>1</sup> This is repeated here because, by the kind help of Mr. Franks and Mr. Read, I have now been enabled to select and exhibit to the Institute, from among the flint implements and flakes from the cave of Le Moustier in Dordogne, specimens corresponding in make with such curious exactness to those of the Tasmanian natives, that were it not for the different stone they are chipped from, it would be hardly possible to distinguish those of the recent savages from those of the European cave-men. This does not apply merely to rough flakes, but to such finished instruments of marked type as that in vol. xxiii, Plate X, 4, 5. It is not surprising that experienced archæologists should have been inclined at first to consider a large proportion of the Tasmanian stone implements exhibited by me as wasters and flakes or chips struck off in shaping implements. Certainly if found in a working-place of men in a higher level of the Stone Age, some might be set down as such without hesitation. But the Tasmanians are described as using and then throwing away such rudely chipped stones, so that it is not easy to draw the line between them and more perfect implements; indeed, we cannot be sure that any chipped or flaked stone that would cut was not used for cutting.

<sup>1</sup> Tylor, "Early History of Mankind," p. 195.

In my former paper here referred to, the evidence as to the native manner of making and using implements of the usual Tasmanian types is given in sufficient detail. It is recorded by eye-witnesses and confirmed by the examination of the implements themselves, that the ordinary mode of implement making was to take flakes struck from the block, or even suitable flat stones, to trim and edge them by striking off chips on one surface only, and to use them grasped in the hand, not fixed in any kind of handle. This state of things is conclusively affirmed by the Royal Society of Tasmania in 1873, after a careful examination based on the best collection of implements obtainable, and the evidence of residents in the colony well acquainted with native habits. "All inquiries on the subject of the stone implements of the Tasmanian Aborigines tend to prove that no true tomahawks were known to or fabricated by them. They merely used sharp-edged stones as knives. These were made sharp, not by grinding or polishing, but by striking off flakes by another stone till the required edge was obtained. As a very general, if not invariable rule, one surface only was chipped in the process of sharpening."<sup>1</sup>

This conclusion, though for the most part true, passes unnoticed certain statements which I have now particularly in view, and proceed to set down the substance of. In the course of the examination by the Royal Society of Tasmania, Dr. Agnew, the Hon. Secretary, records that on one point the evidence was conflicting. By some he had been told that in addition to the stone implements of which the (Hobart Town) Museum has several specimens, the natives made use of others after the manner of axes, that is, they fastened to them handles in the shape of withes, bound round with the tendons of some animal. Other observers think the Tasmanian Aborigines did not originally use these handles, but learned how to attach them, from some New South Wales Aborigines who came to their country in the early days of its settlement. Queries were circulated in Tasmania as to this point on the suggestion of Mr. Brough Smyth, and an answer obtained from Mr. James Rollings, which is only mentioned by Dr. Agnew, but is printed in a note in Mr. Brough Smyth's work,<sup>2</sup> is of particular interest. Mr. Rollings writes that in his youth he was constantly in the habit of seeing the Aborigines of Tasmania, and mixing with them occasionally, and that he had many opportunities of seeing how they used their stone knives and tomahawks. After describing their mode of

<sup>1</sup> "Monthly Notices of Papers and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Tasmania," 1873. Hobart Town, 1874. The word tomahawk is sometimes used in the colony for a stone celt, irrespective of handle.

<sup>2</sup> R. Brough Smyth, "Aborigines of Victoria," vol. ii, p. 403.



cutting, he continues : " A larger stone, well selected, about four or five pounds in weight, was used for a tomahawk, a handle being fastened to it in the same way as a blacksmith fastens a rod to chisels, &c., for cutting or punching iron, being afterwards well secured by the sinews of some animal. The handles were strong saplings of wattle or curryjong." On this Mr. Brough Smyth remarks that Mr. Rollings no doubt may have seen the natives using tomahawks similar to those of the Australians ; but it was certain that they were introduced after the island was peopled by the whites. They were probably obtained from the Port Phillip natives. If anything like the stone tomahawk of the Australians had been used in Tasmania prior to the colonization of the island, numerous specimens would have been found. As far as can be ascertained, not one has been discovered anywhere. Dr. Agnew states as the result of this discussion by the Society that the general belief of the Fellows present was that the stone axe with the handle attached was never used by the Tasmanian natives until taught by those from the neighbouring continent.

Among the letters received by Dr. Agnew in reply to questions, was one from Mr. Robert Thirkell, who came to Tasmania as early as 1820 and was on most friendly terms with the natives. This informant directly states that he knew them to grind their implements : " Their mode of climbing trees was to get a grass band twisted, put it round the tree and hold the two ends in one hand, and then with a sharp flint stone they would chip the bark downwards and make a notch for the big toe, then change hands and do the same on the other side. They had no handle to the stone, merely an indent for the thumb, and the edge ground as sharp as they could against another stone."

I have now to call attention to the specimens here exhibited. After a long quest, made to ascertain whether specimens could be found to justify the statements that stone axes ground and handled were known to some Aborigines, and if so what was their make, I found a paper " On the Osteology and Peculiarities of the Tasmanians" by the eminent anthropologist Dr. J. Barnard Davis.<sup>1</sup> In this little-known paper, published in the " Nat. Hist. Trans. of the Dutch Society of Science," he mentions as Tasmanian works of art " a few exceedingly rude stone chippings or implements, made from a dark coloured chert, probably of volcanic origin, exactly like that employed by the Kanakas of the Sandwich Islands." Dr. Barnard Davis continues as follows : " I have a more finished stone implement of an oblong form with one extremity slightly sharpened by grind-

<sup>1</sup> " *Natuurkundige Verhandelingen der Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenschappen.*" 3<sup>de</sup> Verz., Deel ii, No. 4. Haarlem, 1874.

ing, which was employed by the women without any handle in notching the bark of trees, up which they climbed in an ingenious manner in search of the opossum." With some difficulty I was able to ascertain that Dr. Barnard Davis's collections were sold at his death, and had passed into the hands of a gentleman at Brighton from whom the three implements now exhibited (Plate XVII., Figs. 1, 2, 3) were purchased by the Corporation and placed in the Town Museum, whence they have been kindly lent me to be exhibited here. Their proofs of authenticity are absolute. Figs. 2, 2a, 3, 3a, vouched for by tickets "Tasmanian, G. A. R." must have come from G. A. Robinson, the first Protector of the Tasmanian Aborigines, the survivors of whom he brought in after the war; the oblong shape and slight edge at the end of Figs. 2, 2a, identify it as the one mentioned by Barnard Davis as grasped in the hand for tree-notching. A written card, proved by its mention of the weight to refer to the specimen, Fig. 1, 1a, is photographed at the back of Fig. 1. "Tasmanian Stone axe. Weighs 2 lb. 9 oz. av. Used by the native Women without haft for notching the fibrous bark of the trees they were in the habit of climbing. It is still red from the ferruginous ochre with which they painted themselves. Presented by Jos. Milligan, M.D. (and Lady Franklin). See his let. of Sep. 5, 1864, and that of G. A. Robinson of Feb. 16, 1865."

It would thus appear that the three were collected by G. A. Robinson, that they passed from him to Dr. Milligan, who died in London some years ago, and that from him Dr. Barnard Davis obtained them.

On inspection of these implements it may be said without hesitation that they are of the Australian type of ground stone implements. The two shown in Figs. 1 and 3 are described as made to grasp in the hand, and with this agrees the thumb-indentation, particularly well seen in Fig. 3. Such notching stones made with a thumb indentation for grasping in the hand, and edged by grinding against another stone, correspond exactly with what Mr. Thirkell describes the natives making to climb with, and it thus appears that the doubt which in my former paper I expressed as to the sense of his words was not justified. Such implements grasped in the hand are known in use among the Australian natives. Mr. A. W. Howitt states that the natives of Cooper's Creek do not fasten wooden handles to the stone, but they grasp the tomahawk with the fingers and thumb, holding the blunt end in the hollow of the hand, and use it in cutting exactly as the Tasmanians used the chips of chert which served them as hatchets.<sup>1</sup> Some of the Australian hand choppers have been recognised by the thumb-indents by Mr. H.

<sup>1</sup> B. Brough Smyth, vol. i, p. 1v, 358; vol. ii, p. 304.

Balfour in the Pitt Rivers Museum. It is thus probable that Dr. Barnard Davis's three ground implements were either made by Australians, or by Tasmanians who had learnt the craft from them. This goes to confirm the opinion of the members and correspondents of the Royal Society of Tasmania, that the art of mounting stone axes in handles was also introduced among the Tasmanian natives from Australia. Horton's account of the bringing over of the "tame mob" of Sydney blacks to Tasmania about 1822, and of the Australian known as Musquito who led the Tasmanians against the colonists in the "black war,"<sup>1</sup> sufficiently account for such influence from the mainland.

The exceptional presence thus explained of ground and handled stone hatchets in Tasmania, leaves untouched the evidence from the hundreds of rudely fashioned, unground hand-grasped implements, which have now been collected, and which are proved by the evidence of eyewitnesses to have been what the natives habitually made and used. So far as stone-implement making furnishes a test of culture, the Tasmanians were undoubtedly at a low palæolithic stage, inferior to that of the Drift and Cave men of Europe. The next step in the investigation may be to extend it to the mainland of Australia, where as Mr. Brough Smyth truly says, one set of the stone implements and weapons might be classed as the equivalents of the palæolithic period, and the other of the neolithic period in Europe. It is in fact possible to look back to the time when Australia was altogether in the low palæolithic stage where Tasmania remained till this century, and thence to trace the spread over the continent of neolithic conditions, which only reached the natives of the southern island in the last years of their existence.

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*The KALOU-VU (ANCESTOR-GODS) of the FIJIANs.* By BASIL H. THOMSON.

SEEING that there are more gods than tribes in the Fiji Islands it would be manifestly impossible to set forth, within the limits of this paper, any account of them that would include the religions of the whole of the group. It is better to choose for description the religion of a locality distinguished for the richness of its mythology, leaving the rest to be conjectured by analogy, with due allowance for the variations proceeding from differences in physical geography and the mingling of races.

I take as a type the tribes inhabiting the northern and east-

<sup>1</sup> John West, "History of Tasmania," Launceston, 1852, vol. ii, p. 12, 55.

ern portions of the island of *Viti-Levu*, the part of the group first colonised by the Fijians.

I do not pretend that these notes traverse the entire ground of the religious beliefs even of these tribes. For lack of space I shall make no allusion to the cults of *Luve-ni-wai*, nor to the secret society known as *Baki* and the *Kai Butha* whose arcana were celebrated in the *Naga*, nor yet to the superstitious practice of *Drau-ni-kau* (Witchcraft). These subjects are sufficiently wide and distinct to deserve separate treatment, and I shall therefore confine my remarks to the primary religions of these tribes and the strange havoc they have sometimes wrought in the Christian teachings of the missions.

The island of *Viti-Levu* contains 4112 square miles, and is therefore more than half the size of Wales. Along the coast there is a strip of flat land nowhere more than 10 miles in width, and behind it rises a wall of mountain which shuts in the interior except at the points where it is broken by the courses of the rivers that take their rise in the northern ranges of the island. These mountains are highest and most abrupt on the northern coast, broken masses of naked basalt for the most part, but clothed with a ragged covering of dwarf forest wherever vegetation can find a foothold. Among them is the mountain of *Nakauvadra*, the Olympus of the Fijians. Here *Degei*, the Fijian Zeus, in serpent form, lies coiled in his cave, resting from his Titan fight with his own grandsons. Hither come the spirits of the dead to prepare for their last leap into the western ocean.

Like the Greeks, the Fijians made their gods as beings of like passions with themselves, but, whatever may have been the fountain head of Greek mythology, it is clear that the Fijians humanised their gods because they had once existed on earth in human form. Their mythology was traditional history. Like other primitive peoples the Fijians deified their ancestors. After all, when you think it out, ancestor worship is the most natural form of religion for a primitive people still in the patriarchal state of society. The father ruled the family. Each member of it turned to him for the ordering of his daily life. No scheme entered the head of the young man that did not depend upon the consent or prohibition of the head of his family. Suddenly the father died. How were his sons to rid themselves of the idea of his controlling influence that had guided them ever since they were born, even though they had buried his body? He had been wont to threaten them with punishment for disobedience, and, even now, when they did the things of which he disapproved in life, punishment was sure to follow—the crops failed; a hurricane unroofed the hut; floods swept away the canoe. If they won a victory over their enemies it was he

who had strengthened their arms in response to their prayers and offerings. Then each son of the dead father founded his own family, but still owed allegiance to their eldest brother who represented their father as the head of the joint family. Generations came and went; the tribe had increased its tens to hundreds, but still the eldest son of the eldest, who carried in his veins the blood of the common ancestor in its purest form, was venerated as the head of the tribe. The name of the ancestor was not forgotten. He was now a god, and had his temple and his priests, who had to themselves come to be hereditary, and had the strong motive of self-interest for keeping his memory green. Being a god he conferred on the chief, his direct descendant, a portion of his godhead, and set him within the pale of the *tabu*, so that the chief's will might not be disobeyed nor his body touched without evoking the wrath of the unseen.

This metamorphosis of the chief into the tribal deity is illustrated in various ways, notably in the bond known as *tauvu*. The word means literally "sprung from the same root." It is applied to two or more tribes who may live in different islands, speak different dialects, and have in short nothing in common but their god. They may have held no intercourse for generations, yet, though they may have forgotten the names of their own chiefs three generations back, the site of their ancient lands and the traditions of their migrations, yet they have not forgotten the tribe with which they are *tauvu*. Members of that tribe may enter their village, slaughter their animals and ravage their plantations, and they will sit complacently by; for they are brothers and worship the same god. In several instances I have traced back the bond to its origin; the marriage of the sister of some high chief with the head of a distant tribe. Her rank was so transcendent that she brought into the tribe a measure of the godhead of her ancestors and her descendants have thenceforward revered her forefathers in preference to those of her husband. In the majority of cases the bond is too remote for tradition to have recorded its origin, and in these the tribes were doubtless offshoots from the same stock. Perhaps there was a quarrel between brothers, and one of them was driven out with his family to find another home. Such was the origin of the relationship of *tauvu* between Bau and Namuka in Vanualevu.

A very natural question probably occurs to you. How could the ancestral blood have been kept pure through generations of intermarriage with other tribes? The answer is that there was very little promiscuous intermarrying with other tribes. Tribe A took its wives from tribe B, and B from A, each keeping a jealous account of the number of women owed them by the

other. Every man went to his mother's tribe for a wife, and was indeed under an obligation to marry his first cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother. Thus the chief families of tribes A and B became closely interwoven, and in time came to have the same gods. The marriage laws of Fiji are the most curious yet the most logical in the world, but as they are to be dealt with in another paper I need not stop to enlarge upon them here.

You are not to understand that every man when he died was deified by his sons and grandsons. To be remembered at all after his funeral feasts were eaten a Fijian must have wielded power, and to have wielded power at all he must have been of the purest blood of the first family in the tribe, in the direct line of the original ancestor. Many even of the chiefs of this line never entered the Pantheon because they lacked in life the qualities to make themselves feared. It was rather the masterful and oppressive chiefs that were deified because their subjects doubted whether even in death they had lost their power to harm. This brings us to the second fact about the gods of Fiji. They were malevolent. Firstly, they had been chiefs of the blood royal who had been masterful and oppressive in life, and secondly, they were malevolent and must be appeased by propitiatory sacrifices. If you pressed a Fijian to say what became of the kind and wise chiefs he would perhaps say that they too became spirits honoured in the world to come, but that since they were by nature inoffensive there was no object in propitiating them and so they were forgotten. The god who loomed largest before the people of Rewa in the early part of this century was Kou. cainabili, the untimely birth of a princess of Bau who had been abducted by the chief of Rewa. Had it lived it would have been of a rank so high and sacred that it would have been deified almost while still living, but, since it had never come to maturity, it called for a double measure of propitiatory sacrifice. You follow the idea! The spirit had been cheated of life, therefore it must hunger for vengeance, and its wrath could only be turned away by unremitting zeal on the part of the worshippers who were at its mercy.

It is probable that there were, here and there, gods that were the creations of the priests that ministered to them and were not the spirits of dead chiefs. Such was the god of the Bure tribe on the Ra coast (Sawakasa) who was called the Tui Lagi or "Lord of heaven." When the missionaries first went to convert this town they found the heathen priest their staunch ally. He declared that they had come to preach the same god that he had been preaching, the Tui Lagi, and that more had been revealed to them than to him of the mysteries of the god.

We are reminded of the altar found by St. Paul in Athens inscribed to "the Unknown God." It is related of this priest that he foretold the day of his death, saying that white men appeared to him in a dream telling him that he would die on the following Friday, and that there would be thunder from a clear sky as he entered into heaven. His prophecy, so the story goes, was fulfilled.

I have dwelt in unnecessary detail upon the fact that the Fijians are ancestor worshippers, a fact which nobody denies, in order to support my belief that the extra-tribal mythology of the Fijians is in fact legendary history, that the gods that peopled their Olympus had been the men who were the founders of their race.

Besides their own local gods a large number of the tribes in Viti-Levu admitted the godhead of the spirits that dwell in the Kauvadra mountain. They did not worship them by propitiatory offerings,—these gods were too far exalted above human affairs for that, or in other words they had lived on earth at too remote a time,—but as the lords of those lofty dwellings on the mountain top to which the soul of every man bends his steps in his last awful journey. It may be doubted whether these fathers of the race would be remembered at all were it not for the epic poems that have preserved their deeds. Poets have much to answer for. If Homer had never been, what would now be known of Troy? What even of the personal character of the gods of the Greeks? Tradition has lost the name of the poet who took the great drama of Nakauvadra for his theme, but his work lives, and round it has sprung up a cloud of modern myths that may easily be brushed away by a careful examination of the ancient sagas and traditions.

Divested of unnecessary detail the story runs as follows :—

In a distant land to the far westward there were three chiefs: Lutunasobasoba, Degei, and Waicalanavanua. For some cause long since forgotten they resolved to leave this land with their wives and children, and they sent a messenger to the head craftsman, Rokola, bidding him build them a great canoe which they called the "Kaunitoni." In her they set sail, and with them went a number of other canoes all seeking a new land. They found many lands, and at each some of the people stayed to make it their adopted home; but none of them pleased Lutunasobasoba. At last the "Kaunitoni" was left alone, and for many days she sailed and found no land. And then a great storm came up from the westward and struck her, and the waves swept her deck, carrying overboard all their goods, and among them a basket of inscriptions. So for many days she drove before the western gale and all hope of gaining land left

them. But at last they saw high land and knew that they were saved; and they beached their canoe on a sandy shore, and built themselves huts and called the place Vuda ("Our origin.") This is the Vuda on the north-west corner of Viti-Levu. The saga goes on to relate the distress of Lutunasobasoba at losing his basket of inscribed stones. I have not succeeded in finding any contemporary tradition that throws light on this very important passage. The Fijians, when we Europeans first came into contact with them, had no knowledge of any kind of writing nor even of making rude representations of natural objects in their carving. But the poem says:—

"Lutunasobasoba wept bitterly,  
My descendants will be in pitiable plight,  
My basket of stones is overcast,  
My writings (vols) have fallen out."

It goes on to relate how he sent out the canoe to look for the lost inscriptions (which, if they were really of stone, was a somewhat futile proceeding), and how the crew of the canoe discovered the Yasawa islands, but came back without the lost records.

They stayed at Vuda until Lutunasobasoba became very old and infirm, and then they decided to move him to higher ground. Degei, who had now taken the lead of the party, ordered Rokola to build some new canoes to carry them to the eastward. The tribe had become too large for the "Kaunitoni." When these were ready the fleet crept along the coast to the eastward, and landed in what is now the bay of Rakiraki. Thence the dying Lutunasobasoba was carried up the mountain, and a hut was built of which the posts and walls and thatch were all made of the vadra or pandanus tree, and from this hut or from the profusion of this tree the mountain took its name of Nakauvadra. Here Lutunasobasoba lived several years, and when at last he felt his end to be near he summoned his children round him and gave them his dying commands, ordering them to separate and settle in different parts of the wide lands he had discovered. Under these directions Fiji was peopled, and the greater part of the Saga is taken up with the wanderings of these children. With this we have nothing to do here.

Hitherto I have been dealing with traditions never before, I believe, published in England. I now come to the classic and well-known story of the divisions at Nakauvadra, and here I prefer to translate literally from the Fijian:—

Now evils arose at Nakauvadra because of the death of Turukawa: and it was this that drove out many of the chiefs.

There were two young chiefs, brothers, named Nacirikaumoli



and Nakausabaria,—some say they were twins and grandsons of Degei: but they were not his actual grandsons for Degei and the father of Waicalavanua were brothers, and Waicalavanua was the father of Nacirikaumoli, and his mother was Adi Sovanatabua the Vasu Levu of the carpenters.

Now the brothers' village stood upon the ascent to Nakauvadra, and was called Nukunitabua; and their *bure* was called Nailagonawanawa. One day the brothers went out shooting, and they shot a pigeon, but the point of the arrow did not wound it; for the points of their arrows were made like the arrows which are now used for shooting flying-foxes, with many points; and the points went on each side of the pigeon's feet and held them, and the bird fell unhurt, so that they caught it and took it home to tame. And when they had brought it to the village they cut its wings and tied a string to its legs, and climbed a baka tree, and fastened it to a branch, and they gave it the name of Turukawa. And Turukawa cooed every morning and evening, and cooed also at flood and ebb tide, and his voice filled the whole of Nakauvadra. One day Degei sent the Mata-ni-vanua to go and ask for Turukawa for his own; but when he reached their *bure* the brothers were absent, having probably gone out shooting: so the Mata-ni-vanua spoke to Waicalanavanua saying: "I have been sent, Sir, by Degei to ask for the Awakener to be his." And Waicalanavanua answered, "What do you ask for, Mata-ni-vanua; take away the Awakener for your own." And the Mata-ni-vanua took the bird without the knowledge of Nacirikaumoli and Nakausabaria.

On the next morning they were startled by hearing the dove coo in Degei's village, and they became very wrath, and said, "Sobo! Is this to be the way with all of us the children of men?" And they made ready their bow, which was named Livalivanisiga (Lightning of the Day), and went to look for the place where Turukawa was, meaning to shoot him dead: and when they drew near the "baka" tree where Turukawa was perched, they took off their turbans; [therefore the place is called Naicavucavunisala (the place for taking off turbans) to this day]. And when they reached the baka tree and saw Turukawa perched on a branch, they shot an arrow. It flew straight and pierced him, and he fell to the ground. And they drew out the arrow and went their way. So four days passed without the voice of Turukawa being heard, and Degei became suspicious. On the day the brothers had shot Turukawa they had left their village, Nukunitabua, because it was not fenced, and had gone to Naraunyaba, the village of the carpenters, which was fenced: this was the

reason for them leaving Nukunitabua. And when they had been four days at Narauya, and Degei reflected that four days had passed without the cooing of Turukawa, he began to suspect, and called the Mata-ni-vanua, saying, "Go Mata-ni-vanua and look for Turukawa, for it is four days since I heard his voice. See what has become of him."

And the Mata-ni-vanua went, and when he drew near to the baka tree he smelt the smell of putrefaction; and when he looked up into the tree he saw blood on the branch where the bird was wont to sit. And he said to himself, "I did not ask for Turukawa from those who owned him; I only asked him from Waicalanavanua. It must be the owners of the 'Awakener' that have killed him." Then he drew near to the tree and saw Turukawa lying there putrefying, and he said to himself, "It must indeed be true—who else would so forget Degei as to kill his Awakener? Who but Nairikaumoli and his brother, and why else should they have left their village, Nukunitabua, and have gone to live at Narauya, except it be because it is walled with a war-fence? It is these two who have resolved to disturb the land, and they are the slayers of Turukawa." And he went back and told Degei that Turukawa was dead, and Degei asked him how he died, and the Mata-ni-vanua told him his suspicions. Then Degei said, "Go, ask the archers whether they did in truth shoot Turukawa?" And he went and asked them, and they said, "Yes, we did shoot Turukawa."

And when the Mata-ni-vanua returned and told Degei, he was much moved with anger, and said, "What are the names of these two men? Who knows them? I know Waicalanavanua, and it was he that gave me the Awakener." And he told the Mata-ni-vanua to go again to them, and said, "Go, tell these archers to come and be questioned as to why they slew the Awakener." And he went to tell them but they refused to come; and he went back to tell Degei.

And the anger of Degei blazed up within him, and he cried with a terrible voice, "Go, tell them to go hence to some land where I am not known." And the Mata-ni-vanua went to tell them, but they refused, saying that they desired war. So Rokola ordered a war-fence to be built of "vesi," very high, and carefully fitted so that there should be no chinks or join in it. And when Degei saw that the carpenters had entrenched themselves, he sent the Mata-ni-vanua to go and tell the tidings to Rokomoutu.

The Saga goes on to relate how there was then a war such as never since been seen in Fiji. The carpenters had entrenched

themselves behind a *vesi* rampart. Rokomoutu, who had taken a band of colonists with him to another island, joined forces with Degei, and together they laid siege to the fortress. Many heroes fell on either side and neither could claim the victory until Rokola, the chief of the craftsmen, devised a dreadful engine of war. He built a suspension bridge of twisted vines and contrived it so that a man who stepped upon a certain part of it was caught up by a noose, and swung back over the rampart into the fortress. Then warriors were sent out as decoys to flee before the enemy and draw them on to the bridge, and thus many men were swung into the fortress and clubbed. After many weary months of fighting it was found that there were traitors in Degei's camp, and they were convicted and expelled for ever from Nakauvadra. These wandered down the great river, and founded the tribes that live on the banks of the Rewa river. Then, when all endeavours to take this obstinate fortress had failed, Degei bethought him of a stratagem, and he sought out a Sinon from among the relations of the craftsmen that were left upon his side. The man chosen was Batidroti, and Degei called upon him to devise a plan for betraying his kinsmen. That night a man appeared to Batidroti in a dream and told him that on the morrow he would find a Vugayali tree growing close to the rampart of the enemy's fort. This must be cut down. The next day Degei's forces saw the tree, and sent Vueti to cut it down; and as soon as it fell a great fountain of water burst from the stump, and poured into the fort, and the waters rose all that day, and by nightfall the fort was nearly submerged, and the craftsmen took counsel, and resolved to ask pardon of Degei since the gods were with him. So Degei counselled with his chiefs, and they said, "These craftsmen are too useful to us for us to kill them. It is better that they be exiled." The fountain had now become a river flowing southward from the mountain, and the carpenters built themselves canoes in haste, and embarked and sailed down the stream till they came to a new land and settled there. These are the ancestors of the carpenter clan in Rewa. This flood was the Fijian deluge.<sup>1</sup> But the two archers could not be pardoned. Their exile must be a greater one. Yet for the sake of Rokola, Degei gave them time to build their canoe. And Rokola built them a canoe such as has never been seen since in Fiji and called it "*Naivakanawanawa*" (The Lifeboat). And they sailed away, and were never heard of again: none know

<sup>1</sup> There are traditions of great floods within historical times. One of them, about 1793, purged the land of a great epidemic, the *Lila*. The waters rose over the house-tops; hundreds were swept away. The silt left by the receding waters raised the alluvial flats several feet. This flood followed a great cyclone.

whither they went. It is these gods whose coming again is foretold by the prophet Navosavakadua as the signal for the destruction of the foreigners and the Fijian millennium.

I have quoted much from the saga of Nakauvadra without describing the poem itself. It was intended to be sung, and the unknown poet probably composed the music as well as the words. The stanzas contain sixteen lines each, all ending with the vowel "a," which gives puerility and monotony to the sound of the lines when recited. Here is a specimen :—

“ Ko Degei sa tagi lagalaga,  
Bogi dua, bogi rua ka'u yadra,  
Bogi tolu, bogi va ka'u yadra,  
Sa tubu dugn dina ko Turukawa,  
Isa! noqu toa na toa turaga,  
Isa! noqu toa na toa tamata,  
Tiko e uluda na ka rarawa,  
Au olova kina au tabu kava,  
Matanivanua mai cici mada,  
Mai cici sara ki Narauyaba,  
Mo tarogi rau na dau vavana,  
Kemudrua, dru vanai Turukawa?  
Sa tabu dugu ni Makamataka,  
Ma lolo koto Kotoinaqara,  
Ma bunoca no a wai ni matana,  
Vakasuqa me ra moce mai waqa.

*The "Path of the Shades."*

Besides being the dwelling place of the gods Nakauvadra Mountain was the first circle of the Fijian Inferno, the point of departure for the unseen world that lay to the westward. Nearly all the South Sea islanders point to some spot on their island where the spirits of the dead leap into the ocean to be ferried over to the world of shades. These "jumping-off places" (Thombothombo) are generally steep cliffs facing the place whence, tradition says, the race originally came. What belief is more natural for a primitive people having no revealed belief in a future state, than that the land their fathers had told them of, where the yams were larger, and the air warmer, and the earth more fruitful, was the goal of their spirits after death? Why, we almost do the same ourselves. Englishmen, who emigrate, never tire of telling their children of the delights of "home" as compared with their adopted country. If the Canadians or South Africans knew nothing of England but what they had heard from their fathers, and had no beliefs concerning a future state, England would have come to be the mysterious paradise whither their souls would journey after death, and their jumping-off place would be the mouth of the St. Lawrence or the Orange River. With the Fijians the traditions have become so dim with antiquity that nothing

remains but the vague belief that somewhere to the westward lies the after-world, and that the shades must leap from the Western cliff to reach it.

Among the tribes of Eastern Viti-Levu the legend of Nakauvadra looms larger than this story of the future destination of the spirits. Whatever may become of the soul hereafter, to Nakauvadra it must first betake itself before leaping into the ocean. From the populous district of the Lower Rewa there is but one path to the Nakauvadra Mountain called the "Sala ni Yalo" (the "Path of the Shades"). Chance led to its discovery, or rediscovery, if it is true that Europeans had before noticed it. Last year a surveyor was sent to traverse the boundaries of lands claimed by the tribe of Namata. His native guides led him along a high ridge, the watershed between the River Rewa and the eastern coast of the island. As they cut their way through the undergrowth that clothed the hilltop, he noticed that the path was almost level, and seldom more than 2 feet wide, and that the ridge joined hilltop to hilltop in an almost horizontal line. Now nature never works in straight lines with so soft a material as earth. Natural banks of earth are always washed into deep depressions between the hills, and are never razored-edged as this was. The surveyor had a patch of the undergrowth cleared away, and found that without doubt the embankments were artificial. Following the line of the ridge the valleys had been bridged with banks 30 or 40 feet high in the deepest parts, and tapering to a width of 2 feet at the top. The level path thus made extended, so the natives said, clear to Nakauvadra, 50 miles away. For a people destitute of implements this was a remarkable work. Every pound of earth must have been carried up laboriously in cocoa-nut leaf baskets and paid for in feasts. Even when the valley was densely populated the drain on the resources of the people must have been enormous, for thousands of pigs were slaughtered, and millions of yams planted, cultivated, and consumed in the entertainment of the workers. With the present sparse population the work would be impossible.

I thought at first that this was a fortification on a gigantic scale, for Fijians never undertake any great work except for defence, under the spur of a pressing necessity. It could not be a road because the ancient Fijians preferred to go straight over obstacles like the soldier ants in Africa that climb trees rather than go round them. The old men at Bau, whom I questioned, know nothing of its history except that it was called the "Path of the Shades," and that it was an extension of one of the spurs of the Kauvadra Mountain. Of one thing they were certain—that it was not built for defence. Then I asked

for guides to take me over it, and they chose three grey-headed elders of the Namata tribe. We started in heavy rain. My guides were reticent at first, but, as we went on, the spirit of the place seemed to possess them, and at each turn of the path they stopped to describe to me the particular danger that there beset the passing shade. The eldest of the three became at times positively uncanny for he stopped here and there in the driving rain to execute a sort of weird gambolling dance, whether out of pure excess of spirits or a praiseworthy intention of exorcising the gods of the place I do not know. Little by little I wormed out of them the whole tradition with fragments of the sagas in which it was preserved. After I got home I set two of my native collectors to write it all down. It is far too long to give here in its entirety, but I will try to condense it.

Long ago, so long ago that the tradition has become dim, the ghosts of the dead used to annoy the living. They whistled in the houses, turned the yams rotten in the ground, filled the cooking pots with live snakes, or played some other of the pranks in which the Fijian ghost delights. And the living reasoned with themselves, and found that it was because of the bad state of the road to Nakauvadra that the shades could not find their way to the sacred mountain, and so they stayed about their old haunts. So the tribes banded together and built a road for the ghosts of their dead to travel over, and thenceforward they did not stay to annoy the living.

When a man died his body was washed and laid in its shroud, and a whale's tooth was put upon his breast to be his stone to throw at the pandanus tree. And while his friends were still weeping, his spirit left the body and went and stood on the bank of the "Water of the Shades" (Wainiyalo) at the place called Lelele—the ferry,—and cried to Ceba, the ghostly ferryman, who brought the end of his canoe which was of hard *vesi* if it was for a chief, but the end that was of breadfruit wood for a vulgar shade. Across the stream the shade climbed the hill of Nathegani where grew the pandanus tree. And he threw his whale's tooth at it, and if he hit it he sat down to await the coming of his wife who, he now knew, was being strangled to his manes, but if he missed the pandanus he went on weeping aloud, for he knew that his wife had been unfaithful to him in life, and that she cared not to be strangled to accompany him. Then he came to the ghost scatterer, Drodroyalo, who strode towards him and pounded his neck with a great stone scattering the *ndawa* fruit he was carrying to eat on his journey. Thence he journeyed to Drekei where dwell the twin goddesses Nino—who crept on him, peering at him and gnashing their terrible teeth. And the shade shrieked in terror and fled away. As he

fled up the path he came to a spring and stopped to drink, and as soon as he tasted the water he ceased weeping, and his friends also ceased weeping in his home for they straightway forgot their sorrows and were consoled. Therefore this spring is called the Wai-ni-dula—Water of Solace. And when he stood erect from drinking he looked afar off and saw the white *buli* shells gleaming on the roofs of the great dwellings of Nakauvadra; and he threw away the *via* roots he was carrying, for he knew that he was near his resting place and would want no more provisions for the journey. So he flung away his *via* to travel unencumbered, and to this day you may see the *via* sprouting where the shades throw it.

Going onward the shade had many adventures. He was crippled by Tatovu's axe; he was wounded by Motoduruka's reed spear: he crawled forward on his belly: he bowed ten times: he fainted away and was dragged onward as corpses are dragged to the cannibal ovens: he had to pinch the "pinching stone" to see whether his nails are long, for if the stone is indented it is a sign that he was lazy in his lifetime, and that his nails are not worn away by scooping up the yam hills in his plantation. From the "pinching stone" he went onward dancing and jesting till he came to Taleya, the Dismissor, who asked him how he died, whether by the club or the strangling cord, or the water, or naturally of disease or old age. And if he said he died of violence the Dismissor let him journey onward, but if he said that he died naturally he was commanded to re-enter his body, but not all of these obey so anxious are they to reach Nakauvadra. Thus the Fijians explained recoveries from trances and epileptic seizures.

And immediately the shade had passed Taleya, the Dismissor, Rokowewe spied him, and shouted Ue! Ue! Ue! and the twin goddesses Tinai-ulu-dugu and Muloa-cagi heard the shout and shook out their nets ready for a sweep. And as the shade approached they make a great sweep; but if the shade was the ghost of a warrior he overleaped the net like a *kanace* fish, but the shade of a coward was entangled like the *sumusumu* fish, and the goddesses disentangled him from the meshes and bit his head, and looped up their nets and threw him into their baskets. These goddesses loiter ever in the path listening for the sound of wailing from the mourners in the villages below them, for the sad sound is wafted to the "long road," and the goddesses rejoice and make ready their nets for a catch.

And when it escapes from the fisherwomen the shade comes to the *vasa* tree at Naililili—the "hanging place." From the branches of this tree are hanging the souls of little children like bats, waiting for their mothers to come and lead them onward.

And they cry to the passing shade "How are my father and my mother?" If the shade answers "The cooking fire of your mother is set upright," the child ghost wails aloud knowing that it must still wait, for its mother is still in her prime: but if the shade answers "Their hair is grey, and the smoke of their cooking fire hangs along the ground," the child laughs with joy, crying "It is well! My mother will soon be here! Oh! let her hasten, for I am weary of waiting for her!"

Passing onward, after many adventures too numerous to be here related, the shade reaches the first god-fortress of Delakuru-kuru—Thunder Hill. And the shades enter the strangers' hut, and are entertained of the gods. They are taken first to bathe, and then to see the sights of the fortress—the dancing ground and the white quicksand, and then the young gods dance before them, singing heroic sagas of their deeds. And the shades are ashamed that they know no dance worthy to be sung before the gods to repay them for their entertainment. Yet they make the attempt; but, when they opened their lips to sing, the misery of their lot rushes over them and their song is only a lament for the evil fashion of their burial. I am tempted to read a literal translation of this fragment:

"My Lords! In evil fashion are we buried,  
Buried staring up into the heaven,  
We see the scud flying over the sky,  
We are worn out with the feet stamping on us.  
Our ribs, the rafters of our house, are torn asunder.  
The eyes with which we gazed on one another are destroyed,  
The nose with which we kissed has fallen in,  
The breast to which we embraced is ruined,  
The thighs with which we clasped have fallen away,  
The mouths with which we laughed at one another have decayed,  
The teeth with which we bite have showered down,  
Gone is the hand that threw the tinka stick,  
The hawk's stones (testes) have rolled away,  
Rolled away are the destroyers of razors,<sup>1</sup>  
Hark to the lament of the mosquito!  
Well it is that they should die and pass onward,  
But alas! for my conch shell (the human ear) that they have taken  
away,  
Hark to the lament of the fly!  
Well it is that they should die and pass onward,  
But alas! They have taken away the eye from which I drank!  
Hark to the lament of the black ant!  
Well it is that they should die and pass onward,  
But alas! for my whale's tooth (glans penis) that they have taken  
away!"

There is more poetry in this fragment than in most native sagas. How could the selfish indifference of nature at the woes of man be better described than by the lines that tell the

<sup>1</sup> Alluding to the custom of shaving the pubes.



laments of the insects that prey upon man, indifference to his fate with an afterthought of regret for his usefulness. The Fijians buried their dead as we do, and it is curious that if they recognised that that mode of burial was cruel and disrespectful to the dead they did not change it.

While I was reading the story of the soul's<sup>1</sup> journey you doubtless noticed two strong coincidences with Greek mythology. The river that barred the soul's entry into the after world and its gruff ferryman are Greek. Ceba, it is true, was a respecter of persons in that he had an end of his canoe specially reserved for distinguished travellers; but, perhaps because he was not allowed to make a charge for his services, he was churlish and surly to his passengers. The Fijian Water of Solace (Wai-nidula) is the Greek Lethe. In planning a place of rest for the souls of the dead every religion has felt the necessity of some device for preventing the sorrows of earth from poisoning the rest of heaven. A spiritual people describe this rest as proceeding from a clearer knowledge of the purpose of the Universe; a materialistic people are satisfied with mere oblivion proceeding from an appeased appetite. But the Fijians, whose emotions are transient, make their Lethe an excuse for the shortness of their mourning for the dead. "And his friends also ceased weeping in his home, for they straightway forgot their sorrows and were consoled."

Apart from its quaint imagination this saga is interesting in

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to say precisely what the Fijians believe to be the essence of the immortal part of man. The word "yalo" has the following meanings:—

|  |                        |
|--|------------------------|
| Yalo (with pronoun suffixed)             | = Mind. As "Yalo-ngu." |
| Yalo (with possessive pronoun separated) | = Shade or spirit.     |
| Yaloyalo .. .. .                         | = Shadow.              |

From the possessive pronoun being suffixed we may gather that the mind was regarded as being as intimately connected with a man's body as his arm, but that the spirit could be detached from it. Navosavakadua told his followers that he had left his soul in Tonga, and that his body only was before them. The Fijians seemed to have recognised some connection between the shadow and the spirit. It was an insult to tread on a man's shadow, and to stab at it with a spear was to compass his death by a lingering sickness.

The question of the material of the ghost was as much vexed as it is in English ghost stories. Sometimes the ghost is invisible, sometimes it eats and drinks and gives hard and very substantial knocks. A man in Vatulele once played a trick upon Ceba. He smeared over his body with putrid fish, and stood on the bank of the River of Shades, calling to Ceba to bring the hard-wood end of his canoe. Ceba knew by the smell of putrefaction that he was a shade, and obeyed; but as soon as the canoe drew near the trickster threw a great stone he had hidden behind his back, smashed the canoe, and seriously upset thereby the designs of the Universe. Not till then did Ceba know him for a mortal, and pronounce his punishment, which was to refuse him and his descendants for two generations passage over the silent water. So you see the shade bears the human shape, and is subject to decomposition like the human body. It can also eat fruit, drink kava, throw stones, weep, laugh, compose poetry, and dance.

the light that it throws upon the moral ethics of the Fijians. Cowardice and idleness were the most heinous crimes. To have died a violent death was a passport to the sacred mountain; while a natural death was held in such low esteem that the shade was ordered to re-enter his body and die respectably. No doubt this part of the story was devised to account for recoveries from trance which only took place when the body had not been injured by the club or the strangling cord. Life on earth was not a desirable possession. Seeing the misfortunes that overtook the spirit in its last journey the Fijians might well have said with Claudio—

“The weariest and most loathed worldly life,  
Is a Paradise,  
To what we fear of death.”

Yet so gloomy and joyless is the prospect of a return to life that the shades who are offered this privilege by Taleya do not all obey, “so anxious are they to reach Nakauvadra.”

Light is also thrown upon a fact wonderingly related by the first missionaries, that the widows of dead chiefs themselves used to insist on being strangled to his manes although it was notorious that they did not love him. Women will dare all things for their good name, and it was that which was at stake; for we read that when the shade had missed his throw at the pandanus tree and knew that his wives would not be strangled, he went on weeping, for he had now a proof that they had been unfaithful to him in life.

I wish that space permitted me to follow the journey of the Fijian shades to its end. The folklore of a people spontaneously developed and uninfluenced from without will always have an interest of its own because of the light it throws upon the genesis of religions. It is a truism to say that the religion of a primitive people springs from within them and reflects their moral qualities, and that the modification it receives from the physical character of the country in which they live is a mere colour that goes no deeper than the surface. Every furlong, every turn of the ghost path gives rise to an episode in the soul's journey that embodies an article of religion; and, if there had been no long spur protruding from Nakauvadra into the plain, the story must have been different. Nevertheless the ethics of the race would somehow have been illustrated; the industrious and the courageous would somehow have been rewarded; the man of violence would have had some advantage over the man of peace; the shades would in some way have shown their preference for the terrors of death to the gloom of life; the idle and cowardly would somehow have been put to shame.

Many of us have heard of the Fijians as the most striking

example of the success of missionary enterprise. Few of the missionaries know more of the people's minds than what they hear from their native helpers, and consequently when there is an outbreak of heathenism in a village where family prayers are held twice a day they are quite at a loss to account for it. The explanation is that the people do not believe their ancestor gods to be false gods. They are their ancestors and so they must be true, but they believe it convenient to give up worshipping them. In any real trouble or danger they will go back to them, for the white man's God is out of sympathy with them as is the white man himself. In the meantime they will continue to hold family prayers.

Moreover their conversion was in most cases a political move. The chief found it convenient to "lotu" and his people of course followed him. In one of these cases the missionary attended a meeting of the tribe to receive their conversion to Christianity. The heathen priest took his seat near the piled up feast and thus addressed the ancestor gods: "O ye our fathers! Be not angry with us. We your children bring you this miserably inadequate feast from our impoverished gardens, this wretched root of yaqona for you to drink. We are poor. We are miserable. And another thing. Be not angry with us if for a while we give up worshipping you. It is our mind to worship the foreigners' God for a while, yet nevertheless be not angry with us."

Then the ancestor gods ate the spiritual essence of the yams, and the missionary lunched on its grosser material fibre and enjoyed it greatly.

### *A New Religion.*

In 1876 the natives of Fiji had all nominally embraced Christianity. Services were held regularly in every village by the native teachers of the Wesleyan missionaries, the heathen temples were pulled down, all customs likely to keep alive the old heathen cults were sternly discountenanced. But it was not to be expected that the old men had really abandoned all belief in the religion of their fathers. Outwardly, it is true, they conformed to the new faith, and it was hoped that as they died out the old traditions would perish with them never to return. But at the end of 1885 strange rumours were brought to the coast by native travellers from the mountains. A prophet had arisen who was passing through the villages saying to the people "Leave all and follow me!" He was gathering round him a band of disciples to whom he was giving the boon of immortality (tuka), and he was foretelling the resurrection of their ancestors

who would restore to them their lands and their old importance. The Commissioner of the province of Colo East and the native chief of the Ra province found this report to be substantially true. A man named Dugumoi, of the village of Drau-ni-ivi, who in 1878 had been deported to another island for stirring up sedition, had been allowed to return home about three years before. Soon after his arrival he announced that he had a mission. He said that the foreigners had deported him into Tonga and still believed him to be there, for he had left his spirit there and had only come to Fiji with his body. The white men, he said, had tried to drown him by tying the ship's anchor to his neck and throwing him overboard, but he was *vude* (charmed) and swam safely ashore unnoticed. Taking the title of "Na-vosa-vaka-dua" (He-who-speaks-once) he appointed two lieutenants who went through the villages enrolling disciples, to whom they taught a sort of drill compounded of the evolutions of the Armed Constabulary and native dances. Having the power to grant immortality he found the profession of a prophet not unremunerative. People paid for the boon at a rate varying from ten shillings to two pounds' worth of property, and at a feast held at Valelebo he could afford to present no fewer than 400 whales' teeth, a king's ransom from a Fijian's point of view. His teachings were an ingenious compound of Christianity and heathenism. He said that when Nacirikaumoli and Nakausabaria sailed away after their defeat by Degei they went to the land of the white men, who wrote a book about them, which is the Bible; only they lied about their names, falsely calling them Jehovah and Jesus. They were about to appear, and bring with them all the ancestors of the Fijians: the millennium would come, the missionaries and the Government would be driven into the sea, and every one of the faithful would have shopfuls of English goods. Those who believed that he was sent before to prepare their way would have immortality, but the unbelievers would perish. The white men who came in the man-of-war looking through glass instruments, who falsely said that they were surveying, were really looking for the coming of the divine twins. In the meantime the faithful were to drill as soldiers, and the women to minister in the temples. Temples were secretly built at Drau-ni-ivi and other places, and behind the curtain, where the priest and the women sat, the god might be heard to descend with a low whistling sound. There was some controversy between the faithful whether Degei was god or the devil. Many inclined to the latter belief because Satan took serpent form and the traditions describe Degei as a gigantic serpent lying coiled in his cave on Nakauvadra, and causing thunder when he turns his

huge bulk. They named various places round Nakauvadra Roma (Rome) Ijipita (Egypt), Kolosa (Colossians) &c., and said that if a man were bold enough to penetrate to the recesses of the great cave they might see the flames of hell.

The new prophet fixed the day for the resurrection of the ancestors, and the people waited the whole day with feasts prepared in silence of suppressed excitement. He had begun to utter mysterious threats about the fate of the Church and State when the Commissioner had him arrested. He then besought his guards not to send him to Suva, and so defeat all the glorious miracles he would work in their behalf. Unless the twin gods reappeared on earth the power of Degei (which is the old serpent) would continue in the ascendant, for the twins are they of whom it was foretold that they should bruise the head of the serpent.

Navosavakadua was deported to Rotuma, and the outbreak was stamped out for the time, but in 1892 it reappeared. One of his lieutenants began to receive letters from him. He stood in the forest with a bayonet and the magic letter fluttered down from the sky and impaled itself on the point. The drilling began again and the end of the British rule was again foretold. This time the Government decided to remove the village of Drau-ni-ivi, the fount of all these superstitions, and the houses were removed and the site levelled to the ground.

We have by no means heard the last of Fijian mythology. There was an outbreak of heathenism no longer ago than last May, and this, though not connected with the teachings of Navosavakadua, was no less inimical to government and good order. The fanatics even revived cannibalism again after its abandonment for more than twenty years.

Navosavakadua was not all a fanatic, nor yet was he entirely a self-seeker. His character was of that strange compound of hysterical credulity and shrewd common-sense that is found only among the hereditary priests of Fiji. Like his fathers before him he knew what strings to play upon in the native character. The people are arrogant and conservative; they secretly despise foreigners while conforming to their teachings through fear; their nature craves for what may be termed "histrionic excitement"; and they love ceremonial and dabbling in intercourse with the unseen powers. They secretly chafe at the restrictions of law and order; at the inexorable regularity of the tax-collector; at the slow process of the courts in redressing their injuries; and at the laws that deny them the luxury of seizing with a strong hand the property they covet. It would be no disgrace to them to yield allegiance to a conqueror, but the British Government never conquered them, and therefore the tribute

they pay annually in the form of taxes is an ever-recurring dishonour. They pant for change—for the coming of a time when the heroic stories they have heard from their fathers shall be realised, and their chiefs be again lords paramount over their own lands. They have forgotten the curses of war, the horrors of the night attack, the tortures, the clubbings, the ovens, and the carrying into captivity which half at least of the tribes would have to undergo if their millennium came: for, of all the gifts which the British Empire has bestowed upon its coloured subjects, the Pax Britannica is the last to be appreciated. Good government? Why, they would welcome the worst anarchy so it were their own and not a foreigner's.

Upon all these jangling strings Navosavakadua harped. The Fijians secretly hated the foreigners but coveted their goods: the foreigners should be swept away leaving their goods behind them. They wanted war and the excitement of conspiracy: he posted lieutenants throughout the villages to drill men and report to him as Government officers did to their superiors. He invented passwords of gibberish,<sup>1</sup> and his followers saluted him in the military fashion. In one of the temples the people were feeding a white pig to be eaten on the great occasion that he had foretold, and it was suggested that the colour was chosen as the symbol of the European skin, and that the killing of the pig would be the signal for the slaughter of the people it betokened.

The Fijians are to the settlers in the inland districts in the proportion of many hundreds to one. Navosavakadua's prophecies were always pointing to some sudden catastrophe involving blood sacrifice and the entire destruction of the foreigners, who would, as far as the country districts were concerned, be utterly defenceless against attack.

It may thus be seen with what political danger these outbreaks of heathenism are attended. From time to time they will recur, but in every case the Government must, unless they would have in Fiji a repetition of the horrors of Hauhausism among the Maories, stamp them out with the same energy that they would employ against dangerous conspiracies of a political nature.

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<sup>1</sup> Such as "Lilifai a Oliva raica na poliseni ka viribaita!"

*The CLASSIFICATORY SYSTEM of RELATIONSHIP.*

By LORIMER FISON.

MR. BASIL H. THOMSON, formerly in charge of one of the Government departments in Fiji, when examining the particulars required by the Government as to natives who contemplate matrimony, observed that in most cases the parties had a certain relationship to one another. They were returned as *veindavolani*, a word the meaning of which is unmistakable. It means that the parties are marriageable.

Mr. Thomson saw that the area covered by this word was so wide as to indicate an organised system, and he applied to it the term "Orthogamous Marriage." Some time afterwards he wrote to me about it, and I sent him a diagram which showed who the *veindavolani* are, and how they came into that relationship. He replied that the particulars shown by my diagram "coincided exactly" with those revealed by the replies to the printed questions on the Government schedules, and that there was absolutely no discrepancy whatever.

The following diagrams will explain the matter:—

DIAGRAM NO. 1.—*First Generation.*

4. My Sister.      3. My Sister.      1. Ego (male).      2. My Brother.

This diagram shows two men, who are brothers, with two women who are their sisters; and the relationships between these four persons, according to the Fijian system, are as follows:—

1 and 2 are *veitathini*.

3 and 4 " "

1 and 2 are *veinganeni* with 3 and 4.

These terms are made up of the collective and reciprocal particle *vei*, and the root word—in the one case *tathi*, and in the other *ngane*. The final syllable is a mere verbal termination.

*Tathi* is the term of relationship between brother and brother, or between sister and sister. The *veitathini* are of the same sex.

*Ngane* is the term of relationship between brother and sister. It means "one who shuns the other," and the *veinganeni* are the non-marriageable persons.

Let us now extend the diagram to the next generation.

## DIAGRAM No. 2.—Second Generation.

|               |               |                |                |
|---------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| 4. My Sister. | 3. My Sister. | 1. Ego (male). | 2. My brother. |
| Husband.      | Husband.      | Wife.          | Wife.          |
| 5. Son        | 6. Dau.       | 9. Son         | 10. Dau.       |
| 7. Son        | 8. Dau.       | 11. Son        | 12. Dau.       |

## THE VEITATHINI.

5 is veitathini with 7 } Males. | 6 is veitathini with 8 } Females.  
 9 " " " 11 } | 10 " " " 12 }

## THE VEINGANENI.

5 and 7 are veinganeni with 6 and 8.  
 9 " 11 " " " 10 " 12.

## THE VEINDAVOLANI.

5 and 7 are veindavolani with 10 and 12.  
 9 " 11 " " " 6 " 8.

Hence we see that the children of sisters are looked upon as brothers and sisters to one another, and not as first cousins, as with us; so also in the case of the children of brothers. They are either *veitathini* or *veinganeni*. If of the same sex, they are *veitathini*; if of different sexes they are *veinganeni*, and therefore non-marriageable. *Special attention is called to this*; for it is the key to the classificatory system of relationship.

We also see that a man's children are marriageable with those of his sister. In other words, the children of *veinganeni*, and none other are *veindavolani*.

There is in many tribes an inner regulation, forbidding marriage between a man's children and those of his own sister. The Australians, for instance say that, though these persons belong to marriageable groups, they are "too near," and they are not permitted to marry. This inner regulation is not the general rule in Fiji.

We may now extend the diagram to the third generation, omitting, for the sake of simplification one of the sisters, No. 4, her children, Nos. 5 and 6, and we shall see that the same rules apply:—



| 3. My Sister |          |         | 1. Ego (Male) |         |          | 2. My Brother |          |          |          |         |          |
|--------------|----------|---------|---------------|---------|----------|---------------|----------|----------|----------|---------|----------|
| Husband      |          |         | Wife          |         |          | Wife          |          |          |          |         |          |
| 7. Son       |          | 8. Dau. | 9. Son        |         | 10. Dau. | 11. Son       |          | 12. Dau. |          |         |          |
| Wife         |          | Husband | Wife          |         | Husband  | Wife          |          | Husband  |          |         |          |
| 13. Son      | 14. Dau. | 15. Son | 16. Dau.      | 17. Son | 18. Dau. | 19. Son       | 20. Dau. | 21. Son  | 22. Dau. | 23. Son | 24. Dau. |

According to the Fijian terms of relationship, the persons of the third generation are ranged as follows:—

#### RELATIONSHIPS OF THE THIRD GENERATION.

##### 1. THE VEITATHINI.

###### MALES.

13 with 19, 23 } 14 with 20, 24  
 15 " 17, 21 } 16 " 18, 22  
 17 " 15, 21 } 18 " 16, 22  
 19 " 19, 23 } 20 " 14, 24  
 21 " 15, 17 } 22 " 16, 18  
 23 " 13, 19 } 24 " 14, 20

###### FEMALES.

###### MALES.

13, 19, 23 are veitathini. | 14, 20, 24 are veitathini.  
 15, 17, 21 " " | 16, 18, 22 " "

###### FEMALES.

##### 2. THE VEINGANENI.

13 with 14, 20, 24 } 14 with 13, 19, 23  
 15 " 16, 18, 22 } 16 " 15, 17, 21  
 17 " 16, 18, 22 } 18 " 15, 17, 21  
 19 " 14, 20, 24 } 20 " 13, 19, 23  
 21 " 16, 18, 22 } 22 " 15, 17, 21  
 23 " 14, 20, 24 } 24 " 13, 19, 23

13, 19, 23 are veinganeni with 14, 20, 24.

15, 17, 21 are veinganeni with 16, 18, 22.

##### 3. THE VEINDAVOLANI.

13 with 16, 18, 22 } 14 with 15, 17, 21  
 15 " 14, 20, 24 } 16 " 13, 19, 23  
 17 " 14, 20, 24 } 18 " 13, 19, 23  
 19 " 16, 18, 22 } 20 " 15, 17, 21  
 21 " 14, 20, 24 } 22 " 13, 19, 23  
 23 " 16, 18, 22 } 24 " 15, 17, 21

13, 19, 23 are veindavolani with 16, 18, 22.

15, 17, 21 are veindavolani with 14, 20, 24.

If the diagram was extended to cover an entire community descended from Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, it would show precisely the same results to the remotest generation.

Tables No. 1 and 2 show that the males are ranged in two distinct groups of brothers, each of which has a group of sisters, thus forming two distinct classes—using this term for want of a better. One class consists of the males 13, 19, 23, with their sisters 14, 20, 24. The other class consists of the males, 15, 17, 21, with their sisters 16, 18, 22.

Table No. 3 shows that one class intermarries with the other, but has no marriage within itself. In such class the males are *veinganeni* (non-marriageable) with its females; but they are *veindavolani* (marriageable) with the females of the other class; that is to say, the two classes are exogamous and intermarrying.

We see further that the relationships are those of group to group, and that this group-relationship is binding upon every member of the respective groups. Thus, in Fiji, my sister's son's son, No. 13, looks upon my daughter's daughter, No. 20 or my brother's daughter's daughter, No. 24, as his sister (*ngane*) quite as much as if she were his own sister, No. 14. He will *nganena* (avoid) her as carefully as if she were the daughter of his own mother. If she enter a house in which he is sitting with his legs extended, he will draw up his feet and look away from her. If he meet her in the path he will ignore her existence. It would be indecent for him to be alone with her, to touch her, or even to speak to her. If he must speak of her, he will not use the term of relationship between them; he will not say "my *ngane*" (my sister)—he will refer to her as "one of my kinsfolk." In short, he makes no distinction between her and his own sister, the daughter of his own father and mother. It will, however, be convenient for our own purposes to make a verbal distinction, and we may call such relationships as these "tribal," to distinguish them from those which agree with our own system. But we must bear in mind that the Fijian makes no such distinction. He regards all women who are *veinganeni* with him as his sisters, whether they be "own" or "tribal."

Hitherto we have had under view only the relationships between individuals of the same generation—or, if we must be more precise, on the same level in a generation—but the group-law applies to all the relationships between one generation and another. Thus, No. 17 calls, not No. 9 only, but No. 11 also, "father." I call my brother's son (No. 11) "my son," and he calls me "father," just as if he were my own son. But it is not necessary for our present purpose to take these relationships into consideration.

Let us now examine the system of an Australian tribe, or cluster of tribes, such as that of the Kamilaroi (or more properly Kamilrai) of New South Wales.

These, like most of the other Australian tribe clusters, are divided into two exogamous intermarrying sections, or "Classes," and have descent through the mother. They are further subdivided into minor sections, but we need not take these into consideration as far as our present subject is concerned.

Let us call these two Classes A and B, denoting the males by capitals, and the females by small letters.

Let EGO be of the A Class. Then my brothers and sisters also are of that class (see diagram No. 4, p. 365).

This diagram shows the marriages and descents of a Kamilaroi tribe to the third generation.

The Classes being exogamous and intermarrying, Nos. 1, 2, 3, being of the A Class, must marry into the B Class.

Descent being through the mother, Nos. 7 and 8, whose mother is *a*, are *A* and *a* respectively; but 9, 10, 11, 12, who are the children of *b* women are *B* and *b* respectively. So also with the persons of the third generation.

Examining these, we find precisely what we found in the Fijian system—a group of men, 13, 19, 23, who are non-marriageable to a group of women 14, 20, 24, because they are all of the B Class, and the Classes are exogamous; and another group of males, 15, 17, 21, who are non-marriageable to another group of women, 16, 18, 22, because they are all of the A Class.

We also find, as in the Fijian case, that each of these groups of males is marriageable to the females of the other group. Nos. 13, 19, 23, who are all B are marriageable to Nos. 16, 18, 20, who are all *a*; and Nos. 15, 17, 21, who are all A, are marriageable to Nos. 14, 20, 24, who are all *b*.

If the diagram be continued to the remotest generation, it will give precisely the same results; and the proof seems to be absolutely conclusive that the Fijian system of relationship—which is exactly the Classificatory System, first observed by Dr. Lewis H. Morgan among the Iroquois and other North American Indian tribes, is the outcome of the division of a community into two exogamous intermarrying sections, such as those found in Australia and elsewhere.

It must be remembered that Mr. Thomson's observation of the *veindavolani* marriages in Fiji is of special value as evidence in this matter, because his mind was unbiassed by any theory, and he worked out his system of Orthogamous Marriage solely from the facts presented by the returns on the Government printed forms. From those returns he found, as a matter of fact, that in most cases "persons about to marry" in Fiji are *veindavolani*,

DIAGRAM NO. 4.

## THE KAMILABOI SYSTEM.

| 3. My Sister (a) |              | 1. Ego (A)  |              | 2. My Brother (A) |              |
|------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Husband (B)      |              | Wife (b)    |              | Wife (b)          |              |
| (A) 7. Son       | 8. Dau. (a)  | (B) 9. Son  | 10. Dau. (b) | (B) 11. Son       | 12. Dau. (b) |
| Husband (B)      |              | Wife (a)    |              | Wife (a)          |              |
| (B) 13. Son      | (A) 14. Dau. | (A) 15. Son | (A) 16. Dau. | (A) 17. Son       | (A) 18. Dau. |
| (B) 19. Son      | (b) 20. Dau. | (A) 21. Son | (A) 22. Dau. | (A) 23. Son       | (A) 24. Dau. |
| (B) 25. Son      | (b) 26. Dau. | (A) 27. Son | (A) 28. Dau. | (A) 29. Son       | (A) 30. Dau. |

and the explanation of the fact is given by the classificatory system of relationship, which is the evident outcome of the division of a community into two exogamous intermarrying sections.

We are compelled to use our own terms of relationship in explaining this system, but none of them have precisely the meaning which they bear in our own system, and some of them should not be employed at all.

For instance, Ego being male, "my brother" may be either my own brother, or any one of a number of men who are my "tribal brothers"; and "my sister," may be either my own sister, or any one of a group of women who are my "tribal sisters." "My sister," in fact is any woman of my own generation who belongs to a group which is not marriageable to my own.

So also with the terms for "husband" and "wife." "My wife" may be either my own wife, or any woman who belongs to a group that is marriageable to my own. She may be my own wife, or my possible wife. This extended meaning, which has to be given to all the terms of consanguinity and affinity, must be borne in mind.

The terms which ought never to be employed are Uncle, Aunt, and Cousin, for the use of them causes endless confusion.

In our own system, for instance, my father's brother, and my mother's brother are my uncles; but in the classificatory system my father's brother is called "my father," and he and I in the Fijian system, are *veitamani*, *tama* being the word for "father," but my mother's brother is *veivungoni* with me, and, I being male, my male *vungo* is either the father, own or tribal, of a woman who is *veindavolani* with me—i.e. who is marriageable to me—my possible father-in-law in fact; or a man who is marriageable to my daughter, own or tribal—my possible son-in-law. Thus, while Nos. 1 and 11 are *veitamani* (father and son) Nos. 1 and 7 are *veivungoni*; each calls the other *vungonggu*—*nggu* being the possessive suffix.

Again, in our own system, my mother's sister and my father's sister are my aunts; but in the classificatory system my mother's sister is "my mother," she is *veitinani* with me, *tina* being the word for "mother"; but my father's sister is *veivungoni* with me, and, I being male, my female *vungo* is the mother, own or tribal, of a girl who is marriageable to me—my possible mother-in-law, or a girl who is *veindavolani* with my son—my possible daughter-in-law.

I would suggest the abandonment of the terms Uncle and Aunt in dealing with the classificatory system, and the use of

the terms father-in-law, mother-in-law, son-in-law and daughter-in-law for these *veivungoni* relationships, with the understanding that they are used in the extended sense which has to be given to all the other terms.

With regard to the term Cousin:—according to our own system, my father's brother's children and my mother's sister's children are my first cousins; but, according to the classificatory system, they are my brothers and sisters. The term "Cousin," therefore, is misleading, and should never be employed.

It is evident that the classificatory relationships are conceived, not as between individual and individual, but as between group and group; but this group relationship comes upon every member of the various groups, and holds him fast. The relationship which his group bears to another is his relationship to every member of that group. For instance, a man can no more marry a woman who is *veinganeni* with him though, according to our own system, she may not be akin to him at all, than any one of us can marry his own sister. Furthermore, though he may not be able to get any particular woman on whom he may set his affections from a group that is marriageable to his own, there is the clearest distinction between the objection to his taking any one, or all, of the women who are *veindavolani* with him, and that which lies against his taking one of a group which is *veinganeni* with his own.

The term *veindavolani* expresses something more than is conveyed by our own word "marriageable." It expresses a *right*, and an *obligation*, as well as a *qualification*; a right which asserts itself clearly enough, even in settled agricultural tribes such as the Fijian, on certain ceremonial occasions. Under ordinary circumstances it is over-ridden by the later proprietary right conferred by actual marriage or betrothal, but it is still strong enough to assert itself on those occasions when the people deem it necessary to revert for a time, as they say, to the customs of their ancestors.

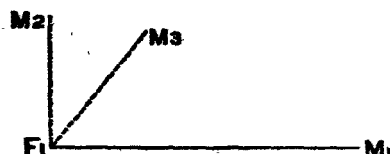
Actual marriage, or betrothal, gives a man a *special* right to a certain woman, or to certain women; but this right is intrinsically different from the group right which is his by birth. To offend against the former is an offence against *property*; to offend against the latter is an offence against *morality* which brings pollution upon the whole tribe. Thus, if a young Fijian, as is not unfrequently the case, elopes with a girl who is *veindavolani* with him, but is betrothed to someone else, the man to whom she was betrothed is wronged, and his friends will help him to seek his remedy. But it is his affair; the gods, that is the ancestors, are not concerned, for there has been no breach of

ancient custom. But if he were to run off with a girl who is *veinganeni* with him, the whole tribe would be up in arms, for he has brought pollution upon them all, and all are in danger. "Ye rebel to-day," said Phinehas, the priest, to the Reubenites, "Ye rebel to-day against the Lord, and to-morrow He will be wroth with the whole congregation of Israel." The difference between these two offences, as I have pointed out elsewhere, is that which, according to our own notions, exists between running off with a ward in Chancery, and taking one's own sister to wife.

The *veindavolani* right involves an obligation also which can be strictly enforced. The *veindavolani* must marry when the elders agree that it is time for them so to do; and in more than one instance when a girl's friends have agreed to give her to a Mission teacher, who was a member of another tribe, her *ndavola* has asserted against the alien the obligation she was under to himself, and his claim has been allowed.

It must, I think, be allowed that the classificatory terms point to group-marriage as well as to group-relationship, to a time when the *veindavolani* groups were, so to speak, married to one another. Bastian in his latest work, positively denies the existence of anything like group-marriage in Australia, "whether regulated, or not"; but the fact remains that it does exist. We find it unmistakably in the Pirauru custom of the Dieri, (Cooper's Creek) on which I read a short paper at the meeting in Hobart of the Australasian branch of the Association for the Advancement of Science.

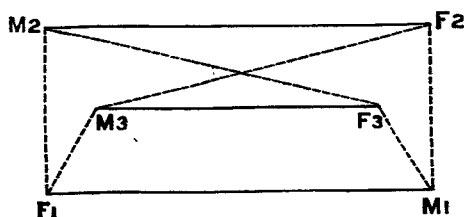
Every woman of that tribe has a man who is her *noa*, or special husband; she is *noa* to him, and he is *noa* to her. But she has also other men who are her *pirauru*, or "accessory husbands," she is *pirauru* to them and they are *pirauru* to her. Representing the females by F, and the males by M, the unbroken lines connecting the *noa*, and the dotted lines the *pirauru*, this custom is explained by the following diagrams:—



F<sub>1</sub> is a woman whose *noa* is M<sub>1</sub>, and her *pirauru* are M<sub>2</sub> and M<sub>3</sub>.

This, as far as it goes, looks like an evident case of polyandry. But each of these males has a *noa* of his own, and these women

have their *pirauru*. We may now complete the diagram as follows:—



$F_1$  is *noa* to  $M_1$ ; her *pirauru* are  $M_2$  and  $M_3$ .  
 $F_2$  " "  $M_2$ ; " " "  $M_1$  and  $M_3$ .  
 $F_3$  " "  $M_3$ ; " " "  $M_1$  and  $M_2$ .

The old men of the tribe allot the *pirauru* in what may be called the Council of the Elders, and in every case the women must belong to a group which is marriageable to that of the men to whom they are given. If the *noa* be present in the camp together with his wife's *pirauru*, his right takes precedence of theirs; but if he be absent, or waive his right for the time, any one of them may take her.

I cannot affirm that the diagram represents the actual combinations in any given case— $F_3$  for instance, may have *pirauru* other than  $M_1$  or  $M_3$ ; but if we could give an exact representation of the particular individuals, the diagram would only be enlarged and complicated; the result would be practically the same; and it is evident that the *pirauru* custom is a carefully regulated system of group marriage. It may be noted here that it is precisely the custom of the Nairs, which has been so confidently quoted as an undoubted instance of polyandry.

It has been asserted that the Classificatory System of Relationship is a mere "system of addresses," the ground for this assertion being that the members of certain tribes use the terms in addressing one another; but this explanation of the system appears to me to be directly contradicted by the facts. In the first place there are many tribes who never so employ the terms; in the second place, if they are not terms of relationship, the millions of people who use them have no terms of relationship at all, for they have none other than these; and, finally, it is impossible to suppose that the obligations and prohibitions conveyed by the terms could be conveyed by a mere system of addresses. Take for instance the *tabu* between the Fijian *veinganeni*. Any woman whom a Fijian calls his *ngane* is as strictly forbidden to him as our own sisters are to us; her very touch brings pollution upon him, and if he took



her to wife he would be regarded with abhorrence by all his tribe. Is it possible to believe that a mere term of address could bring a prohibition such as this? No theories are needed to account for these classificatory terms; they account for themselves, for they are the necessary outcome of the exogamous intermarrying divisions found in Australia and elsewhere; and the fair inference is that, wherever we find the terms, these divisions are, or have been in the past.

The question as to how those divisions arose is a very large and difficult one, for it is the much disputed question as to the origin of exogamy. The Australian natives say that the object of them was to prevent marriage between persons who are "too near" in blood, and they have a legend which expressly declares that the division of a community into exogamous intermarrying sections was a reformatory movement made in obedience to the direct injunction of the deified ancestors. Their statement may be taken for what it is worth. I have no theory of my own on the subject, nor can I regard any of the theories which have been advanced by others as satisfactory.

The practice of polyandry most certainly does not account for exogamy, because polyandry never was the system of marriage among any people on the face of the earth. Cases of the practice occur frequently enough, but it could never have been a marriage *system*, for the simple reason that, at the lowest possible estimate, it would require the men to be twice as numerous as the women.

Marriage by capture is equally unsatisfactory as the cause of exogamy, because capture in tribes organised like the Australian, does not give the captor a right to his captive unless she be of a totem which is marriageable to his own. The facts connected with this custom appear to me not to have anything whatever to do with exogamy. They fall in with those connected with what Sir John Lubbock has so happily called Expiation for Marriage, and to point to a recognition of the fact that individual marriage was an invasion of a common right.

Mr. Edward Westermarck's contention that exogamy arose out of a reluctance on the part of young men to marry girls with whom they have been brought up, does not seem to me to be in accordance with the facts. That reluctance is certainly to be found among settled agricultural tribes between the marriageable young people who have lived in close neighbourhood, and the reason of it is not far to seek; but we have to search for the cause of exogamy among tribes who are in a stage earlier than that of agricultural settlement. We must go to the nomad hunters to look for it, for they have the exogamous divisions, and among them the young people are not brought up

together. The occasions on which the whole tribe assembles are comparatively rare, for the game has to be sought in all directions over the common hunting-ground, and the tribe is usually split up into small parties wandering hither or thither in search of sustenance. Nor are the conditions of a nomad tribe which has settled down to agriculture more favourable to Mr. Westermarck's theory, for then it becomes a necessity to keep the marriages within the tribe, in order to prevent the dower-land given with the bride from passing out of the tribal estate, and the elders compel the young people to have regard to the tribal interests. The chief may go outside his tribe for a wife, but the commoners marry within the tribe, though not within that particular section of it to which they belong. My own conviction is that we shall never be able to arrive at certainty as to the origin of exogamy, and that our best plan is to accept the fact, confessing our inability to account for it.

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CONCUBITANCY in the CLASSIFICATORY SYSTEM of RELATIONSHIP.  
By BASIL H. THOMSON.

IN a paper communicated to the Anthropological Institute the Rev. Lorimer Fison connected the classificatory marriage system of the Fijians with the earlier and more primitive system found among certain Australian and Melanesian tribes, wherein the population is divided into two great exogamous marrying classes. He pointed out that in the course of certain investigations, which I in common with Dr. Corney and Mr. James Stewart were carrying out on behalf of the Government of Fiji, we incidentally discovered a system of obligatory marriage which was explicable by him as a development of the more primitive systems observed by him among tribes of a distant and distinct race. In his able paper he so fully describes the system itself that I do not propose in the course of this note to do more than approach it from the point of view of compulsory or obligatory marriage, round which central idea the system as at present practised by the Fijians appears to circle. But first it is necessary to choose a term which may be hereafter generally applied to this central idea of obligation. We thought at first of using the term "orthogamy," but this word indicates rather propriety than obligation, and we have now fallen back upon a literal translation of the native word itself, *Veindavolani* (*vei* affix of reciprocity: *davo* to lie down) namely "concubitant" (substantive and adjective), concubitaney (substantive). Until, therefore, a better term is found to indicate the practice I shall

speak of the relationship in which the marriage is obligatory as "concubintancy." Further, I must, as Mr. Fison has already done, urge, that for the proper understanding of this marriage system, English terms of relationship be laid aside, and readers must overcome their natural unwillingness to learn a word of five syllables, and adopt the native terms, for which, however, for greater clearness, I propose to use coined English synonyms wherever possible.

There are, it may be said, two systems of kinship nomenclature current among Fijians, one indicating consanguinity, and the other kinship in relation to marriage. This latter system radiates from the central idea of concubintancy, and it is with this system that for the present we have to deal.<sup>1</sup>

- (1) The terms of consanguinity are as follows:—

*Tama*—Father, or paternal uncle;

*Tina*—Mother, or maternal aunt;

*Tuaka*—Elder brother, sister, or cousin (not concubintous).

*Taci*—Younger brother, sister, or cousin-german (not concubintous);

*Luve*—Child;

*Tuka*—Grandfather;

*Bu*—Grandmother;

*Makubu*—Grandchild;

*Tubu*—Great-grandparent.

- (2) *Gane* (reciprocal form, *Veiganeni*)—the relationship of a male and female of the same generation between whom marriage is forbidden, *i.e.*, brother and sister, both real and artificial;

*Davola* (reciprocal form *Veidavolani*)—the relationship of males and females of the same generation between whom marriage is right, and even obligatory, consequently sister-in-law;

*Tavale* (reciprocal form *Veitavaleni*)—Male cousins who would be concubintous if one were a female, consequently a man's brother-in-law;

*Dauve* (reciprocal form *Veidauveni*)—female cousins who would be concubintous if one were male, consequently a woman's sister-in-law;

*Vugo*—Nephew, *i.e.*, son of a man's sister or woman's brother, also son-in-law or daughter-in-law, also used reciprocally;

*Gadina*—Maternal uncle, or father-in-law; vocative form in the case of father-in-law, is *gadi* or *momo*;

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this paper the Fijian spelling has been followed. Before G D read N; before B read M; and pronounce Q as NNG.

*Ganeitama*—Paternal aunt or mother-in-law; vocative form in the case of mother-in-law, is *ganei*.

Besides these there are compound names for some of the more remote relationships, and names for certain connections, such as *karua* (i.e., "the second," reciprocal form *veikaruani*), used of wives of a bigamous household, and also of children of the same father by different mothers.

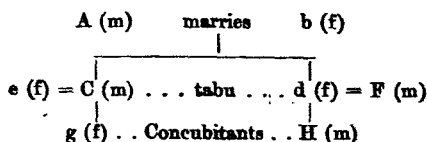
I propose to call the *gane* (reciprocal form *veiganeni*), "Tabu," because marriage between them is forbidden. *Veidavolani*, I shall call concubitants because marriage between them is obligatory. The tabu relationship occurs:—

(1) Between the son and daughter of the same parents.

(2) Between children respectively of two brothers or the children respectively of two sisters, such children being male and female.

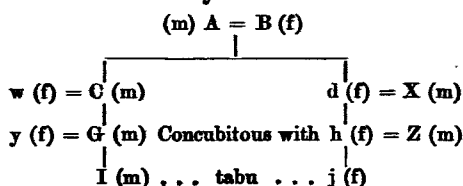
From a Fijian point of view, this relationship is exactly the same in both cases. The father's brother and the mother's sister share with the father and mother an almost equal degree of paternity. Thus a man or a woman, referring to his or her father's brother calls him "*Tamaqu*" (my father), and if he is asked "*Tamamu dina?*" (my real father) he will answer "*A Tamaqu lailai*," (my little father). The same remark applies to the mother's sister. The tabu relationship also occurs artificially between the children respectively of concubitants who have broken through the system, and have not married, but to this I will refer in its proper place.

*Concubitants*.—This relationship occurs between persons whose parents respectively were brother and sister. The opposition of sex in the parents not only breaks down the barrier of consanguinity, but even constitutes the child of the one a marital complement of the child of the other. The young Fijian is from his birth regarded as the natural husband of the daughters of his father's sister and of his mother's brother. The girls can exercise no choice. They were born the property of their male concubitant if he desire to take them. Thus the custom if generally followed would enclose the blood of each family within itself, and obstruct the influx of a new strain at every third generation. The natural tendency towards the renovation of the blood would be checked, and its stagnation be continued. Thus:—



A. and B. were concubintants, their children tabu. G. and H. being the children of tabu relations are concubintous. They marry, and of course their children being brother and sister are again tabu. But if D had been a male who had married F, a female, G and H would have been tabu. It will thus be seen that the concubintant and tabu alternate generation after generation. The children of concubintants must be tabu, and the children respectively of tabu must be concubintant.

It must of course happen, that persons who are concubintant have a mutual dislike to one another and do not marry, or, since a man cannot marry all his concubintants, or a woman all her concubintants, the system is dislocated by some of them marrying persons who are in no way related to them. Thus:—

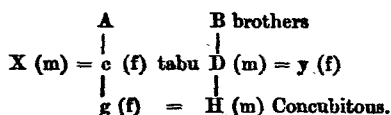


G and H are concubintants, born husband and wife, as were their grandparents A and B, but they grow up and take a dislike to one another and each marries some one else. Yet the system takes no account of such petty interruptions as likes and dislikes. They were born married, and married they must be so far as their children are concerned. They have each married outside the tribe, yet their children I and J are tabu just as much as if G and H had married and they were the offspring of the marriage. G and H have in fact dislocated the system for all posterity, but the system goes on, refusing to admit the injury done to it. The most striking feature in the system is this oppressive intolerance. It is so indifferent to human affections, that if a man dares to choose a woman other than the wife provided for him his disobedience avails him nothing. His concubintant is still his wife, and her children are his children. It will, it is true, give way so far as to recognise as his wife the woman he has chosen, but only on the condition that she becomes his fictitious concubintant, and that all her relatives fall into their places as if she had actually been born his concubintant.

This brings us to a fresh starting point from which the concubintous relationship is established. Since a man who is the concubintant of a woman, is necessarily also the concubintant of all her sisters, by a natural evolution, if he marries a woman unrelated to him by blood, and *ipso facto* makes her his concubintant, all her sisters become his concubintants also. In the

past they would have been his actual wives, for a man could not take one of several sisters—he was in honour bound to take them all. In the same way a woman and her sisters became the concubitants of all her husband's brothers, and upon his death, she passed naturally to her eldest brother-in-law if he cared to take her. This does not imply polyandry or community among brothers, but rather what is known to anthropologists as Levirate, a woman's marriage to her brother-in-law being contingent on her husband's death.

Hitherto we have dealt with persons sprung from the respective marriages of a brother and sister, and have not touched upon the offspring respectively of two brothers or two sisters. These are tabu to one another, being as I have said, regarded as being as closely consanguineous as an actual brother and sister.



C and D being the offspring of two brothers are tabu. They marry respectively their concubitants, and their offspring G and H are concubitous. Thenceforward the concubitous and tabu relationships occur in alternate generations. It must not be understood, however, that in these remote occurrences the tabu relationships are always strongly tabu, or that the concubitous relationships always entail marriage. The fact is remembered, that is all. "They are veiganeni!" "But they are married!" "Yes, but their veiganeni-ship is remote." ("Ia ka sa yawa nodrau veiganeni.")

It will be well at this point to examine the exact nature of the obligation existing between concubitants. It must not be understood from the use of the word "obligatory" that a woman who was concubitant with several males practised polyandry, or that in the days of polygamy a man necessarily received into his harem all the females who stood in that relation to him. The relationship seems to carry with it propriety rather than obligation. Concubitants are born husband and wife, and the system assumes that no individual preference could hereafter destroy that relation; but the obligation does no more than limit the choice of a mate to one or other of the females who are concubitants with the man who desires to marry. It is thus true that in theory the field of choice is very large, for the concubitous relation might include third or even fifth cousins, but in practice the tendency is to marry the concubitant who is next in degree,—generally a first cousin—the daughter of a maternal uncle. A very good illustration of this occurred last year, among

the grandchildren of the late king Thakombau. The concubitant of his grand-daughter Andi Thakombau was Ratu Beni, chief of Naitasiri, but for various rascalities he had been deported to the island of Ono. Meanwhile her relations proposed an alliance with the powerful chief family of Rewa, and she was formally betrothed to the young chief Tui Sawau. But just before the marriage Ratu Beni was liberated, returned home, and at once laid claim to his concubitant. The claim was allowed by her relatives, the match broken off, and letters received a few weeks ago state that the relations between Bau and Rewa were so strained that the chiefs went in bodily fear of one another.

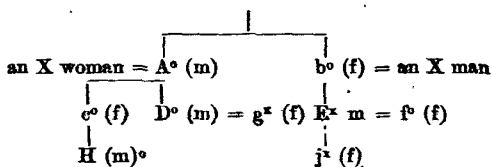
I have always been assured by the natives that the practice of concubintancy has greatly decreased since the introduction of Christianity and settled government. From the fact that 30 per cent. still marry their concubintants it may be guessed how universal the custom must formerly have been. Now that free communication exists between the islands, and men have a far larger field of election they are said to choose rather not to marry their concubintants. Ratu Marika explained this by saying "One has no zest for one's davola. She is too near. When you hear man and wife quarrelling, one says 'What else? Are they not veidavolani?'" The result is curious. They do not marry as they did formerly, but they commit adultery either before or after marriage. No sooner is a girl married than her concubitant comes and claims her, and so strong is custom that she seldom repulses him. It is said that about 50 per cent. of the adultery cases brought before the criminal courts of the colony are offences between concubintants, but a number never come before the courts because the husband does not choose to prosecute. There are but few prosecutions for fornication between concubintants, because the complainants, the parents of the girl, do not feel themselves to be aggrieved.

#### *Veitavaleni.*

It will probably have occurred to you that there must be some peculiarity in the relations between males, who would if they were male and female be concubintants. This relationship is called veitavaleni. To break through for once our rule of not using European terms, I may at once say, that veitavaleni must of necessity mean both cousin and brother-in-law, and the reason is sufficiently obvious. Your tavale is a brother of the woman to whom you were born married; *ergo*, your brother-in-law. The fact that you do not marry her makes no difference. She is your natural wife, and he is your natural brother-in-law. Even if your tavale has no sister, he is still your brother-in-law, because, potentially, a sister might be born to him, who would be

your wife. At this point I thought that I had found an inconsistency in the logic of the system. As the children of veidavolani (concubitants) are tabu, I supposed, naturally, that the children of veitavaleni would be tabu also; but I found to my surprise that this was not so. Their children became veidavolani (concubitants). It seemed illogical, but I supposed that it was done as a compensation. The parents could not marry because they were of the same sex, therefore to compensate the system for the loss of a concubitous marriage, their children were made to repair the accident by being concubitants.

I pointed this out to Mr. Fison, and he, looking at the system purely from the point of view that the whole system was a development of group marriage, when the entire tribe was divided into two exogamous marrying classes, said that he saw no inconsistency at all. We worked the problem out on paper, and discovered that, with the class marriage as a clue, this fact became perfectly consistent and logical—



Let us suppose the population to be divided into two great classes X and O. Descent, in Fiji, follows the father, therefore the two veitavaleni D and E belong to opposite classes. D O marries an X woman. E X marries an O woman. Their children obviously belong to opposite classes. They cannot therefore be tabu, and, through their relationship, they become concubitous. We thus stumbled upon an analogy that goes far to uphold the theory that concubitancy is merely a development of exogamous group marriage.

*Veidauveni*.—Let us now consider the relations between females who would have been concubitants had they been of opposite sexes. They are called veidauveni, which according to our phraseology would mean cousin and sister-in-law, for in the concubitous system these terms are one and the same thing. As in the case of the concubitants, the veidauveni is curiously stretched to cover the case of a man marrying a stranger woman unrelated to him. She becomes veidauveni to his sister, as a logical deduction from the fiction that she is concubitant with him, and as the children of veidauveni must be concubitous, so her children and her sister-in-law's children are concubitants.

*Gadina*.—The system extends even to the earlier generations. The *gadina* means in our phraseology both mother-in-law and



uncle and father-in-law, for since your wife is the daughter of your mother's brother, it is obvious that he must stand to you in both those relations. A man may marry a woman unrelated to him, yet his father-in-law becomes forthwith his uncle (*gadina*) for by the marriage he has constituted his wife concubitous with him, and this entails the fiction that her father was tabu to his mother (*i.e.*, her brother), and therefore his uncle.

*Vugo*.—Nephew, *i.e.*, son of a man's sister or woman's brother, also son-in-law or daughter-in-law, also used reciprocally.

My mother's brother is my vugo ; my sister's son is my vugo ; my daughter's husband is my vugo. Under our system there seems little akin between these three relationships, but in the Fijian system they are one and the same.

$$\begin{array}{ccc} Dx(m) = c, o(f) \text{ sister of } E, o = fx(f) & & \\ \downarrow & & \downarrow \\ A, x \dots\dots\dots b, o(f) & & \\ \text{Concubintants.} & & \end{array}$$

A's mother's brother, A's vugo, has a daughter B, who is concubitous with A. Whether she marries him or not, he was born her husband, and he is therefore her father's vugo, son-in-law and nephew. It is to be remembered that marriage is never permitted between relations of different generations. Under no circumstances must *veivugoni* marry, though under the rules of exogamous marrying classes they would unless specially forbidden, have been permitted to marry. In the above table, A being an X his mother's brother is an O. On no account must the latter marry G, A's sister, who is an X, but if A's vugo has a daughter bO, the marriage between A and b at once becomes obligatory. Here is to be found the reason for the curious custom of avoidance of the mother-in-law among the Australians and other tribes. Many theories have been advanced for this, but with the exception of Mr. Fison, I believe that no one has propounded the true explanation. It is that in uterine descent a man's mother-in-law belongs to the class from which he must take his wife. But she being of a different generation is tabu to him; hence he must avoid her absolutely lest he be tempted by her charms to break through the law of the system.

This marriage system is practised generally throughout the Fiji Islands, with the following exceptions and modifications:—

In the province of Namosi the descendants of two brothers or of two sisters are regarded as tabu throughout as many generations as their parentage can be remembered, and are strictly forbidden to intermarry. The children of concubintants who have neglected to intermarry do not, as in Bau, become tabu, but are made to repair their parents' default by themselves becoming concubintants.

In Lau, Cakaudrove, and the greater portion of Vanualevu, the offspring of a brother and sister respectively do not become concubitous until the second generation. In the first generation they are called tabu, but marriage is not actually prohibited. The children of two brothers or of two sisters are, as in Bau, strictly forbidden to intermarry.

Inquiries we have made among the natives of Samoa, Futuna, Rotuma, Uea, and Malanta (Solomon Group), have satisfied us that the practice of concubitous marriage is unknown in those islands; indeed in Samoa and Rotuma, not only is the marriage of cousins-german forbidden, but the descendants of a brother and sister respectively, who in Fiji would be expected to marry, are there regarded as being within the forbidden degrees as long as their common origin can be remembered. This rule is also recognised throughout the Gilbert Islands, with the exception of Apemama and Makin, and is there only violated by the high chiefs. In Tonga, it is true, a trace of the custom can be detected. The union of the grandchildren (and occasionally even of the children) of a brother and a sister is there regarded as a fit and proper custom for the superior chiefs, but not for the common people. In Tonga, other things being equal, a sister's children rank above a brother's and therefore the concubitous rights were vested in the sister's grandchild, more especially if a female. Her parents might send for her male cousin to be her *takaifala* (lit. "bed-maker") or consort. The practice was never, however, sufficiently general to be called a national custom. So startling a variation from the practice of the other Polynesian races may be accounted for by the suggestion that the chiefs, more autocratic in Tonga than elsewhere, having founded their authority upon the fiction of their descent from the gods, were driven to keep it by intermarriage among themselves, lest in contaminating their blood by alliance with their subjects their divine rights should be impaired. A similar infringement of forbidden degrees by the chiefs has been noticed in Hawaii, where the chief of Mau'i was, for reasons of State, required to marry his half-sister. It is matter of common knowledge that for the same reason the Incas of Peru married their full sister, and that the Kings of Siam marry their half-sisters at the present day.

*Origin of the Custom.*—I venture to offer here three possible explanations of the origin of this custom, leaving it to the acknowledged authorities upon the history of marriage to point out what in their opinion is the true explanation:—

1. It may be a survival of an earlier custom of group-marriage and uterine descent such as is to be found in the Banks Islands, where the entire population is divided into two

groups which we will call X and O. A man of the X group must marry an O woman and *vice versa*. The children, following the mother, are O's and are, therefore, kin to their mother's brother rather than to their own father. Their mother's brother, an O, marries an X woman, whose children are X's, and are potential wives to their first cousins: although in the Banks group the blood relationship is not lost sight of, and close marriages are looked upon as improper, whilst in Fiji such a union would be obligatory.<sup>1</sup> The children of two brothers of the X group, following their mothers would be O's, and therefore forbidden to marry; and so also would be the children of two sisters. Thus far the results of the two customs are the same; but in the Banks group consanguineous marriage is checked by public opinion which in Fiji favours such marriages. Group-marriage on precisely the same lines has been noticed in Western Equatorial Africa<sup>2</sup> and among the Tinnè Indians in North West America.<sup>3</sup>

In Fiji, agnatic has generally taken the place of uterine descent (although in some parts of Vanualevu traces of the custom still appear to linger), but the existing system of *vasu*, which gives a man extraordinary claims upon his maternal uncle, may be an indication that concubitous marriage is a survival of the more ancient custom. The *vasu* system is found to some extent among all peoples who trace descent through the mother. Tacitus, speaking of the ancient Germans, says that the tie between the maternal uncle and his nephew was a more sacred bond than the relation of father and son.<sup>4</sup>

2. It is also possible that concubitous marriage is a relaxation of the stricter prohibition in force amongst the Polynesians. The origin of these prohibitions may, perhaps, be found in some such occurrence as that described in the "Murdu" legend of Australia, quoted by Messrs. Fison and Howitt in "Kamilaroi and Kurnai":—

"After the Creation brothers and sisters and others of the closest kin intermarried promiscuously, until, the evil effects becoming manifest, a council of the chiefs was assembled to consider in what way they might be averted."

Some such crisis must have been reached in every group of

<sup>1</sup> Thus, John X marries Mary O. They have two children, male O and female O (belonging to mother's group). These marry female X and male X (father's group). Their children would be X's and O's respectively, following their mothers, and, if of opposite sex, could intermarry, although public opinion regards the union as improper in consequence of the near relationship of the parents.

<sup>2</sup> Du Chaillu, "Trans. Ethn. Soc.," N.S., vol. i, p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> "Smithsonian Report," 1866, p. 315.

<sup>4</sup> "De Mor., Germ. xx," quoted by Sir John Lubbock.

islands that was peopled by the immigration of a single family, and the natural solution in every case would have been to prohibit the marriage of both classes of cousins-german. But, little by little, the desire for alliances among chief families, for the restoration of the claims of *vasu*, and for the recovery of an equivalent of the tillage rights given in dowry, may have chafed against the prohibitions until these were so far relaxed as to allow the marriage of cousins in the degree most effective for promoting an interchange of property. For a similar reason Moses ordered the daughters of Zelophehad to marry men of their father's tribe, in order that their property should not pass out of the tribe, and "their inheritance remained in the tribe of the family of their father" (Numbers xxxvi, 12).

3. A third solution may be found in the transition from uterine to agnatic descent, a change that came about gradually as social development prompted the sons to seize on the inheritance of their father to the exclusion of the nephew (*vasu*). With the admission of the father's relationship to his son grew the idea that he was the life-giver and the mother the mere vehicle for the gestation of the child, and the child came to be regarded as related to his father instead of to his mother.<sup>1</sup> Thus Orestes,<sup>2</sup> arraigned for the murder of his mother, Clytemnestra, asks the Erinyes why they did not punish Clytemnestra for slaying her husband Agamemnon; and, upon their answer that she was not kin to the man she slew, he founds the plea that by the same rule they cannot touch him, for he is not kin to his mother. The plea is admitted by the gods. By this rule, a man is not kin to his father's sister's daughter, she being kin to her father only; but her affinity to him would render their marriage convenient as regards the family possessions. From long usage a sense of obligation would be evolved, and such cousins come to be regarded as concubitous. The children of sisters would be still within the forbidden degrees, for, although not kin through their mothers, their fathers, being presumably the concubitous cousins of their mothers, would be near kin.

I incline to accept the first explanation—that the custom of orthogamy has been evolved from an earlier system of group-marriage and uterine descent. I think that it dates from the remote period when there was indiscriminate intercourse between the members of two exogamous marrying classes, when it was impossible to say who was the actual father of the

<sup>1</sup> We find it stated by Dr. Codrington that there is a remarkable tendency throughout the islands of Melanesia towards the substitution of a man's own children for his sister's children and others of his kin in succession to his property; and this appears to begin where the property is the produce of the man's own industry.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Sir John Lubbock, "Origin of Civilisation."

children born. Under such a system the reputed offspring of two brothers might in reality be the children of only one of them, and the children of two sisters might have a common father, and their union be incestuous. But the children of a brother and sister respectively could not possibly have a common parent, and their intercourse was therefore innocuous. For the same reason the children of concubitants who were not known to have cohabited were still held to be tabu to each other, for the male concubitant had a right of cohabitation over the female of which he might at any time have availed himself, and their offspring reputed to be by their other partners might in reality be half brother and sister without their knowledge.

Though the Fijian system of relationships is closely allied to those of the Tamils in India, and the Two-mountain Iroquois, and the Wyandots in North America, none of these, so far as we have been able to ascertain, recognise the principle of concubitous cousinship. The custom must be regarded, we believe, as being one of limited range, evolved from marriage laws of far wider application. It undoubtedly exercises upon the Fijians a marked influence in promoting consanguineous marriages—an influence from which the other races in the Pacific are comparatively free if we except the inhabitants of the island of Tanna in the New Hebrides, and possibly of some other islands not yet systematically investigated.

*The Practice of Concubitaney.*—The fact of a race of men habitually marrying their first cousins promised to exhibit such remarkable features in vital statistics that we did not stop short at investigating the theory alone. We caused a census to be taken of twelve villages, not selected from one province, but chosen only for convenience of enumeration in the widely separated provinces of Rewa, Colo East, Serna, and Ba. I am indebted to Mr. James Stewart for the analysis of the returns which follows:—

In the twelve villages there were 448 families. The couples forming the heads of these families have had born to them as children of the marriage 1317 children, an average of 2.94 to each marriage. But of these 1317 children only 679 remain alive, 638 being dead. The heads of these families therefore do not replace themselves by surviving children, for only 51.5 per cent survive, while 48.5 are lost.

- (1) We divided the married couples into four classes:—Concubitous relations who have married together. These we found to be on inquiry in nearly every case actual first cousins. They formed 29.7 per cent. of the total number of families.

- (2) Relations other than concubitous cousins who have intermarried. Two-fifths of these are near relations, uncle and niece, and non-marriageable cousins-german, brother and sister according to the Fijian ideas. But the remaining three-fifths are more distantly related than are the concubitants. These form 12·3 per cent. of the total number of families.
- (3) Townspeople—natives of the same town, but not otherwise related—who have married together. These form 32·1 of the total number of families.
- (4) Natives of different towns, not being relations who have intermarried. These form 25·9 of the total number of families.

Thus it will be seen that the concubitant and other relations who have intermarried number over two-fifths of the people, while one-third of the married people have been brought up together in the same village, and only one-fourth, not being relatives have come from different towns.

When we examined the relative fecundity of these divisions the result was not a little startling:—

|  |          |               |          |                           |
|--|----------|---------------|----------|---------------------------|
| 133 concubitous couples                    | have had | 438 children, | or       | 3·30 children per family. |
| 55 families of relations                   | " "      | 168 " "       | 3·06 " " | " "                       |
| 144 families of townspeople                | " "      | 390 " "       | 2·71 " " | " "                       |
| 116 families of natives of different towns | " "      | 321 " "       | 2·77 " " | " "                       |

It will thus be seen that as regards fecundity, concubitous marriages are greatly superior to any of the other classes.

But since fecundity does not necessarily mean vitality, the question is, how many of the children born to these respective divisions have survived? and we find the unexpected result that whereas the other classes change places, the concubitants again show themselves to be superior.

|   |                              |                         |                     |
|---|------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| Of 133 { families of concubi-<br>tants, there were .. }                   | 438 { children,<br>of whom } | 232 { survive,<br>and } | 206 { are<br>dead } |
| Of 55 { families of relations,<br>not concubitants,<br>there were .. }    | 168 { children,<br>of whom } | 72 { survive,<br>and }  | 96 { are<br>dead }  |
| Of 144 { families of towns-<br>people, there were }                       | 390 { children,<br>of whom } | 212 { survive,<br>and } | 178 { are<br>dead } |
| Of 116 { families of natives of<br>different villages,<br>there were .. } | 321 { children,<br>of whom } | 163 { survive,<br>and } | 158 { are<br>dead } |

The concubitants with an average surviving family of 1·74 show, therefore, not only a higher birthrate, but far the highest vitality of offspring.

The relations other than concubitants show, it is true, the

highest fecundity next to the concubitants, but their rate of vitality is the lowest of the four classes, since more of their children have died than are now living.

Second in point of vitality come the townspeople, but they are far behind the concubitants.

From our preconceived ideas of the advantages of out-breeding we should expect to find that the offspring of natives of different villages would have shown, if not the highest fecundity, at least the highest vitality, for this is the class in which the parents are not related. On the contrary, we find that the families of these unrelated people are only third in point of vitality.

In view of the unfavourable position which the "relations other than concubitants" hold in this analysis it is well to divide the group into two classes. Of the fifty-five families of "relations," thirty-three are stated to be *Kawa vata* (i.e. of the same stock, but not necessarily of the same family or generation). The remaining twenty-two families on the other hand consist of such unions (incestuous from the Fijian point of view) of veiganeni or veitacini, that is to say brother and sister, or cousins not concubitous; veivugoni, uncle and niece, or aunt and nephew; veitamani, father and daughter, or paternal uncle and niece; and veiluvani or veitinani, maternal aunt and nephew or mother and son. Let us therefore for purposes of identification, divide the group into:—first, relations distant; second, relations specified.

| Divisions.               | Number of Families. | Children of the Marriage. |       |        |
|--------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|-------|--------|
|                          |                     | Alive.                    | Dead. | Total. |
| Relations (distant) ..   | 33                  | 49                        | 61    | 110    |
| Average per family ..    | —                   | 1.48                      | 1.85  | 3.33   |
| Relations (specified) .. | 22                  | 23                        | 35    | 58     |
| Average per family ..    | —                   | 1.05                      | 1.59  | 2.64   |
| Total ..                 | 55                  | 72                        | 96    | 168    |
| Average per family ..    | —                   | 1.31                      | 1.75  | 3.06   |

The fecundity of these distant relations thus appear to be much higher than that of the specified relations, and a little higher even than that of the concubitants—the highest of the four groups. The comparative figures are as follows:—

|                           | Average Family. |       |        |
|---------------------------|-----------------|-------|--------|
|                           | Alive.          | Dead. | Total. |
| Veidavolani .. .. .       | 1.74            | 1.56  | 3.30   |
| Relations (distant) .. .. | 1.48            | 1.85  | 3.33   |

The vitality therefore is much less in the case of relations distant than among the children of the concubitants.

The fecundity of the division "relations specified," is lower than that of any of the four groups, and the vitality of their progeny is greatly inferior to any of the other classes.

For the last ten years the Fijians have been either stationary, slightly increasing, or decreasing, according to the prevalence of foreign epidemics, the balance being in favour always of decrease. The different figures show that no class of the population replaces itself by surviving children of the marriage. But the deficiency is made up by the children of former marriages, and illegitimate children, who form a large portion of the population, but whose case it was not necessary to consider for the purposes of this paper. But we find the startling fact that the class that most nearly succeeds in replacing itself is that of the concubitants, which, consisting of one hundred and thirty-three families or two hundred and sixty-six individuals have, out of a total number of children born to them of four hundred and thirty-eight, a surviving progeny of two hundred and thirty-two. If we add the surviving step-children of these individuals, their total surviving progeny becomes three hundred and seventeen, thus replacing the heads of existing families, and leaving fifty-one children towards replacing the parents of the step-children. In every respect the concubitants appear to be the most satisfactory marriage class. They amount to only 29.7 per cent. of the population, but they bear 33.3 per cent. of the children born, and they rear 34.2 of the children reared; and, including step-children, they rear 34.7 of the children who survive.

It is not a little remarkable that the two extremes of vitality should occur in the two classes in which in-breeding prevails. The larger class of the concubitants (in which class also is found the highest fecundity) shows the highest vitality of the four groups. The smaller class, the relations other than concubitants, second in point of fecundity, discloses the lowest vitality, and yet the proportion of these marriages which would



be regarded as incestuous by our system, is small. It is not to be forgotten, however, that in marriages which are regarded by the people as socially right and proper, more care may be bestowed upon the offspring both by the relations of the parents who nurse the mother and child, and by the parents themselves. By the same reasoning it is probable that the offspring of marriages regarded as incestuous are neglected by the relations of the parents, and, as a consequence, that less pride is taken in them by the parents themselves.

It has not been found that concubintants marry either earlier or later in life than the members of the other classes, and it is to be remembered that concubintants are very often natives of different villages, which may tend to prevent the relations attending upon the mother in her confinement. One of our native witnesses assured us, moreover, that the union of concubintants was seldom a happy one. Quarrels between husband and wife would certainly outweigh any advantages in favour of childbearing which the social propriety or fitness might be held to create. But even supposing that the influences at work to make concubintancy so satisfactory a procreative element in the population are of a moral nature, the difference is so marked that there is a balance over to be accounted for by some other explanation. That they rear a larger proportion of their children may be partly or wholly due to the fact that their relationship to each other gives them a higher sense of responsibility, but that they bear more children capable of being reared argues a superior physical fitness for procreation. I am aware that the figures are far too small to allow of any generalisation from them, but at the same time, it is to be remembered that the inhabitants of these twelve villages represent a fair sample of the population, and also that we found the relative positions of the married classes to be generally the same in each village taken individually. We have here a phenomenon probably unique in the whole range of anthropology—a people who for generations have married their first cousins and still continue to do so, and among whom the offspring of first cousins were not only more numerous but have greater vitality than the children of persons unrelated. Nay more, the children of concubintants—of first cousins whose parents were brother and sister—have immense advantages over the children of first cousins who are the offspring of two brothers or two sisters respectively. In no other part of the world does there exist so favourable material for investigating the phenomena of in-breeding among human beings. Is it possible that we have stumbled upon an important truth in our physical nature? Throughout Europe there is a widespread

prejudice against the union of first cousins, a prejudice that must have arisen from the observation of chance unions. Two French scientists, MM. Lagneau and Guèniot, have lately attempted to combat this prejudice that marriage of first cousins is in itself productive of evil in the offspring. By classifying the people of Batz, who, they affirm, are the offspring of generations of consanguineous marriages, they found the population to be comparatively free from the morbid characteristics usually attributed to consanguinity, and they traced the cases of scrofula and similar morbid taints back to its origin in the parents and grand-parents. From this they argued, that, if scrofulous or ricketty children are born of parents nearly related, it is due to the fact that hereditary taint of disease on one or both of them has not been diluted by marriage with a person unrelated to them. It is a pity that in their investigations they did not trace the exact tie of consanguinity between the parents. It might then have been seen, whether in Europe as in Fiji, the union of the children respectively of a brother and sister is innocuous, while that of the children of two brothers or two sisters respectively produces evil effects upon the offspring.

The point at issue therefore is this. Is the classificatory system of relationships after all more logical in an important respect than our own? Is there really a wide physical difference between the relationship of cousins who are offspring of a brother and sister respectively and that of cousins whose parents respectively were two brothers or two sisters? Ought marriage in the one case to be allowed or even encouraged, and in the other case as rigidly forbidden as if it were incestuous? More complete and detailed statistics than it is possible to give within the limits of this paper are at the service of anyone who will attempt to answer these questions by going more deeply into the subject.

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JANUARY 8TH, 1895.

Dr. J. G. GARSON, *Vice-President, in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and signed.

The presents which had been received were announced and thanks voted to their respective donors.

Mr. ARTHUR MONTEFIORE exhibited a collection of specimens obtained by Mr. F. G. Jackson from the Samoyads of the Great Tundra.

The following papers were read :—

"Notes on the Samoyads of the Great Tundra. Collected from the Journals of F. G. JACKSON, Esq., F.R.G.S." By ARTHUR MONTEFIORE, Esq., F.R.G.S.

"The Bora, or Initiation Ceremonies of the Kamilaroi Tribe." By R. H. MATHEWS, Esq.

"A Highly Ornate 'Sword' from the Coburg Peninsula, North Australia." By R. ETHERIDGE, Junr., Esq.

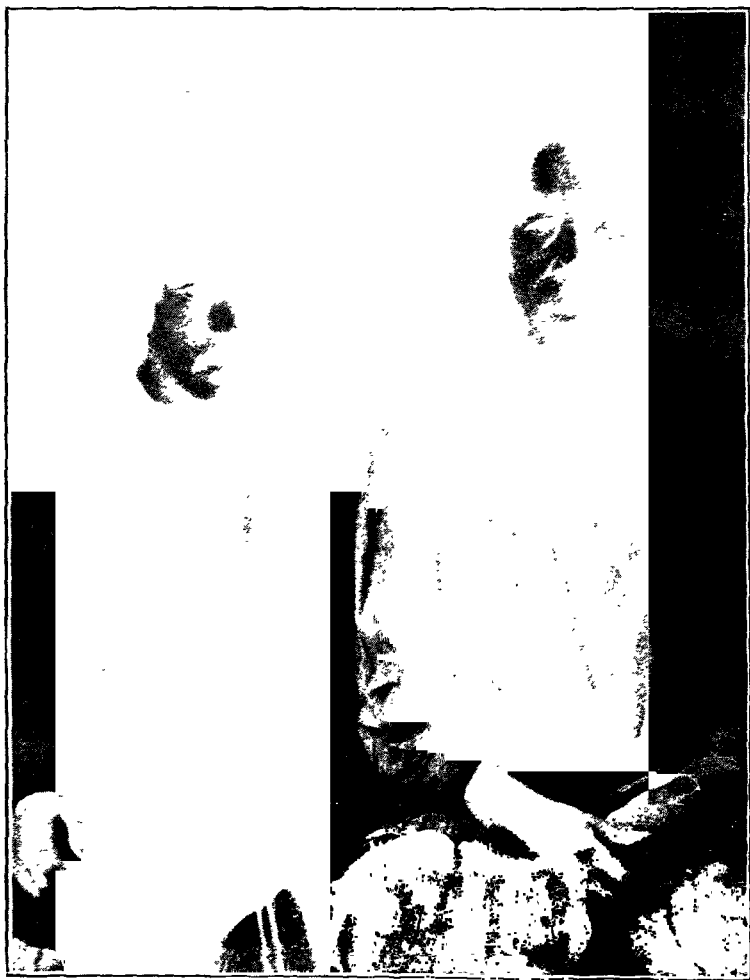
NOTES on the SAMOYADS of the GREAT TUNDRA, collected from the journals of F. G. JACKSON, F.R.G.S.; with some prefatory remarks by ARTHUR MONTEFIORE, F.G.S., F.R.G.S.

[PLATES XVIII, XIX, XX.]

SINCE the days of Castrén, ethnologists have generally adopted his classification of the Mongoloid races of Northern Asia; and until some traveller equally skilled to observe, and laborious to record, devotes himself to a study of those races as thorough as that made by Castrén, it may be well to leave undisturbed his main results and the nomenclature he has adopted.

Following Castrén then, we find that he has applied the term Ural-Altaic to the five great groups of Mongoloid man in the north of the Old World, and that these groups consist of the Tungus, the True Mongols, the Turks, the Finns, and the Samoyads. To the Tungus belong the Mantshu, the Shapodghir, the Lamuts, applied to those Tungus who dwell on the shores of Okotsk (from *lamu* = the Sea), and the Chukchis. Under the name of the Mongols we have the Tatas, or eastern Mongols, the Kalmuks and the Buriats, all of whom have professed Buddhism though still Shamanistic, and the Hazara. Under the Turks we find a great variety of races, of whom perhaps the chief are the Osmanlis, Yakuts, Turkomans, Nogaians, Kirghis and Kazaks. The Finnic group may itself be subdivided into five branches, the Ugrian, Bulgarian, Permian, the true Finn; and lastly, there is that fifth subdivision which is called by the Russians, Samoyedi, and with which I have now to do.

Undoubtedly the Samoyedi, to adopt for a moment the Russian term, are of all these groups most nearly allied to the Finnic; so nearly allied in fact, that when the time has arrived for a proper revision of Castrén's labours, I apprehend we shall find the Samoyads placed in the Finnic group, and the number of branches contained in the Ural-Altaic family thus reduced to four.



SAMOYAD TYPES.

(From "The Great Frozen Land." Messrs. Macmillan & Co. 1895.)



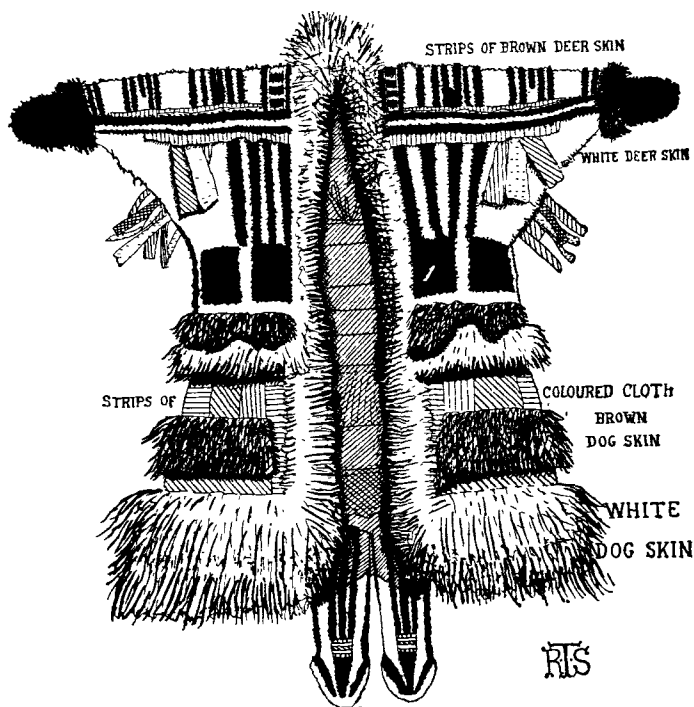


SAMOYAD SKULLS.

(Male Adults.)

(From "The Great Frozen Land." Messrs. Macmillan & Co. 1895.)





The *Panitsa* or dress of the Samoyed woman. The *pimmies* or boots (with the distinctive cross-bar at the instep) are also shown.

[Key to the pieces of coloured cloth inserted in the robe or attached as tags :—



Red.



Blue.



Green.



Purple.



Black.



Yellow.]





The chief races of the Samoyads, beginning in the south, and following them as they spread northward and westward to the shores of the Arctic Ocean, are as follows:—Soiots, Karagasses, Kamassintzi, Koibals, Tawgis, and Yuraks. Their geographical range still includes the region of their primitive home—the Altai Mountains; for on the northern slopes of this range we still find the Soiots in the neighbourhood of the Saiansk Hills; the Karagasses still at the head waters of the Ob and the Yenisei; the Kamassintzi yet on the steppes near the Kam and Mana rivers; and the Koibals lingering as a pitiable remnant to the southwest of Lake Baikal. Descending, however, the waters of the Yenisei we meet with that small group which has presented some difficulty to ethnologists, and which may be called the Yeniseians; while in somewhat the same latitude on the banks of the Ob we find the Ugro-Ostiaks. But it is not until we reach the lower waters of these mighty rivers, until—in fact—we have passed beyond the region of trees, and entered on the wide Tundras of the Arctic shores that we encounter those two great branches of the Samoyads on which the interest of civilised man has chiefly turned. Here it is that we find the nomads who hold much the same relation to their environment in Northern Asia and Europe, as the Eskimo maintains in the Western Hemisphere. Here we have the great family of Tawgi and Yurak Samoyads, the former leading a nomadic life between the Yenisei and the Lena, and the latter oscillating between the Yenisei and the White Sea. Properly speaking, the Yuraks are a small tribe in the delta of the Yenisei, but their name has been applied to all those who have ranged westward to Kanin.

Through all these branches we find that their physical characteristics, moral attributes, ethical ideas, and even the arts and occupations of their daily life are more or less similar; for while, as is natural, the environment of forest and the elevation of country determine and limit character, so we find the hillmen as closely allied to each other as in their turn are the forest men, and lastly, those inhabitants of the tundras whom we may call the swamp-men. The hillmen dwell in huts and live chiefly by trapping, though partly also by the help of their herds of kine. The forest men dwell in yourts, use dogs and horses for transport, and in the main live by fishing; and the swamp-men dwell in the chooms or tents essential to their nomadic life, and traverse the marshes of the tundra with the aid of the broad-footed reindeer, whose skin protects them from the climate and whose flesh yields them their chief food.

Before passing to consider in some detail the characteristics

of the Samoyads, a word should be said about the tribes which dwell on the Ob and Yenisei, and interpose a barrier between the Northern and Southern Samoyads. I allude to those tribes which the Russians call Ostiaks. It was long since shown by Klaproth that the application of the name Ostiaks to those who dwell on the Yenisei is misleading, for they are not of the same race as those who dwell on the Ob. For while those who dwell on the Ob are connected with the Ugrians, and may therefore be conveniently termed Ugro-Ostiaks, those who live on the Yenisei are most nearly allied to the Tungus and the Yakuts who border them on the east. I have therefore followed Klaproth and adopted the term Yeniseians, which he was the first to give. Thus the Yeniseians are surrounded on the east by Ugrians, Turks and Tungus, and on the west by the Ugro-Ostiaks of the Ob, and consequently interpose a barrier, as I have said above, between those Samoyads who dwell to the north and those to the south of them. There is little doubt, as Latham remarked (*"The Varieties of Man,"* 1850, p. 266), that the Samoyad race was at one time continuous in its distribution; and it helps not a little to this assumption to remember that while the Samoyads and other "hyperborean" races are nations of a receding frontier, the Turks, Tungus, and Ugrians (in relation at any rate to the "hyperboreans"), are nations of an encroaching frontier; and the southern limit of the Yuraks, according to Latham and others, might be placed in the locality of Turokansk on the Yenisei and of Tomsk on the Ob; while the northern limit of the southern Samoyads has been placed near Krasnoïarsk on the Yenisei, and about the head waters of the Ob.

It will be noticed at once that there are other systems of nomenclature applied to the Samoyads, and other divisions of the branch to which they belong. I have not space, however, to deal with these, but may mention in passing that the method adopted by Dr. Brinton in his *"Races and Peoples"* (New York; 1890; p. 197, 214), is to be deprecated. For while classing the Samoyads with the Sibiric, as opposed to the Sinitic division of the Mongoloid race, he has added a group which he calls "Arctic," and in which he places the Chukchis and Kamschatkans. Now, as the Tawgis and Yuraks dwell on areas within the Arctic circle, and under conditions essentially polar, the selection of the Chukchis and the Kamschatkans for the exclusive enjoyment of the term, is not merely illogical, but misleading. And I think that Dr. Brinton, when he issues a new edition of his valuable work, will himself modify a classification which is far from doing justice to his shrewd judgment and great learning.

To return, however, to the Samoyad and, first, to deal with the history of his name. It will be within the recollection of anthropologists that a variety of opinions has been maintained for many years concerning the meaning of the word Samoyad, and I will endeavour if possible to show that the opinions arrived at long since, and their general acceptance in Russia are not correct. In the first place, the Russians got the name from the Zirians, an Ugrian race dwelling in the basin of the Pechora; but although references to the Samoyads are found in Russian chronicles as early as 1096, and mention is again made in the travels of Plan Carpin, a century and a half later, we find that in the Russian chancellery the Samoyads were called at one time Sirogueszi. Now Samoyad was supposed to mean "self eater," and hence a cannibal; but it is important to notice that Sirogueszi merely meant "eaters of raw meat,"<sup>1</sup> which of course would include the cannibal, but not exclude the Samoyad as we know him to-day, the eater of uncooked flesh. Classical writers found in the Lithuanian Samogitæ the origin of the name, and German philologists discovered that the root *Sam* meant "self" and *ged* = "to eat." It was a plausible derivation in those times, and was quickly accepted as a further proof of the barbarous character of the Samoyad, whom so recent a writer even as Mr. Charles L. Brace ("The Races of the Old World," 1863, p. 129) has described as "savage." This derivation has been widely accepted, and although more than a generation ago it was shown to be unlikely, an explanation so graphic and, to the popular mind, so characteristic of a primitive race, riveted the attention and is still the vogue. I have said, however, that the language, and indeed all the attributes of the Samoyads are more nearly allied to the Finns than any other branch of the Ural-Altaic group; and it will not therefore be cause for surprise if I show that it is in the Finnic language and its dialects that we may find the origin of the name, and a confirmation of the views held by the Samoyads themselves. Now, in the Finnic tongue *Suomi* or *samé* means a marsh or swamp; *lad*, *lat*, and *laisat*, mean "man" and "men," and the Finns to this day reject the German synonym (by which they are known to us) for the Finnic term they give themselves. *Same-lat* means the Fen-man, and *Same-adnam* means the Fen country; and among those Lapps who dwell in localities not greatly dissimilar, we still find exactly the same

<sup>1</sup> Compare Reclus: "They (the Indians) do not know how to forgive the Esquimaux the crime of eating raw fish. Hence the Abenaki name, *Eski Mantik*, and the Aïbewa appellation *Ayeskimeon*—titles at first applied to the Labradorians, and gradually extended to the whole of the Hyperborean tribes." ("Primitive Folk," p. 9.)

name for both country and people. So, too, with the Karelians, who call themselves *somae-maies*, people of the swamp. The word "Samoyad," then, would have precisely the same meaning—the Swamp Men—and I think we find confirmation in this when we enquire of the Samoyad himself as to the meaning of the name bestowed upon him by the Zirians (who, being Ugrians, are naturally related to the Finns). For the Samoyad will repudiate with scorn the fact that he and his race have ever been habitual cannibals, but will explain it by saying in his simple way that it merely means "that we were born here," or, as we should say, "are indigenous to the soil."

I am aware that my spelling of the word Samoyad is somewhat of a new departure, and I may say at once that I do not accept responsibility for introducing it. I have simply followed the views of my friend Mr. Frederick G. Jackson, who in his work ("The Great Frozen Land," London, 1895) has adopted this spelling on the grounds which have been set forth in the notes to that work. The following forms are familiar to readers of the earlier travels:—Samuter, Samoit, Samoed. More recently Samoied, Samoyed, Samoyade, and Samoyede have been employed, and the last is perhaps that most generally adopted. When Mr. Jackson left England, he had this "Samoyede" in his mind, and its pronunciation was that to which he then adhered; but after living for some months with the people (who have practically adopted the name) he came to the conclusion that the pronunciation of the word, spelt phonetically, would be Sam-o-yad; and further, that in common use the *o* is so slurred that it might even be more correct to spell the word Sam-yad. As I have only had personal experience of a degenerate group of this race, and one much affected by contact with Russians, I am not entitled to speak; but it is my opinion that the *y* as a vowel should be got rid of, and that we should in all these cases adhere to the system of spelling as laid down in detail by the Royal Geographical Society, and only use *y* as a consonant.

Before leaving the subject I should like to point out that the Samoyads still retain in their different tribes the names given them by other neighbours as well as, of course, those they bestow upon themselves. The Ugro-Ostiaks call them Yergan-yak; the Tungus, Dian-dal; the Voguls style them Yarran-kam; and the Zirians of to-day call them Yarang. The northern Samoyads, of whom I am now speaking, style themselves either Hasovo or Nainek, both words meaning simply "men." Of course, many parallel instances to this may be adduced; *e.g.*, the Inuits, who explain their name by saying that it simply means "men."

Coming to the language of the Samoyads, we find that we are more than ever indebted to the researches of Castrén for our facts, and even our theories; and although I do not pretend to give here even a *résumé* of his most valuable work, it will be seen that I have recognised and incorporated his more important conclusions.

From the point of view then of language, the Finns and the Samoyads are practically the same race. So great indeed is the resemblance, that in these two tongues we alone find the highest development of the agglutinative process in the Ural-Altaic languages. As with growth, so with material; and in root forms also they present the closest affinity, an affinity which can only be remotely traced to the remaining Altaic languages. The nature of the agglutination of the Finnic and Samoyad tongues is such that it differs little from the inflection peculiar to the Indo-Germanic group; and thus Finnic and Samoyad form, as it were, a nexus between the Mongoloid and Aryan tongues. Taking language as a basis, Castrén has divided the Samoyads into three great branches—the Yuraks (whose name he connects with Ugría), the Tawgis, and the Yenisei Samoyads, whom he calls, but improperly, as I maintain, Ostiaks. All these dialects have one common feature—a distinct preference for weak sounds—a preference so decided that even the hard consonants are pronounced more softly than in Indo-Germanic languages. And it is to this innate preference that we may attribute the origin of the unusually large number of vowels, diphthongs, and triphthongs. Altogether, there are nine vowels in Samoyad, and thirty-three consonants; but no one dialect possesses them all. I may mention here that the aspirate *h* occurs in the Yurak and Yeniseian dialects, and is sounded on the whole like the English *h*, although in Yurak it often has the force of *k*. Thus it is a closer transliteration to spell “Habarova” without the *K* preceding the *H*, as the usual sound is more correctly indicated in English in that way. I may say here that this also applies to Russian, for it was my experience when travelling through the north of Russia that the term *Khorosho* (= good) was far more frequently pronounced as if there were no *k*.

There is a consonant which I must here notice, and it is that nasal “*ŋ*” which is common to all dialects, and the sign for which is borrowed from the Lapp alphabet. It has the force perhaps of *ng*, and it may be placed before every initial vowel, when it is usually represented thus “~.” Yurak, I may add, has neither *b* nor *f*, *q* nor *x*.

I subjoin the following classification of the Samoyad alphabet, which I have taken from Castrén:—

*Vowels.*

Hard: a, o, u, y.

Soft: ä, ö, ü.

Medium: e, i.

*Consonants.*

Guttural: k, g, x, h, ɣ, j.

Lingual: l, t, ṭ, r, ʃ, ʒ, c, ɟ.

Dental: n, ɲ, ṭ, ṭ̣, ḍ, ḍ̣, ṣ, ẓ, ʃ, ʒ.

Labial: p, b, w, f, m.

*Those found in Yurak are:—*

Vowels: a, e, o, (ö), y, i, u, ü.

Consonants: k, g, h, ɣ, j, l, ṭ, r, n, ɲ, ṭ̣, ḍ, ḍ̣, ṣ, ẓ, ʃ, ʒ, p, b, w, m.

*In Tawgi:—*

Vowels: a, e, o, i, u, (ü).

Consonants: k, g, ɣ, j, l, ṭ, r, n, ɲ, ṭ̣, ḍ, ḍ̣, ṣ, ẓ, b, f, m.

Passing from the letters to the parts of speech, we notice at once that the nouns have much affinity with the verbs; that they do not possess gender, and are not defined by articles. Adverbs and post-positions are generally mere equivalents of nouns and verbs; and conjunctions have no separate existence, but are affixes to the words they modify, and become so much a part of them that they are inflected like nouns. Featherman in his "Social History of the Races of Mankind" (vol. iv, p. 569), says, "The root word, signifying quality, and having therefore adjective value, partakes both of the nature of the noun and the verb. As attribute it has the meaning of a noun, as predicate it assumes the office of a verb, forming at the same time the copula; as *sawa* = it is good; *tici* = it is cold. A substantive may at the same time perform the function of a verb; as *barba* = (it) is (a) master; *jale* = (it) is day." As a matter of fact Featherman is merely quoting Castrén, who shows in some detail also that nouns may be both declined and conjugated although the conjugation does not extend beyond the indicative. Castrén points out that verbal suffixes are freely added to the nominative, and in other cases of the noun as *niseam* = I am a father; *niseams* = I was a father; *niseyum* = I became a father.

In Samoyad the nouns have three numbers, singular, dual, and plural; but the dual is defective in some of the dialects, and is usually only perfect in the nominative case. Ordinarily, Samoyad nouns have seven cases; the nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, ablative, locative, and prosecutive, while a few dialects even add the instructive and vocative. If referring to things, the locative would be used in place of the preposition "in" or "upon"; if to persons, in place of the prepositions "by" and "with." Motion towards, or rather along a region is expressed by the prosecutive, and the instructive, when used

at all, designates the instrument. Flexion, by letters or syllables, indicates the number and case, and in the nominative we find the root word. Passing to adjectives, it may be stated that they are usually derivative, and although declined like nouns, the declension is defective. They are not compared in the usual sense of the word, but the comparative and superlative are sometimes expressed by using the ablative or prosecutive case, sometimes by using specific participles, and sometimes by adding a diminutive or augmentative, as the case may be. The numeral adjectives were, at one time, no more than seven, and we must therefore regard the later development of their numeral system with discrimination. The multiples of ten and the intermediates, of course, are formed merely by combination of simple numbers. Cardinal numeral adjectives, it may be added, are declined like nouns. The function of pronouns, I may mention here, is exercised by either an absolute pronoun or a personal affix. This personal affix we find usually in connection with nouns substantive; particularly is this the case with regard to possessive pronouns, which we find forming personal affixes to nouns, verbs, and participles. The extent to which these affixes operate is remarkable, for they may indicate that the word to which they are joined is the subject of an action, or the object of a verb, that it includes the predicate, or is in possession of an object. They may even have a reflexive force, and indicate that the person is both subject and object. To put it briefly, the Samoyad verb is derived from a root word, which may be called a verbal noun, but takes on numerous modifications by the addition of suffixes and particles. The moods are indicative, subjunctive, optative, imperative, precativ, and infinite. The precativ of course indicates the making of a request. Although there are three tenses, present, past, and future, any one of them frequently represents the others; but the past and the future are indicated by signs. I need hardly add that no Samoyad literature, except that which is traditional, is in existence; but of course we must remember that Castrén and one or two other writers have attempted to reduce the language to some grammatical system.

I now proceed to give a summary of Mr. Jackson's notes on the Yurak Samoyads with whom he lived when traversing the island of Waigatz and the Great Tundra beyond the Pechora River. For further details I would refer the reader to his book ("*The Great Frozen Land.*" London: Macmillan and Co., 1895), in which there will be found much interesting information concerning a race very little known to Englishmen. Meanwhile, the notes I now submit may be of interest to anthropologists.



The Samoyad has the marked physical appearance of the Mongolian type. Thus we find that his head is wide and depressed; his face is broad and short; the angle of the forehead is often considerable; the brows arched and slight; the nose in profile flat but straight; the mouth only slightly prominent; the lips everted and thick; the teeth white; the eyelids full; and the small black eyes oblique and wide apart. The general profile view is flat, and the cheek bones conspicuous, though less so than in the case of other Mongolian races. The colour of the skin (taking the scale in "Anthropological Notes and Queries" as a guide) is yellowish-brown; although in childhood, youth, and early manhood reddish-brown cheeks are frequently met with. On the head the hair, which is jet-black, is luxuriant, straight, and coarse; but the cheek is nearly bare, the moustache but slight, and the beard which commonly hangs from the chin, rarely exceeds 3 inches in length.

Mr. Jackson measured, for the purpose of obtaining their height, twenty average male Samoyads, nine women and four children, and the results of these measurements I now append.

| MALES.                |         |
|-----------------------|---------|
| ft.                   | in.     |
| 5                     | 5       |
| 5                     | 2       |
| 5                     | 0       |
| 4                     | 10½     |
| 5                     | 4½      |
| 5                     | 3½      |
| 5                     | 4       |
| 5                     | 2       |
| 5                     | 0½      |
| 5                     | 1½      |
| 4                     | 8½      |
| 5                     | 2       |
| 5                     | 2½      |
| 5                     | 3½      |
| 5                     | 5       |
| 5                     | 1       |
| 4                     | 10      |
| 5                     | 5½      |
| 5                     | 1       |
| 5                     | 2½      |
| <hr/>                 |         |
| 103                   | 2½      |
| <hr/>                 |         |
| Average }<br>Height } | 5 1½-1¾ |

| FEMALES.              |      |
|-----------------------|------|
| ft.                   | in.  |
| 4                     | 9    |
| 4                     | 10   |
| 4                     | 9    |
| 4                     | 10½  |
| 5                     | 0½   |
| 4                     | 8    |
| 4                     | 7    |
| 4                     | 11   |
| 4                     | 9    |
| <hr/>                 |      |
| 43                    | 2    |
| <hr/>                 |      |
| Average }<br>Height } | 4 9½ |

| CHILDREN.          |       |      |  |
|--------------------|-------|------|--|
| Height.            | Sex.  | Age. |  |
| 2 feet 10½ inches. | boy.  | 5.   |  |
| 3 " 4 "            | boy.  | 7.   |  |
| 3 " 3½ "           | girl. | 8.   |  |
| 3 " 8 "            | boy.  | 9.   |  |

The general characteristic of their physique is its sturdiness, for although they are usually spare of flesh, the Samoyads are broad shouldered, stoutly planned, with short strong legs and well developed arms. In proportion to the height the head is large, while the neck is short. They are very quick to see and

hear—the characteristic they share with the rest of the Ural-Altaic group; swift to run, steady to hold, and with capacity to endure, they survive in a climate of great severity by reason of their physical fitness.

The women are much smaller than the men, although the disproportion is not so marked as in some other parts of the world. From our point of view of course they are ill-featured and unpleasant in appearance, but their features are often comparatively delicate, and when young their round plump faces, well-blooded cheeks and red lips, constitute a standard of beauty which is appreciable.

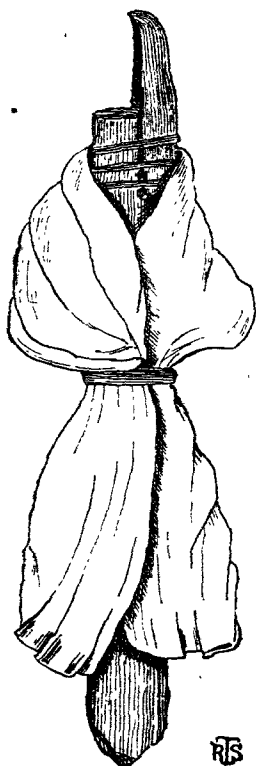
As to their moral character Mr. Jackson contends that while extremes may be found among them, as among *all* races, the average character is good. For although they are actuated by no lofty motives, ethical ideas, hopes of future reward, or fears of a future punishment, they are affectionate, even-tempered, honest, and possess a certain pride of independence, which it would not be difficult to convert into a sense of self-respect. They work hard, and to beg they are ashamed; hospitable to a degree, they are pre-eminently a sociable people. Naturally they do not possess the sentiment of a highly civilised and over-refined race, *e.g.*, they exhibit no great affection for the deer who serve them so well, and their sorrow for the loss of a good driving deer seems to be called out on purely pecuniary grounds, and not from any sense of affection due to association. Men and women alike slaughter the deer in a rough and ready way, but without any more cruelty than probably obtains in our own slaughter-houses. As is the case with us, the Yuraks number among themselves men who are vicious and men who are virtuous; the idle as well as the industrious, the active as well as the inert; but Mr. Jackson specially mentions that he found many of them—indeed, the greater number of them—useful members of their society, and, although indescribably filthy, honest, cheery, capable *compagnons de voyage*; and in one of them he specially mentions that he found united most of the qualities of the man whom all civilisation respects—a man who was honest, sober, industrious and polite; who was a good husband and a good father; who cared for his person, and was neat in his clothing; who took care of his deer and his dogs, and kept them in good condition. This being so, we may assume that the Samoyad is capable of exhibiting those virtues which most of us like to claim for ourselves.

The religion of the Samoyads is now-a-days that of their masters, the Greek church, but it is merely skin-deep—the fashionable and the proper one to profess. Lying below this, however, there remains the old faith which undoubtedly was

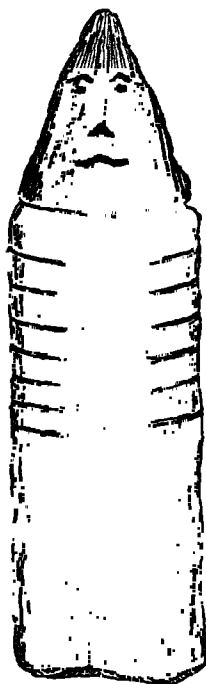
reared on the basis of nature worship, and from my point of view the most reasonable form a purely savage race can contrive for itself. The primitive Samoyad looked up into the sky, and there he saw the sun and the stars, the rainbow, and the lightning. He recognised that they were far beyond his understanding, and endowed with power inconceivably greater than any he possessed. Does it not speak well for that simple child of the Tundra that at sunrise and at sunset he invoked the sun as a manifestation of his god; that he should regard the rainbow as the coloured border of the divine robe; that the whole wide arch of the sky should represent the immensity of the divine being; that the millions of twinkling stars should personify that being's knowledge and power of perception of what transpires on earth? The great god *Num* lived, and still lives, according to the deep-rooted belief of the Samoyads, in the air; and the thunder and lightning, the rain and the snow, the wind and the storm are his direct expressions. It is true that the primitive *Num* was somewhat impersonal, for although his attributes were benevolent, his attitude to man's lot was neutral. Far removed from the diminutive nomads who wandered across the frozen plain, *Num* seldom (if ever) interfered to prevent catastrophe or accomplish their well-being; and in the provident actions and over-seeing which some of the Samoyads now ascribe to him, we can clearly enough trace the influence of the missionary and the suggestion of the Christian faith. When all is well with the Samoyad he belongs to the Russian Church, but the moment misfortune overtakes him he resorts to his old god and some of the ancient practices of the Shamanistic priest; he produces from his little household bag or box "Chaddi," though there hangs at the same time round his neck the distinctive cross of the Russian Church.

But in earlier times there was a general, and at present there is still a partial recognition of certain natural and artificial objects as impersonating divinity. A curiously twisted tree, a stone with an uncommon shape would receive; and in some quarters still receives, not only veneration but actual ceremonial worship. These fetishes, if one may so use the term, once accepted, occurred in various other forms; for example, they were and still are made of snow and even earth; and further, since the fetish gods are too large for transport, miniature models of wood are carried about, and known as Chaddi. Thus Mr. Jackson describes a Chaddi (used by the Samoyads with whom he travelled round Waigatz) as a piece of stick with the bill of a duck lashed to the top of it to serve for a head, and wrapped up in a bit of rag, itself secured round the waist by a thong. Opposed to this would be the Bolvan, or

god, a representation of which he found on Bolvanski Noss, an upright stake of wood 12 feet high. These Chaddi or household gods are no longer carried on a special sledge in a box which we may regard as a shrine, because the Russian traders



CHADDI ( $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size).



CHADDI ( $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size).

(From "The Great Frozen Land." Messrs. Macmillan and Co. 1895.)

with whom the Samoyad now comes in contact are zealous proselytisers, and would immediately visit any exhibition of idolatry in a rough and ready manner. Nevertheless there can be little doubt that Mr. Jackson is right in maintaining that they still perform in secret acts of propitiation to the great god *Num*, and repose more confidence in that little bundled-up stick of a Chaddi than in the Christian cross, which many wear ostentatiously round the neck.

No notice of the Samoyads, however brief, would be complete without reference to their so-called "sacrificial piles." These are to be found at certain intervals along the coast between the

Pechora and the Yenesei, but the Island of Waigatz—the Holy Island of the Samoyad—contains a number of piles, and these the most sacred. On the peninsula of Yalmal, too, sacrificial piles have been found. Mr. Jackson met with several on the south, west, and north coasts of Waigatz, and with one in the interior. They vary but slightly in character, and are uniformly rude heaps of sticks, antlers, and bones. They are erected on some slight natural eminence, and this is often further emphasized by a rough layer or platform of stones and driftwood. On this eminence there usually are placed, without any attempt at arrangement, the bones of bear and deer; particularly the skulls and marrow-bones. The skulls of the deer have their antlers attached, and so many of these are usually found that the bones form a close bristling circular palisade. Among this mass of bones, many odds and ends occur—chiefly broken vessels and instruments of metal. From the midst of all this there rise a number of sticks and poles—some being less than a foot and others as long as 6 feet. They are stuck firmly in the ground, and at and near their summits are roughly cut to resemble the features of the human face. There may be a dozen of such “gods,” and there may be as many as fifty or sixty. A goodly proportion will hold aloft the skulls of bears and deer; the coronal of the skull being in each case pierced with a roughly square hole to admit the “bolvan.” Although these piles are often surrounded by driftwood no Samoyad will venture to take a single piece, however much he may need firewood. At these piles the Samoyad was wont, and Mr. Jackson believes is still occasionally addicted to sacrificing deer; and on these occasions the blood of the sacrifice is smeared on the slits which represent the mouths of the gods. It may also be noted that the carcasses of the sacrificed deer are never eaten, but left to decompose (or be consumed by beasts and birds of prey) on the site of the sacrifice.

The home of the Samoyad is the choom, and it may be noted in passing, how widespread is this form of dwelling. From the Chukchis in the far east; among the Samoyads from the Lena Valley to Mezén; among the Lapps from the White Sea to the Lofoten Islands, and right across the whole continent of North America, both north and south of the Arctic Circle, we find the same rude tent, covered in the summer with birch bark, and in the winter with skins. It is true of course that in some localities the form is more highly developed than in others; that in some localities it seems but a mere survival of the original. Just as the choom of the well-to-do Samoyad may be taken as a sample of the highest development, so the rude summer *talta* of the Lapp may be cited for its lowest.

There is reason for both. The Samoyad knows no other home, and seeks no other protection from the climatic extremities to which he is subjected; the Lapp, on the other hand, dwells during the winter time in huts, and only needs his tent during the short but hot summer of the north. The choom of the Samoyad consists as to its framework of about twenty poles of varying thickness, and some 16 feet long. They are first of all lashed together near the top, and then hoisted and opened out. Over these poles in the summer are lashed strips of birch bark, softened by being boiled, about 18 inches wide, and sewn together with stout sinew threads; and in the winter the skins of reindeer, foxes, and even sometimes, but rarely now, of bear, are put in the place of the bark. Those Samoyads who are most in contact with the Russian traders, as for example those of Mezén and the Malaia Tundra, have learned long since to know the value of the bear-skin, and as Mr. Jackson tells us, are sufficiently alive to the income derivable from the deer-skins, as not to hang upon their chooms the fine skins that may be seen in the Great Tundra, and in the valley of the Ob and Yenisei; and yet even there he records noticing many old worn-out articles of skin clothing put together as a sort of patchwork to take the place of perfect skins. The inside of the tent is also hung—in cold weather at any rate—with additional furs; and skins of the deer form the only flooring, the only beds that can be seen. A good choom undoubtedly protects the traveller from the cold and from the piercing winds that sweep across the tundra; but this merit is only attainable by making it a very heavy article for transport. Thus, while on the one hand it possesses merits which every Arctic explorer would know how to value, it derives from those very merits a disadvantage which places it quite out of the question as a marching tent. Mr. Jackson has, however, been able to adapt one or two of its features to the travelling tents he has taken with him on his expedition, *e.g.*, the reindeer skins for floors and inside hangings.

For about 18 inches from the top, the poles protrude from the choom uncovered by skins, and this omission provides the chimney and an escape for the fumes of the blubber fires. At a height about 3 feet from the ground a light pole stretches across the choom lashed at either end to one of the vertical poles; from this cross-bar there hangs a long hook, and on this hangs the cooking-pot. Thus the pot can be dragged at will across the choom and each inmate in turn help himself to food.

The dress of the Samoyad, of which numerous illustrations appear in Mr. Jackson's book, is exceedingly interesting. Common experience in the Arctic regions has proved that there

is no fur so well suited to withstand cold and resist wind as reindeer skin; and men, women, and children from the North Atlantic to the Behring Straits are clad by this useful animal. The male Samoyad wears a tunic with the hair inside, which is called the *militza*; it only has an opening at the neck and at the hem; the *rukavitza* or mitts are themselves attached to the sleeve of the *militza*. It is an ample garment reaching below the knee, but in cold weather the Samoyad girds it up round his waist with a leathern girdle of an usually decorative character, and thus, leaving it baggy round the upper part of his body, secures to himself a layer of warm air which cannot readily escape. Of deer-skin, too, are his breeches, and deer-skin his boots or *pimmies*. These *pimmies* are very deftly worked boots, with—for better protection from the wet—seal-skin soles, and are built up with long strips of brown deer-skin, with narrow insertions of white deer-skin for ornamental effect. Just below the knee in the *pimmies* for men, and just above the instep in those for women, two or three cross bars of brown and white deer-skin, with a piping of red or green cloth, are inserted. The boot, which reaches at least to the knee, is as useful as it is handsome, as light as it is effectually protective. Undoubtedly it is the best form of Arctic boot that we know. I should add that when the weather is exceptionally severe, the Samoyad puts over his *militza* a *sovik*, which is a looser and larger tunic, built up on the same plan as the *militza*; but it is not girded, no *rukavitza* are attached to the sleeves, and the hair is outside. Moreover, it has a hood of great capacity attached to the collar. Under these circumstances, too, the Samoyad thrusts his legs into *lieupthieu* or stockings made of the skin of fawns. The belt to which I have referred above is usually studded with brass nails, and clasped with large brass buckles of quaint and various design. From the belt there hangs attached by a brass



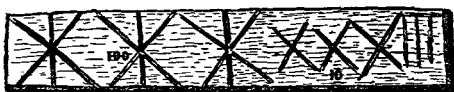
RIS.

SAMOYAD KNIFE ( $\frac{1}{3}$  nat. size).

(From "The Great Frozen Land." Messrs. Macmillan and Co. 1895.)

chain the sheath knife of the Samoyad. This knife is usually made from an old file and kept with a keen edge; the handle is decorated with tin which has been poured in a molten state into patterns incised on wood. The sheath is variously made of leather, bone, and walrus ivory. From this belt also depend the

calculating stick<sup>1</sup> of the Samoyad, as well as such articles of use as his snuff-box, and articles of "virtue," if I may use the expression, as his charms, usually represented by a bear's tooth.



RIS

CALCULATING STICKS ( $\frac{1}{3}$  nat. size).

(From "The Great Frozen Land." Messrs. Macmillan and Co. 1895.)

The *panitza* or tunic of the women differs from that of the man in being open in front from neck to hem, and being made up entirely of strips of reindeer skin, cut in various patterns on a systematic plan, and in having two, and even three flounces of dog-skin round the lower part of the robe. Pieces of coloured cloth are inserted in a highly effective manner, and tabs of the same material depend from the shoulders. The bonnet of the Samoyad woman is a thick fur hood with a deep flounce, and

<sup>1</sup> I may quote from a note in Mr. Jackson's "Great Frozen Land" some remarks with reference to the calculating sticks which Dr. George Harley, F.R.S., had been good enough to contribute:—

"First. All the primitive tribes of Northern Europe used wood, bone, and stone to write and cipher upon. The remnant of the practice is still to be seen in the notching of the tally-sticks used at the present day by our Scotch fisher-folk in counting their fish when selling them.

"Second. Du Chaillu, in his "Viking Age," tells how the ancient Norseman wrote upon staves and whalebone, and how they tied hair to their letters of communication—just, strange to say, as the aboriginal Australians do to-day. I have some Australian 'talking-sticks' with hair tied on the end of them, so that the recipient of the letter might the more easily know who sent it to him.

"Third. Stranger still is the fact that the writing on two of my native Australian 'stick-letters' is identical with *old* Irish Ogam writing.

"Fourth. The Australians, like the Norsemen, write also on bones as well as wood. Miss Fenwick of Leeds, from whom I got some of my talking-sticks, showed me a bone—the fibula of a kangaroo—with Ogam characters on it.



from the flounce there hangs round discs of metal, brass buttons, and other odds and ends of ornament so various, that on one bonnet we may see metal objects so dissimilar as a hollow spherical bell, and the lock of an old musket.

While the men let their fairly luxurious hair look after itself, the women twist it up into two pigtails, and lengthen them with plaits of twine and string, just as the Chinese do with their pig-tail; and, further, they adorn these tails with metal articles similar to those they attach to the bonnet. They are, in fact, very fond of metal ornaments, and brass crescent-shaped plates are often attached to their clothing, while rings of the same metal—or of copper—encircle their legs.

The children of the Samoyads are dressed precisely as their parents, sex for sex, and the babies are lashed with stout hide into little primitive cradles or rude boxes, undoubtedly the original type of the Lapp cradle, and possibly of that of the Indian papoose. Of games they have but few, but the children play with bows and arrows, and drag about tiny sledges, and in other ways ape their elders on a diminutive scale.

The food of the Samoyad when he camps near the rivers is fish, and this he prefers in a highly odoriferous condition; but the stock and staple of his diet is the deer's flesh, and this he would rather eat raw than cooked. Mr. Jackson mentions seeing them devour raw deer's flesh when there was plenty of cooked meat in the choom, and attributed this preference to the need for uncooked blood. As with the Eskimo, the Aleuts, and other hyperborean races, the Samoyad has a perfect passion for blood, and will open a vein of the deer and imbibe from the end a goodly draught, replacing the vein with some dexterity when satisfied. There must be something in this universal craving in the Arctic regions for the freshest of meat and for vitalising blood, and I attribute the immunity of both Eskimo and Samoyad from scurvy to their persistent use of this coarse but vitalising food. Of vegetables they know little and seek less, and the anæmic condition precedent to scurvy is successfully prevented by the blood and flesh diet. Bear's meat too is a delicacy, but it is *tabu* to the women. Perhaps, however, the tit-bits of the Samoyad *cuisine* are the contents of the reindeer's

"Widely separated though the Australians are from Scandinavia, the combination of all these facts suggests the possibility of some form of intercourse having existed between them in early times. Just as I showed at the Bath Meeting of the British Association, a quarter of a century ago, that the natives of Guiana, in South America, had come from Borneo by their not only using the same peculiarly constructed poisoned spikes, but with a blow-tube made of identical fashion. For though men in different quarters of the globe may easily invent the same kind of instrument—be its nature what it may—no two men can invent a consecutive series of combinations, in an identical way, of anything whatever, so as to produce a precisely similar result."

stomach, his brains, windpipe, gullet, lungs, liver, and testicles, and these are all preferred raw. Those who have come most in contact with the Russians have learned to make a rough sort of bread by kneading a dough of rye-flower, and, sticking the lump upon a stick, scorching it before the fire until it is partly baked. Occasionally, too, within the loaf a fish is placed. Moreover, it should be added that during the short summer the geese which flock to the pools and swamps of the tundra provide a highly palatable food. One more article, and I have done with this particular point; while the antlers of the deer are "in the velvet," they are considered excellent eating and greedily devoured.

Of the reindeer, and the sledge, and the dogs of the Samoyad, I will say nothing in this paper, as I fear its length is already too great; but I will now devote a short space to one or two of the ideas and customs more common among the Samoyads.

First of all it may be mentioned that polygamy is not in disfavour, although it is very exceptional to find that a Samoyad supports more than two wives. A woman is bought from her parents, and the currency is reindeer, as many as a hundred deer being given occasionally for a Samoyad belle. Girls, in fact, are more or less valuable property, and the impecunious parent frequently sells his children at a very early age, in order that he may realise their value. If, however, the wife is unfaithful, or if within a year the husband has any good ground for returning her to her home, the money he paid is given back to him. Moreover, he may commerce with his wife, for marriage is not considered a binding tie. It is not uncommon for a Samoyad to sell his wife to another for the consideration of a few teams of deer, and he sometimes barter her for a lady whose husband may be willing to accept the view that exchange is no robbery.

There are match-makers, too, among the Samoyads, and marriages are usually brought about by these universal *media*. A young man fancies a girl, and he confides his feelings to the match-maker. This individual will obtain a good fox-skin, perhaps, from the lover, and will proceed to the choom of the girl's father, and present him with the skin. Usually the father accepts the present with thanks, and in the next visit paid by the match-maker he will bring with him a stick with as many notches cut in it as the suitor proposes to give deer. Should the price be accepted, the stick is broken in twain, each party retaining one half. After this there is nothing left but the round of gluttonous enjoyment of raw flesh and bibulous dissipation in blood which accompanies their marriage festivities.

Certain modifications are introduced among the Yurak Samoyads; for example, the match-maker is accompanied by the suitor in his visits, and cooked meat and even vodka enter into the articles of consumption. Moreover, while he is waiting for the final settlement of matters, the bridegroom *in posse* has to sit in his sledge outside the tent, while the reindeer he may have presented to his intended father-in-law is being feasted upon inside. The marriage broker, however, does not forget his client, and brings out to the bridegroom a sufficing portion.

Woman has generally been considered unclean, and she may not eat of that sacred beast, the bear, and on certain occasions her very presence is considered to be of the nature of a misfortune, and can only be condoned for by fumigation with bear's fat (Erman's "*Reise*," i, p. 681).

When a Samoyad dies, the corpse is treated with marked respect, although various precautions are taken to prevent the spirit of the dead returning to visit the living. For example, the dead body is not carried out of the choom through the usual opening, but under the skin or bark wall nearest to the spot where the body lay at the moment of death. So, too, a dead man is never mentioned by name for fear his spirit might hear it and wish to return. This feeling is carried to such an extent that the only service performed at the grave takes the form of a reassurance, addressed to the dead man, of the excellence of the country to which his spirit has gone, ending with the petition that he should not wish or attempt to follow his friends back to the camp. The corpse is usually dressed in the clothing worn by the deceased in his last illness, and is then wrapped up in birch bark or deer-skins, and securely fastened with strips of hide. With the well-to-do Samoyad, the body is placed in a roughly made box, but a shallow grave suffices the poor. The corpse is placed upon a sledge, and with another sledge bearing the possessions of the deceased, is driven to the place of burial. It is interesting to note that in grave or tomb the body lies on its left side facing the west, or north-west (the region of darkness), for the Samoyads fear that the light of the sun might possibly awaken the dead. With the body a lasso, cup, spoon, axe, knife, and even a gun, or at any rate a bow and arrows are deposited; but if the corpse is that of a woman these weapons are not deposited—needles, deer sinews for thread, and a scraper for preparing hides being substituted. It should be noticed here that everything deposited is somewhat damaged, even the sledge and harray which are placed beside the grave. Various reasons have been given for this, but the most probable is to prevent the unscrupulous from stealing

them. Finally, the deer which draw the sledge on which the corpse was placed are themselves slain, but the Samoyads will not eat of the flesh. It is interesting to note—bearing in mind the practices of tribes far remote from the tundra—that if children die in winter, their bodies are securely wrapped up in their box-like cradles and hung from the branch of a tree. This of course refers to those Samoyads who live in winter within the limit of the tree-line.

It will be noticed in the foregoing notes how many customs are similar to those of other races; but particularly would I emphasise the close connection existing between the habits and practices of the Samoyads and those of the Eskimo of Northern America. Less surprising of course are the parallels afforded by the Chukchis on the one hand, and the Lapps on the other; but the general similarity which obtains among all the races living within the Arctic areas of both the Old World and the New must forcibly impress every student; and a field of inquiry of great fertility would be opened up by endeavouring to present a comparative study of all these races, and determining if possible what may be due to racial connection, what to geographical environment, and what, perhaps, to coincidence.<sup>1</sup>

I append a list of the words collected by Mr. Jackson from the Yuraks, and for the sake of comparison place Castrén's equivalents as found among the Yuraks and Tawgis. It should, however, be noticed that no fewer than five different dialects have been observed among the Yuraks themselves.

<sup>1</sup> Samoyad objects exhibited on the occasion of reading the foregoing Paper:—

1. Reindeer-skin *Militza* (tunic), *Sovik* (over-tunic), *pimmies* (boots), and *lieupthieu* (fawn-skin stockings).
  2. Model (made by a Samoyad) of a woman's *panitsa* (robe).
  3. A Samoyad doll fully dressed in national costume (female).
  4. A tress of hair.
  5. Two knives with sheaths (one of walrus ivory) and attachments to belt.
  6. Snuffboxes (birch-bark and pine) and walrus ivory snuff spoon.
  7. Powder and flask (walrus ivory and iron).
  8. Calculating sticks.
  9. Thread, made of reindeer sinews prepared by chewing.
  10. An implement (hide scraper ?) chipped from thick glass.
  11. A rosary (of hide).
  12. Chulkies (walrus ivory and wood harness-pulleys).
- Thirty photographs illustrative of the camp-life, occupations, costumes, sledges and implements of the Samoyads were also exhibited.

## YURAK VOCABULARY.

Collected by F. G. JACKSON. With Castrén's equivalents in Yurak and Tawgi.

Vocabulary: English, Russian, Yurak.

| English.      | Russian.            | Yurak (Jackson)                      | Yurak (Castrén)  | Tawgi (Castrén)       |
|---------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|--|-----------------------|
| Axe ..        | <i>topór</i> ..     | <i>tupka</i> ..                      | <i>tubka</i> ..  | <i>tobakid.</i>       |
| Bad ..        | <i>húdo</i> ..      | <i>waywo</i> ..                      | <i>waebty</i> ..                                       | <i>boluay.</i>        |
| Bear ..       | <i>me'teéd</i> ..   | <i>híbeda</i> ..                     | <i>haeibídea</i> ..                                    | <i>jamada.</i>        |
| Black ..      | <i>chorni</i> ..    | <i>yabsu</i> ..                      | <i>paridie</i> ..                                      | <i>feanka.</i>        |
| Blood ..      | <i>kroff</i> ..     | <i>voiaá</i> ..                      | <i>hém</i> ..  | <i>kam.</i>           |
| Book ..       | <i>kniga</i> ..     | <i>páther</i> ..                     |  |                       |
| Boots ..      | <i>sapogi</i> ..    | <i>hortéu</i> ..                     | <i>hótí</i> ..   | <i>faemu.</i>         |
| Bottle ..     | <i>butýlka</i> ..   | <i>pia</i> ..                        |  |                       |
| Box ..        | <i>yashchik</i> ..  | <i>lobthé</i> ..                     | <i>labtí</i> ..  | <i>koare.</i>         |
| Boy ..        | <i>málehik</i> ..   | [ <i>matchika</i> ] ..               | <i>-ateky</i> ..                                       |                       |
| Bread ..      | <i>kleb</i> ..      | <i>mian</i> ..                       | <i>nan</i> ..  | <i>kiriba.</i>        |
| Broken ..     | <i>slamaal</i> ..   | <i>maili</i> ..                      | <i>taharádm</i> (to break) or <i>mal'siei</i> (broken) | <i>maru'am</i> (inf.) |
| Butter ..     | <i>máslo</i> ..     | <i>yurr</i> ..                       | <i>jur</i> ..  | <i>jir.</i>           |
| Buy ..        | <i>kupeet</i> ..    | <i>tumthon</i> ..                    | <i>teamdáu</i> ..                                      | <i>tamíju'ama.</i>    |
| Can (tin) ..  |                     | <i>lawatchi</i> ..                   |  |                       |
| Cap ..        | <i>shapka</i> ..    | <i>sohá</i> ..                       | <i>sáwua</i> or <i>sauwa</i> ..                        | <i>samu.</i>          |
| Claw ..       | <i>kogut</i> ..     | <i>hodka</i> ..                      | <i>teab</i> ..   | <i>tesu.</i>          |
| Coffee ..     | <i>káffe</i> ..     | <i>corf</i> ..                       |  |                       |
| Cold ..       | <i>holod</i> ..     | <i>tíchi</i> ..                      | <i>títi, tici</i> ..                                   | <i>tasiti.</i>        |
| Cooking ..    | <i>virete</i> ..    | <i>yod</i> ..                        | <i>pirieu</i> ..                                       | <i>fadi'ema.</i>      |
| Dark ..       | <i>temná</i> ..     | <i>peshami</i> ..                    | <i>paebí</i> ..  | <i>faemei'.</i>       |
| Day ..        | <i>dén</i> ..       | <i>yallomur</i> ..                   | <i>jálea</i> ..  | <i>jale.</i>          |
| Dead ..       | <i>umera</i> ..     | <i>cohur</i> ..                      | <i>hálmér</i> ..                                       | <i>kuábua.</i>        |
| Dog ..        | <i>sobáka</i> ..    | <i>píva</i> ..                       | <i>jandu</i> ..  | <i>bán.</i>           |
| Drink ..      | <i>peet</i> ..      | <i>garapi</i> ..                     | <i>jábiedm</i> (vb) ..                                 | <i>bede'am</i> (vb).  |
| Eat ..        | <i>kiéshat</i> ..   | <i>aberdais</i> ..                   | <i>~ amau</i> ..                                       | <i>~ amí'ama.</i>     |
| Empty ..      | <i>porosnia</i> ..  | <i>kerozhi</i> ..                    | <i>taeri</i> ..  | <i>tareaga eitua.</i> |
| Evening ..    | <i>vécher</i> ..    | <i>bisharni</i> ..                   | <i>pæusemboi</i> ..                                    | <i>simti.</i>         |
| Expensive ..  | <i>dorogó</i> ..    | <i>zatchnerieu</i> ..                | <i>miria</i> ..  |                       |
| Extinguish .. | <i>powgoshat</i> .. | <i>tuhopta</i> ..                    | <i>habtíu</i> ..                                       | <i>kabta'ama.</i>     |
| Face ..       | <i>litso</i> ..     | <i>soá</i> ..                        | <i>sea</i> ..  | <i>fora.</i>          |
| Fat ..        | <i>salo</i> ..      | <i>yurr</i> ..                       | <i>jur</i> ..  | <i>jir.</i>           |
| Father ..     | <i>otéts</i> ..     | <i>neesshout</i> or <i>nessea</i> .. | <i>nisea</i> ..  | <i>jase.</i>          |
| Fire ..       | <i>ogón</i> ..      | <i>tu</i> ..                         | <i>tu</i> ..   | <i>tui.</i>           |
| Flour ..      | <i>muká</i> ..      | <i>deya</i> ..                       | <i>jea</i> ..  | <i>já.</i>            |
| Fog ..        | <i>tumán</i> ..     | <i>sinu</i> ..                       | <i>simu</i> ..   | <i>kakuy.</i>         |
| Food ..       | <i>maha</i> ..      | <i>suroko ya</i> ..                  | <i>~ avar, máe</i> ..                                  | <i>~ amsu.</i>        |
| Foot ..       | <i>nogá</i> ..      | <i>raroisai</i> ..                   | <i>~ ae</i> ..   | <i>~ oai.</i>         |
| Forest ..     | <i>less</i> ..      | <i>piat</i> ..                       | <i>puedara, pea</i> ..                                 | <i>munku.</i>         |
| Friend ..     | <i>príatíl</i> ..   | <i>yíru</i> ..                       | <i>jurú</i> ..   | <i>maruy.</i>         |
| From ..       | <i>ot</i> ..        | <i>moni</i> ..                       | <i>níd, nád</i> ..                                     | <i>nita, nata.</i>    |
| Frost ..      | <i>moróz</i> ..     | <i>techi</i> ..                      | <i>hanea</i> ..  |                       |
| Girl ..       | <i>devitsa</i> ..   | <i>persepta</i> ..                   | <i>piribtea</i> ..                                     | <i>kuobtuay.</i>      |
| Give ..       | <i>dai</i> ..       | <i>meinkantnut</i> ..                | <i>mí'idm</i> ..                                       | <i>mipiu.</i>         |
| Go ..         | <i>hodeet</i> ..    | <i>hairum</i> ..                     | <i>jádam, ha-jeadm</i> ..                              | <i>meajendem.</i>     |

YURAK VOCABULARY: ENGLISH, RUSSIAN, YURAK—continued.

| English.                | Russian.                 | Yurak (Jackson)        | Yurak (Castrén)                     | Tawgi (Castrén)     |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Go on ..                | <i>poshól</i> ..         | <i>haiá</i> ..         | <i>hainadm</i> ..                   | <i>kuanna'am.</i>   |
| Good ..                 | <i>horosho</i> ..        | <i>suohor</i> ..       | <i>sawu</i> ..                      | <i>ngá.</i>         |
| Good even-<br>ing ..    | <i>proshkcháité</i> ..   | [ <i>proshite</i> ] .. |                                     |                     |
| Good morn-<br>ing ..    | <i>sdravstvuité</i> ..   | <i>toroa</i> ..        |                                     |                     |
| Grouse,<br>hazel ..     | <i>rabchik</i> ..        | <i>rabeen</i> ..       | <i>sinsieu</i> ..                   |                     |
| Gun ..                  | <i>rujyó</i> ..          | <i>túni</i> ..         | <i>tuni</i> ..                      | <i>tábidí.</i>      |
| Half ..                 | <i>polavina</i> ..       | <i>piali</i> ..        | <i>pealea</i> ..                    | <i>fealea.</i>      |
| Hand ..                 | <i>ruká</i> ..           | <i>wuda</i> ..         | <i>~ uda</i> ..                     | <i>jutu.</i>        |
| Hasten ..               | <i>skóra</i> ..          | <i>mithurur</i> ..     | <i>siertajá</i> ..                  | <i>timintim.</i>    |
| Have you ..             | <i>yaistli u vass</i> .. | <i>ústera</i> ..       |                                     |                     |
| He ..                   | <i>on</i> ..             | <i>puther</i> ..       | <i>puda</i> ..                      | <i>sete.</i>        |
| Headman<br>(of village) | <i>starosta</i> ..       | <i>starsun</i> ..      |                                     |                     |
| Hill ..                 | <i>gorá</i> ..           | <i>kaisada</i> ..      | <i>hóí</i> ..                       |                     |
| Holiday ..              | <i>prázdnik</i> ..       | <i>hibidiali</i> ..    |                                     |                     |
| Hoof ..                 | <i>kwopwita</i> ..       | <i>tobá</i> ..         | <i>teab</i> ..                      | <i>manua.</i>       |
| Horse ..                | <i>lóshad</i> ..         | <i>unor</i> ..         | <i>junna or</i><br><i>úöbte'</i> .. |                     |
| How far ..              | <i>kák daloko</i> ..     | <i>hwptor</i> ..       | <i>~ ada</i> ..                     | <i>kuntagá.</i>     |
| How many<br>or much ..  | <i>skolko</i> ..         | <i>pshán</i> ..        | <i>sean</i> ..                      | <i>kana'.</i>       |
| Hut ..                  | <i>izba</i> ..           | <i>miat</i> ..         | <i>hárad</i> ..                     | <i>koru'.</i>       |
| I ..                    | <i>ya</i> ..             | <i>má</i> ..           | <i>man</i> ..                       | <i>mannan.</i>      |
| I wish ..               | <i>ya hotchu</i> ..      | <i>mein horiúm</i> ..  | <i>haruadm</i> ..                   | <i>karbutum.</i>    |
| Ice ..                  | <i>léd</i> ..            | <i>salabar</i> ..      | <i>sálaba</i> ..                    | <i>sér.</i>         |
| If ..                   | <i>yesli</i> ..          | <i>mein merru</i> ..   |                                     |                     |
| Ill ..                  | <i>nezdoróv</i> ..       | <i>nugurúm</i> ..      | <i>hayoda</i> ..                    | <i>koitalá.</i>     |
| Iron ..                 | <i>jelézo</i> ..         | <i>issia</i> ..        | <i>jésea</i> ..                     | <i>bása.</i>        |
| Island ..               | <i>ostrof</i> ..         | <i>orr</i> ..          | <i>~ o</i> ..                       | <i>~ uai.</i>       |
| It is ..                | <i>eto</i> ..            | <i>tuki</i> ..         |                                     |                     |
| Kill ..                 | <i>ubit</i> ..           | <i>hardeish</i> ..     | <i>hádan</i> ..                     | <i>kuada'ama.</i>   |
| Knife ..                | <i>nójik</i> ..          | <i>há</i> ..           | <i>har</i> ..                       | <i>tagai.</i>       |
| Land ..                 | <i>zemlia</i> ..         | <i>yeá</i> ..          | <i>jéa, ja</i> ..                   | <i>mou, mamaru.</i> |
| Last ..                 | <i>postlaidni</i> ..     | <i>púdna</i> ..        | <i>pihinasy</i> ..                  | <i>bandu'bta.</i>   |
| Lazy ..                 | <i>lánawi</i> ..         | <i>leark</i> ..        | <i>laek</i> ..                      | <i>naru'a.</i>      |
| Leg ..                  | <i>noga</i> ..           | <i>ai</i> ..           |                                     |                     |
| Less ..                 | <i>ménshé</i> ..         | <i>chinnu</i> ..       |                                     | <i>oáta kumane.</i> |
| Little ..               | <i>málo</i> ..           | <i>chánu</i> ..        | <i>nudea</i> ..                     | <i>siekaku.</i>     |
| Long ..                 | <i>dolgo</i> ..          | <i>yú</i> ..           | <i>jámbo</i> ..                     | <i>kunta.</i>       |
| Mad ..                  | <i>sumasetsha</i> ..     | <i>solakwa</i> ..      |                                     |                     |
| Make ..                 | <i>delat</i> ..          | <i>miritch</i> ..      | <i>miu</i> ..                       | <i>mé an.</i>       |
| Man ..                  | <i>chelavék</i> ..       | <i>nunetch</i> ..      | <i>nenete</i> ..                    | <i>~ anasay.</i>    |
| May I ..                | <i>mójno</i> ..          | <i>mein mrongu</i> ..  |                                     |                     |
| Meat ..                 | <i>goviádina</i> ..      | <i>amsá</i> ..         | <i>~ amsa</i> ..                    | <i>~ amsu.</i>      |
| Moon ..                 | <i>masitch</i> ..        | <i>yerri</i> ..        | <i>jirg, jirt</i> ..                | <i>ktsadd.</i>      |
| Morning ..              | <i>útro</i> ..           | <i>ku</i> ..           | <i>háwy</i> ..                      | <i>kiduatu.</i>     |
| Mother ..               | <i>mat</i> ..            | <i>niskia</i> ..       | <i>nebea</i> ..                     | <i>name.</i>        |
| Mouth ..                | <i>rot</i> ..            | <i>yerri</i> ..        | <i>ng'</i> ..                       | <i>~ ag.</i>        |
| My ..                   | <i>moi</i> ..            | <i>maan</i> ..         |                                     |                     |
| Name ..                 | <i>imia</i> ..           | <i>nim</i> ..          | <i>nim, nim</i> ..                  | <i>nim.</i>         |
| Near ..                 | <i>blizko</i> ..         | <i>paii</i> ..         | <i>hahaji</i> ..                    |                     |
| Never ..                | <i>nikógda</i> ..        | <i>shartné muon</i> .. | <i>hunahart</i> ..                  |                     |

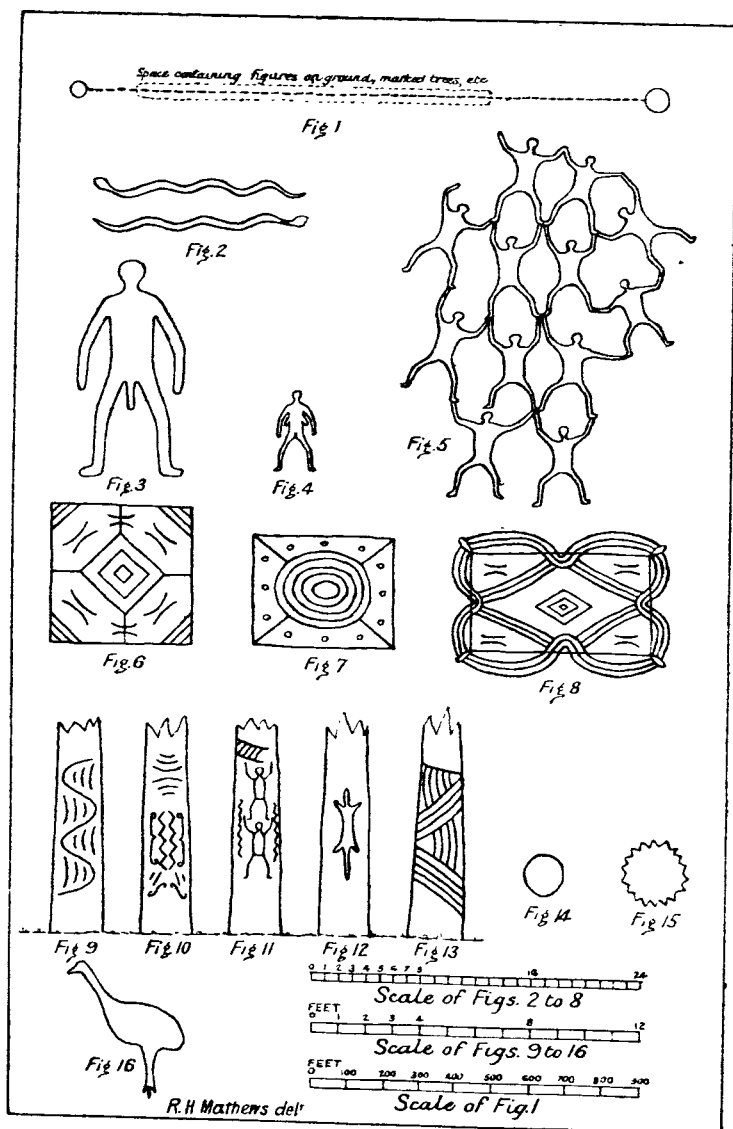
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## YURAK VOCABULARY: ENGLISH, RUSSIAN, YURAK—continued.

| English.          | Russian.       | Yurak (Jackson) | Yurak (Castrén)           | Tawgi (Castrén) |
|-------------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| New ..            | nóvo ..        | yathera ..      | jiedaei ..                |                 |
| No ..             | nēt ..         | yūngu ..        |                           |                 |
| Noon ..           | polden ..      | monthom ..      | jálembaele ..             |                 |
| Old ..            | stáro ..       | pukodé ..       | puhutei ..                | baiku'a.        |
| Paddle ..         | lopáta ..      | shiwa ..        | labea ..                  | labasj.         |
| Plate ..          | tarielka ..    | perdok ..       |                           |                 |
| Plenty ..         | mnogo ..       | uktior ..       |                           |                 |
| Presently ..      | tot chas ..    | punatatón ..    | seabtamboi or lakumbói .. | lakariei.       |
| Quick ..          | skorei ..      | miátarra ..     |                           |                 |
| Rain ..           | dojd ..        | seroia ..       | mear, mēr ..              | mearaj.         |
| Red ..            | hrasny ..      | narria ..       | sírú, sáro ..             | sornaj.         |
| Reindeer ..       | olen ..        | thena oddi ..   | nawá, nárijá ..           | jabakua.        |
| River ..          | reká ..        | ya, or yaha ..  | ty, té, tó ..             | tá.             |
| Road ..           | doróga ..      | niáda ..        | jaha ..                   | bugoi.          |
| Rock ..           | kamin ..       | pié ..          |                           |                 |
| Rope ..           | verofka ..     | koroatka ..     | pae ..                    | fala.           |
| Salt ..           | sol ..         | ziare ..        |                           |                 |
| Sea ..            | móré ..        | yam ..          | sear, sér ..              | ser.            |
| Shallow ..        | melko ..       | túra ..         | jam ..                    | jam.            |
| Shoot ..          | stralet ..     | nearetsch ..    | tóra ..                   | tera.           |
| Sing ..           | pet ..         | honnen it ..    | jadau ..                  | jeda'ama.       |
| Sister ..         | sestrá ..      | nápkwoa ..      | hyno'adm ..               | kaigitum.       |
| Sit down ..       | saidite ..     | ondot ..        | nabako ..                 | ~afu.           |
| Sledge ..         | sanki ..       | puán ..         | ~ámjýdm ..                | ~ontutum.       |
| Steamer ..        | parokhód ..    | tuonna ..       | han ..                    | kanta.          |
| Stop ..           | stoi ..        | nooia ..        |                           |                 |
| Strong ..         | krépko ..      | moia ..         |                           |                 |
| Swan ..           | lábed ..       | lensen ..       | mucita ..                 | tankagí.        |
| Thick ..          | tolstoi ..     | nenor ..        | hohoraei ..               | jankuá.         |
| Thief ..          | vor ..         | teiler ..       | nayota ..                 | jaragá.         |
| Think (I) ..      | dumau ..       | sinio ..        | tádei ..                  | tolea.          |
| Thin ..           | tonki ..       | huten ..        | jibi'au ..                | korsitandum.    |
| To ..             | k' ..          | seru ..         | jábta ..                  | juobtatiku.     |
| Tree ..           | dérevo ..      | pša ..          |                           | náj.            |
| Understand (I) .. | pamujmayo ..   | nandura ..      | pea ..                    | fa.             |
| Unnecessary ..    | nenujni ..     | nithera ..      | hámadámbru ..             |                 |
| Very ..           | óchen ..       | miá ..          |                           |                 |
| Very good ..      | ladna ..       | miátterra ..    | nene, -uli ..             | tatuame.        |
| Walrus ..         | morse ..       | tuóché ..       |                           | nágeikia.       |
| Warm ..           | tepló ..       | yiba ..         | tewote' ..                |                 |
| Wet ..            | mókro ..       | sanui ..        | jibi, juba ..             | muamay.         |
| Whale ..          | kit ..         | lubraka ..      | sanui ..                  | natebea.        |
| What ..           | kto ..         | chuku ..        | hále'i ..                 |                 |
| White ..          | bélo ..        | surúka ..       | ~amge, awo ..             |                 |
| Why ..            | ochago ..      | onkachuka ..    | sear ..                   | sera'a.         |
| Wife ..           | jená ..        | nea ..          |                           |                 |
| Winter ..         | zimá ..        | ziru ..         | piudy ..                  |                 |
| Wind ..           | véter ..       | pashami ..      | sira ..                   | sira.           |
| With ..           | s' ..          | wiwa ..         | mearcea, py ..            | bie.            |
| Woman ..          | jenshtchina .. | hafinu ..       |                           |                 |
| Work ..           | ráбота ..      | muzurish ..     | ne ..                     | né.             |
| Year ..           | gód ..         | tutnopa ..      | mujeu ..                  |                 |
| Yes ..            | da ..          | dathrum ..      | po ..                     | fua.            |
| Yesterday ..      | vcherá ..      | té ..           | ~od ..                    |                 |
|                   |                |                 | tie', te' ..              | tuláj.          |







*The BORA, or INITIATION CEREMONIES of the KAMILAROI TRIBE.*  
By R. H. MATHEWS, Licensed Surveyor, N.S.W.

[PLATE XXI.]

WITH the view of assisting in collecting and preserving authentic records of the manners and customs of a race who are now rapidly passing away, I have prepared the following account of a Bora which was held during the months of January, February, and March of the present year, 1894, near the small town of Gundabloui, in the parish of the same name, County of Finch, New South Wales. Gundabloui is on the Moonie River about 12 miles below where it is crossed by the Queensland boundary, and also about 12 miles above its confluence with the Barwan River. All the tribes who took part in these initiation ceremonies belonged to the Kamilaroi community, who occupy a large extent of territory in that part of the country.

*Mustering the Tribes.*—During the last three months of the year 1891, a Bora was held on the Gnoura Gnoura Creek, about 3 miles north-westerly from Kunopia, a small township on the Boomi River, County of Benarba. Not long after the conclusion of this Bora, two of the head-men of the aboriginal tribes of that part of the country, who are known amongst the Europeans as "Billy Whiteman" and "Morgan Billy," arranged with the head-man of the tribes about Gundabloui, who is known as "Jack Bagot," that a Bora should be held in the last named district, for the purpose of initiating a number of young men who could not attend the Kunopia Bora, and also to finally admit some of those who had been there initiated.

The Kunopia head-men gave Jack Bagot three boomerangs, according to custom, as tokens of their concurrence, and in due course he visited all the neighbouring tribes for the purpose of consulting the several head-men about making the necessary arrangements in regard to the best time and place for holding the Bora. These preliminary duties occupied him for a considerable time and on his return to Gundabloui a few months before last Christmas (1893), he despatched messengers<sup>1</sup> to all the places he had recently visited, to inform the blacks that a Bora would be held at Gundabloui, and

<sup>1</sup> These messengers were not required to be of the same class and totem as "Jack Bagot," the principal head-man who summoned the tribes to attend the ceremonies, but were selected according to their fitness to perform the work entrusted to them; and they were sent to the head-man of the different tribes, irrespective of class distinctions.

requiring them to assemble there at a certain time. Some of the messengers were men who had been initiated, and went on their mission alone; but two of the messengers were half-castes who had never been at a Bora, and in their cases each was accompanied by an old man until the first camp was reached, when the old man returned to the camp he had left. From there the messenger was similarly escorted by an old man to the next camp, when he also returned to his own tribe. In this manner these half-castes were conducted from camp to camp until their respective destinations were reached. The initiated messengers, as before stated, went from camp to camp without any convoy.

The messengers went away separately, each having his own route, and before being despatched they were each provided with a kilt of Wallaby skin,<sup>1</sup> as an emblem of their mission, which they had to keep hung in front of them by means of a girdle tied round the waist; and they were instructed to wear this badge all the time they were engaged in this duty. On the first evening of the arrival of one of these messengers at a camp, he would strip quite naked, paint himself with raddle and grease and appear with the kilt of Wallaby skin hanging in front as a covering. He then went through a ceremonial dance before the tribe, after which he delivered his message to the head-man. The same procedure was gone through at every camp visited by him until he reached his final destination. It may be mentioned that the messengers sent out to muster the tribes were considered persons of some importance by the blacks whom they visited. When a messenger at length arrived at the last of the camps he had been directed to summon, he remained with the blacks there until they were ready to accompany him, when the return journey to the Bora ground was commenced, the assemblage being increased by a fresh contingent of natives at each of the places visited by the messenger on his way out. During the journey to the Bora ground, when the contingents camped at night, they sometimes had dances and songs at the camp fire. When this concourse neared the Bora camp, one of the chief men went ahead and informed those already assembled, of the near approach of the visitors, and stating the district they had come from. All the men in that camp were then mustered with their weapons of war in their hands, and on the new comers appearing in sight they were welcomed with volleys of joyous shouts. Then the messenger who had escorted them

<sup>1</sup> Ridley says "the herald who summons the tribes to the Bora bears in his hand a boomerang, and a spear with a padamelon skin hanging upon it."—*"Kamilaroi and other Australian Languages,"* p. 153.

thither, having now finished the task assigned him, was released from further duty. The same course was followed on the arrival of each messenger with his contingent at the main camp. These arrivals generally took place about nightfall, and appeared to have been so arranged. When all the contingents had arrived, the head-men fixed the day on which the ceremonies should commence.

*The Camp.*—The site selected for the general encampment was situated on some flat ground in an open forest about half-a-mile westerly from the town of Gundabloui. The camp was divided into three sections; the blacks who had come from Mogil Mogil, Collarendabri, and Walgett occupied one section; those from Kunopia, Mungindi, and Welltown another; those from the Moonie and St. George forming a third section. The people who thus went into sections by themselves all belonged to the same tribe; therefore the whole concourse assembled in this camp represented three distinct tribes all belonging to the same community, and each tribe occupied that side of the main camp which faced the direction of their own *tauri*, or country—the camp of the head-man who summoned the tribes being the initial point. Water for camp use was obtained from the Moonie River, about half-a-mile to the eastward of the camp. The blacks from the Moonie, St. George, and Welltown belonged to Queensland; those from Welltown and St. George had the farthest to travel to reach the Bora ground—the distance being over 100 miles. The Narran and Namoi tribes had been invited to participate in the ceremonies, but did not attend.

The people of all ages, assembled to witness this Bora, numbered two hundred and three persons, comprising ninety-six men, fifty-eight women, and forty-nine children. This includes half-castes, the same privileges being accorded to them as to natives of full blood. The Aborigines' Protection Board, on being informed that the Bora was to be held, authorised the issue of rations to the aged blacks and children; and on one occasion, during very wet weather, a special issue of a hundred half rations was made to the able-bodied natives. Mr. J. L. Gwydir, manager of Mr. J. Tyson's Gundabloui Station, close by, gave the blacks an allowance of beef, free of charge, in addition to the Government rations just mentioned.

*The Bora Ground.*—It is the custom for that section of the community which calls the tribes together, to prepare the ground, and get everything ready for the arrival of the various contingents. The locality chosen for the performance of this rite is usually situated within the country of the head-man

who calls the assembly. While the messengers were away mustering the tribes who were invited to join in the ceremonies "Jack Bagot" and some of the other head-men, assisted by young fellows who had been to at least one Bora before, were employed preparing the ground, which was about half-a-mile westerly from the general encampment, on some level country, in a scrub of sandalwood and coolabah. It will therefore be observed that the Bora ground was in the opposite direction from the main camp to that in which the town of Gundabloui was situated.

Two circles were formed on the ground, very much resembling the rings seen at a circus, only larger (Plate XXI, Fig. 1); these circles were cleared of all timber and grass, and carefully swept; the surface of the ground within them was levelled, and slightly hollowed, so as to obtain sufficient loose earth to form the surrounding walls, which were about a foot high. The largest of these circles which was the one nearest to the general encampment was about 70 feet in diameter, most regular in shape, and in the centre stood a pole about 10 feet high with a bunch of emu's feathers tied on top; in the western wall of this enclosure an opening about 5 feet in extent was left as an entrance. Around this circle on all sides except the opening mentioned, was a bush fence composed of a number of forks set in the ground, with the rails from one to the other, and against these rails bushes were laid. From the opening referred to, an ordinary uncleared bush track ran about S. 60° W. for about 23 chains, connecting with another and smaller circle about 45 feet in diameter. The scrub around the latter circle was denser than at the other one, and it was, besides, farther from the camp and more secluded. This circle was not so perfect in shape as the other, and the walls were roughly made; there was, moreover, no opening left for the purpose of ingress or egress, as in the larger circle, but any one wishing to enter it had to step over the wall of loose earth. Near the centre of this circle were two saplings which had been taken out of the ground by the roots; the branches were then cut level across, after which they were fixed in the ground with their roots upwards. These inverted saplings were for use as seats by the old men when instructing their novices. Although the surrounding country was quite level, one circle was not visible from the other, owing to the dense intervening scrub.

On leaving the larger circle, and proceeding along the pathway, nothing was noticeable for about 140 yards, then, for a distance of about 320 yards, numerous devices and figures were carved in the turf, extending about 20 feet back from the track on either side. In order to obtain a clean, even space on which

to work, the loose surface soil had been removed and piled into little heaps like ant hills, and the earth, cut out in carving the outlines of the figures, was disposed of in the same manner; every heap having a small stick "stuck upright," in the top of it, which had a rather pleasing effect.

The most interesting of these carvings in the soil was a group of twelve persons, life size, with their heads in the direction of the smaller circle, and were on the south side of the pathway. (Plate XXI., Fig. 5.) All the figures were joined together, the hands and feet of one joining the hands and feet of others. These figures were formed by cutting a nick or groove in the ground along the outline of each. They represented the young men who were with Baiamai at his first camp.

A large number of devices, somewhat similar in character to those seen on trees about Bora grounds were outlined by a groove in the soil about 2 inches deep, and from 2 to 3 inches wide, cut out with tomahawks and sharpened sticks. Three of the most representative of these are reproduced on Plate XXI., Figs. 6, 7, 8. There were about 40 of these designs cut in the ground in various places and at irregular intervals throughout the space of 320 yards before-mentioned. Each one had a separate pattern, and some were on one side of the path and some on the other; they are remarkable for their great number and variety. Some of the largest designs were from 10 to 15 feet square, but others were much smaller.

On the northern side of the path was a representation of a horse and parts of a vehicle, outlined by carving in the soil like the preceding; and near a stump which was naturally in that place was the effigy of a black fellow composed of sticks and old clothes, like a scarecrow, having round his neck a string from which was suspended a crescent shaped piece of tin resembling the brass plate sometimes given by Europeans to aboriginal "kings." The native artist who did this group said it was purely imaginary, and was meant as a humorous representation of an old king going to the Bora, and having a breakdown on the road.

The foregoing comprise all the carvings cut in the soil, which I have distinguished from raised earthen figures formed on the surface of the ground, which I will next describe.

About 230 yards from the smaller circle, about 6 feet from the southern side of the path, and at right angles to it, was the horizontal figure of a man 15 feet in length and otherwise built in proportion, composed of logs covered with earth, the height of the chest being  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet from the ground, and the feet pointing towards the track; this the blacks said represented Baiamai, who presides over the ceremonies of the

Bora. On the opposite side of the path with the feet towards it, was a life-sized female figure which represented Baiamai's female consort whom the blacks call Gunnanbeely. (Plate XXI, Figs. 3 and 4.) They say that Baiamai created them and gave them the country and all that is in it for their use, after which he and Gunnanbeely went away. A short distance from these, on the north side of the track, the figure of a man and woman were formed on the ground in the same manner; they were lying together behind a tree, and were partly hidden. The blacks said these represented their original parents, whom they call *Boobardy* and *Numbardy*,—meaning father and mother respectively.

On the northern side of the pathway was the life-sized figure of an emu formed with raised earth, with its head towards the smaller circle and a spear stuck in its body, the other end of the spear resting against a tree.<sup>1</sup> (Plate XXI, Fig. 16.)

The figures of two snakes,<sup>2</sup> each 15 feet long, were formed of raised earth; they were lying beside each other, parallel to the track, and on the south side of it, with their heads in contrary directions. (Plate XXI, Fig. 2.) These represent a large snake called by the natives "*mungan*," and its flesh is preferred to that of other snakes.

The body of a bullock was formed by logs covered with earth, on one end of which was laid a dry skeleton of a bullock's head, with the horns on it; and a stick stuck in the other end for a tail.

There was a mound of earth, 4 feet long representing a grave, on the north side of the pathway. On opening this, it contained some old clothes placed inside a sheet of bark, which was folded round them, and a cord tied outside of it to keep it from opening, showing the way natives are buried.

On the south side of the track was a life-sized male figure cut out of bark, and placed on top of some raised earth about 9 inches high, so as to resemble a man lying on the ground. On the other side of the path, opposite to this, was the figure of a female formed in the same way. These represented the men and women of the tribes.

Not far from the track were three small gunyahs, made of bark, indicating the dwellings of the natives. Two of these were on the southern, and one on the northern side of the path.

<sup>1</sup> The figure of the emu on Bora grounds has been noticed by different writers. See "*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*" vii., p. 225, *ib.* viii., p. 452 and 456, and Henderson's "*Observations on Colonies, New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land*," pp. 145-148.

<sup>2</sup> Henderson says that snakes were delineated on the Bora ground he visited near Wellington in 1832.

At intervals along the track, some being on one side, and some on the other, were sixteen bushes naturally growing there, containing representations of bird's nests, in which were placed stones and prickly pears for eggs. Dispersed along the track in the same manner were half a dozen imitations of caterpillars' nests, made of about a quart of sand tied up in cloths like puddings, and hung on trees, the caterpillars<sup>1</sup> were represented by small leaves of the prickly pear threaded on a string by means of a hole through one end of them, and the string tied round the tree. These nests, the natives say, represent the gifts of Baiamai to them.

A short distance from the image of Baiamai was the imitation of an eagle-hawk's nest<sup>2</sup> in a tree, 20 feet from the ground. The blacks said there was an eagle-hawk's nest near Baiamai's first home, and that he chased the eagle-hawk away.

Not more than a dozen trees were carved, none being marked higher than a man could reach from the ground. The marks were cut through the bark, and into the wood of the trees. Five of the most representative of these are delineated in Plate XXI., Figs. 9 to 13. I may add that suitable trees for carving were scarce, the timber consisting chiefly of small scrub trees.

On the northern side of the track, near the effigy of the old king, was the figure of an iguana, about 3 feet long, cut out of bark and fastened to a tree. (Plate XXI., Fig. 12.)

A figure of the sun 2 feet in diameter, and one of the moon 18 inches, were cut out of bark, and hung on trees; the sun being at the eastern, and the moon at the western extremity of the symbolical representations I have been describing—perhaps to indicate the sources of illumination by day and night. (Plate XXI., Figs. 15 and 14.)

Not far from the image of the sun were two male figures, cut out of bark, and fixed up against trees, one on each side of the pathway. One of these had his head ornamented with emu's feathers, and the other held in his hand a *hielaman*, or native shield. These figures gave a visitor the impression that they were warriors who had been placed there to guard the entrance to the mystic sylvan temple beyond. The natives said these figures represented the two sons of Baiamai, Cobbarailbah and Byallaburra.

On the track, about 40 yards from the figure of Baiamai, and

<sup>1</sup> Representations of the cockchafer were shown on the Bora ground described by Henderson in the work quoted.

<sup>2</sup> See Henderson's remarks in his work before quoted in reference to an eagle's eyrie observed on the Bora ground described by him in 1832.



about 270 yards from the smaller circle, was a big fire which was kept burning day and night, called "Baiamai's fire."

From the time the Bora was commenced until the ground was abandoned, two of the old men kept guard over it day and night, they camped at Baiamai's fire, and had dogs to give the alarm if any stranger approached. All the men of the tribes took their turn in watching the ground, and there were always two of them on this duty at the same time.

One of the natives told my informant that the Bora ground represents Baiamai's first camp,<sup>1</sup> the people who were with him while there, and the gifts he presented them with; the figures on the ground and the marked trees are emblematical of the surroundings of such camp. They also state that Baiamai intended the larger circle for the recreation of the women and children; this is why it is greater in extent than the other, which is only intended to accommodate a few.

The Bora ground was ready for more than two months before all the mobs of blacks had mustered, and during this interval the head-men would go and sit around Baiamai's fire and arrange matters of tribal concern, and discuss subjects in connection with the ceremonies which were shortly to take place. Sometimes these discussions would lead to warmth and unpleasantness, but would always terminate amicably. A Bora had never been held on this ground before.

*Preliminary Ceremonies.*—When at length the last mob of natives had arrived, the ceremonies of the Bora commenced. Every forenoon the initiated blacks went to the Bora ground, and walked about looking at the carvings, and other imagery there displayed, spending some of their time talking about these things near Baiamai's fire, the gins and novices remaining at the main camp. In the afternoon, the mothers of the novices, or their nearest female relatives<sup>2</sup> who had them in charge, painted them with red ochre and grease, after which they decorated their necks with beads and their hair with feathers. When the novices were thus ornamented, they marched in single file from the main camp to the larger circle, keeping their eyes fixed on the ground. The women who had charge of them—accompanied by the rest of the women in the camp, as well as the children—walked with the novices, watching that they did not raise their eyes from the ground. The mothers, or relatives who had charge of the boys, were naked to the waist and were painted with raddle and pipeclay.

<sup>1</sup> Ridley says "the ground on which the Bora is celebrated is Baiamai's ground." "*Kamilaroi and other Australian Languages*," p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> When the mother of the novice is dead, or is unable to be present, it is usual for one of her sisters, own or tribal, who would therefore be the boy's "tribal" mother, to attend and discharge the mother's duty.

On arrival at the large circle, the boys entered it through the opening previously described, and sat down on the raised border of the circle, their feet being within it. The Mogil Mogil, Collarendabri, and Walgett boys sat on the southern side of the entrance to the circle; the Mungindi, Kunopia, and Welltown boys sat in a similar manner on the opposite side of the entrance; and on the left of the last named the boys of the Moonie and St. George tribes took up their position in the same way; the boys of the three tribes thus sitting in that part of the circle which faced their respective districts. As soon as the boys had sat down, the women and children also entered the circle, and commenced to dance, and sing and play. During all this time the boys were required to keep their eyes cast down. About sundown, the men, who had as before stated been at the Bora ground since the forenoon, joined the assemblage at the larger circle, and took part in a short dance. After this, all hands, with the exception of the two men before referred to left to guard the ground, went back to the main camp, the boys being escorted on the return march in the same manner as on their way out. This concluded the ceremonies for the day, and nothing more was done on the Bora ground till the following morning.

At the main camp, during the early part of nearly every night, one of the masters of the ceremonies would go alone into the bush a short distance from the camp, and for about two hours would sound a wooden instrument which these blacks call *murrawan*, which is supposed to represent the voice of Durrumulun,<sup>1</sup> their native name for the evil spirit, who rules in the night.

During the time the instrument referred to was being sounded in the adjacent forest, the men of the tribes would dance and yell, and make hideous noises; and all the gins would sing and beat time, those of each tribe singing their own peculiar song. The gins sat down in a line on one side of the camp fire, having

<sup>1</sup> Howitt says:—"Daramulun was not everywhere thought to be a malevolent spirit, but he was dreaded as one who could severely punish the trespasses committed against their tribal ordinances. He, it is said, instituted the ceremonies of the initiation of youths; he made the original *mudji*, (bull-roarer) and the noise made by it is the voice of Daramulun."—"Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xiii., p. 192 and 446.

Wyndham states, that among the blacks of the western parts of New England, the principal man who presided over the Bora personated the devil, and he made a most terrific noise with a bull-roarer. "Journ. Roy. Soc. N S.W.," xxiii., p. 38.

Greenway says:—"Among the Kamilaroi tribes about Bundarra, Turramulan is represented at the Bora by an old man learned in all the laws and traditions, rites and ceremonies, and assumes to be endowed with supernatural powers."—"Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," vii., p. 243.

on their laps a piece of thin, dry bark, with a cloth thrown over it, on which they beat time with both hands. Such of the old men who were too infirm to dance also beat time with two boomerangs, or time sticks, one in each hand. The dancers were on the other side of the fire, retiring into the darkness, or advancing to the light, as the sentiment seemed to require. The various contingents danced alternately, being in turn performers and audience. The uninitiated youths did not take part in these dances, but will be allowed to dance with the men at the next Bora they go to. These performances were gone through for the instruction as well as the amusement of the novices.

*Surrendering the boys to the head-men.*—The preliminary ceremonies I have been describing were gone through from day to day, with slight variations, for upwards of three weeks. At the end of this time, one morning about sunrise, all the blacks—men, women, and children—assemble adjacent to the larger circle. All the males, including the novices, then stripped naked, and painted their bodies with red ochre and grease. The men then formed into a group and danced in front of the women and children. The mothers of those to be initiated, or their female relatives discharging the parental duty, stood in the front row of the women during this dance, and at its conclusion they commanded the novices to enter the circle, thus relinquishing their authority over them. Up to this time the women retained control of the youths, but now surrendered them to the head-men of the tribes. The youths then walked into the circle through the opening before described, the members of the three tribes keeping by themselves, thus forming three distinct sections within the ring.

Each novice had a guardian assigned him by the head-men or masters of the ceremonies—this guardian being selected from among the initiated men of the class and totem with which the novice was, by the tribal laws, entitled to intermarry.<sup>1</sup>

As soon as all the novices were inside the circle, the women and children were made to lie face downwards on the ground on the outside of the ring, on that side of it farthest from the pathway, and their heads were securely covered up with rugs and blankets, to prevent them from seeing what was to take place. Some of the old men were deputed to see that this formality was strictly carried out. When the gins and

<sup>1</sup> Howitt says:—"The novice is taken from among the assembled women by the initiated men of that part of the community to which belong the women as regards whom he has inherited potential marital rights. The men who especially instruct him, and watch over him during the ceremonies, are the brothers,—own or tribal—of those women." "Trans. Aus. Assoc. Adv. Sc.," iii, p. 345.

children were securely covered up, the guardians or sponsors entered the circle, and each caught his novice by the hand, and led him to a convenient place within it, and painted him with pipe-clay, those of each tribe using a distinguishing pattern. The guardians also adorned each of the youths with a kilt of wallaby skin,<sup>1</sup> suspended in front by means of a girdle tied round the waist; and these badges must be kept by the recruits till they have passed through another Bora. Such of the adult males as were not engaged in the ceremonies also entered the circle if they chose, and stood with the people of their respective tribes.

When the novices, who are called *wommarois*, were thus ornamented their guardians took them by the arm above the elbow, and led them towards the smaller circle, with their eyes fixed on the ground, care being taken that they did not look at any of the figures as they passed along the track. Each guardian and his novice walked abreast, one pair following the other, thus forming a file of two and two. Each guardian gave his boy instructions as to his duty while on the Bora ground. When the procession of novices started, the men who were present as spectators raised a shout. This shouting is kept up to cover the noise made by the departing guardians and their novices, the women not being supposed to know what has become of them.<sup>2</sup>

As soon as the men and novices got out of sight of the larger circle, the women and children were permitted to rise from the prostrate position in which they had been placed and were escorted back to the main camp by the old men left in charge of them. This was the last appearance of the women and children on the Bora ground.

On reaching the smaller circle the *wommarois* were made to lie face downwards on the ground, with their heads resting on the raised earth forming the boundary of the circle, and their feet from it. They were allowed to vary this posture by resting on their knees and elbows, with their heads bent to the ground—when they got tired of one position they could adopt the other—and during all this time they were forbidden to look up.

There were amongst the assemblage a number of young men who had been to one Bora before, and attended this one for further instruction; these are called *tuggabillas*, and had no guardians, but walked unrestrained with the old men all over the Bora ground, and everything on it was fully explained to them, so that when they became old men they may be able to

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes these kilts are made of Kangaroo-rat skin.—“Journ. Anthropol. Inst.” xviii, p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> “Journ. Anthropol. Inst.,” xiii, p. 442, note 3.

produce similar figures, and explain their meaning to the young men of the tribe, so that their customs and traditions, rites, and ceremonies, may be handed down from one generation to another.

After the *wommarois* had been lying down as stated for about two hours, the *tuggabillas* were brought and placed standing around the outside of the circle. Two old men<sup>1</sup> then entered it, and performed Bora dances, after which the old men each ascended one of the saplings previously described, and sitting on the roots sang traditional Bora songs in a low monotonous chant. These performances continued for about an hour, when the old men came out of the circle, and two of the *tuggabillas* who were considered the most enlightened in the lore of the tribe took their places. The *wommarois* were now allowed to rise, and were placed in a slanting position around the outside of the ring while receiving from the two *tuggabillas* similar instruction to that previously imparted by the old men. When this was concluded, the *wommarois* resumed their former prone position around the circle. The *tuggabillas* then withdrew, and went over the Bora ground again with the old men.

*Departure of the boys.*—About one o'clock in the afternoon, the head-men and guardians called the catechumens out of the circle, and took them away about 6 miles to a place called Mungaroo. The departure of the men and boys from the smaller circle was the last scene enacted on the Bora ground, which was now finally abandoned. The journey to Mungaroo from the Bora ground was performed at a leisurely walk, during which the novitiates were not allowed to gaze about them, nor to show any levity of manner. As they walked along their guardians were explaining to them the significance of what they had gone through at the smaller circle. On their arrival at Mungaroo, the old men formed a camp on the edge of a scrub near water; and about 150 yards from it in the scrub a separate camp was made for the boys. The latter consisted of a partial enclosure resembling a horse-shoe in shape, the open end being that farthest from the men's camp. The width across the open end was about 30 feet, and the depth from there to the back wall about 20 feet—the walls being about 4 feet high, and were formed of boughs. Across the open end small fires were kept burning, and when in this yard the novitiates were never without a few of their guardians, who furnished them with food, and attended to their wants. Whilst in the yard they were not allowed to look up, but when out hunting or playing with the men they were allowed greater liberty. On

<sup>1</sup> These old men have sometimes been described as "wizards," and their performances have been called "magical dances," and "magical chants."

leaving this yard in the morning, or returning to it in the evening, they had to keep their eyes on the ground while the camp was within view. Women were not permitted to approach either of the camps mentioned.

Many of the men unconnected with the ceremonies accompanied the men and catechumens to Mungaroo, but the women and children, and any of the men who were infirm or did not care to go, remained at the general encampment. These men had to take care that the women did not follow the men and novices, or go upon the sacred parts of the Bora ground. Mungaroo, which is on a warrambool of the same name, is a great place for marsupials, and native game of all sorts. During the daytime the men and youths would strip and paint themselves with raddle and grease, and put on their kilts of wallaby skin and girdles, when they would all go into the bush and hunt. The old men taught the novitiates all the native games, to sing the songs of the tribe, and to dance certain corroborees which neither the gins nor the uninitiated are permitted to learn. They were also instructed in the sacred traditions and lore of the tribe; to show respect to the old men, and not to interfere with unprotected women.

On some of the days spent at this camp, the men and boys cut grass and reeds, and tied them up so as to resemble kangaroos' tails; these they stuck in their girdles and danced a corroboree, imitating kangaroos.<sup>1</sup>

During the night the courage of the novices was tested by making them lie on the ground in the yard which I have described in charge of some of the men, who were instructed to observe them, while the old men would each take a youth who had been to at least one Bora before, and would thus go in pairs in different directions some distance into the adjacent scrub, where they would make hideous noises, and raise a terrific din, sounding the wooden instrument called *murrawan*, previously referred to; and during this time the novices were not allowed to exhibit any sign of fear. During the daytime these instruments were hidden away in great secrecy by the old men. These proceedings were gone through every night for about a week, at the end of which the secret wooden instruments (the bull-roarers) were shown to the novices, and their mysterious

<sup>1</sup> At the Bora described by Collins in his "Account of the English Colony of N. S. Wales," pages 365-374, he mentions a dance similar to the one I have described. The blacks told the following legend about Baiamai and his two sons in regard to these tails. They were out hunting one day and caught two kangaroos, and cut their tails off. The next Bora they went to, Baiamai's sons danced with these tails tied behind them like kangaroos, and this custom has been followed by the tribes at all Boras ever since.

significance was fully explained, after which they were placed on the camp fire and burnt.<sup>1</sup>

On some days the novitiates would be ranged in a line in the bough yard before described, in front of the old men and those who had lately been admitted as men of the tribe, all of whom would go through many obscene gestures for the purpose of shocking the young fellows; and if the latter had shown the least sign of mirth or frivolity during these performances, they would have been hit over the head with a waddy by an old man appointed to watch them. This pantomimic representation was enacted for the purpose of teaching them to abstain from masturbation, and from those offences which have been called "The abominations of the Cities of the Plain."<sup>2</sup> During these performances, which took place in the daytime, the men and novices would be naked and painted, and one or two of the men would act as guards or scouts to see that no one came upon them unawares.

The extraction of a front tooth was not practised by any section of the tribes assembled at this Bora, but while at the Mungaroo camp the novices had their hair cut short, and a few of them who had beards had them cut off. The guardians and other men who accompanied them also had their hair and beards cut in a similar manner. The cutting off of the hair was probably intended to take the place of knocking out a front tooth, or the eating of human ordure,<sup>3</sup> practised by some tribes at their ceremonies of initiation.

The ceremonies at the camp at Mungaroo occupied between a week and ten days, at the conclusion of which they washed the red paint off their bodies, and painted themselves white, after which they started back to rejoin the main camp at Gundabloui.

*Return of the boys.*—During the absence of the men and catechumens at Mungaroo, the women and children, assisted by such of the men who remained with them, had shifted the main camp about half a mile southerly from its former position.<sup>4</sup> About 200 yards westerly from this new camp, a bough yard

<sup>1</sup> Palmer says that "in the Bellinger river tribe, the humming instrument is called *yeemboomul* (bull-roarer), and when the ceremony of the Bora is over they burn it."—"Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xiii, p. 296.

<sup>2</sup> "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xiii, p. 450.

<sup>3</sup> For particulars of this custom, see Ridley's statements in the "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," vol. vii, p. 252, and in "Kamilaroi and other Australian Languages," p. 154.

<sup>4</sup> A long and heated discussion took place with regard to locality where the new camp should be erected, and preparations to be made for the reception of the catechumens on their return from the bush. The Mungindi, Kunspia, and Welltown tribes wished to have it erected at Collybidgelah, 17 miles from Gundabloui in the direction of Kunopia, and therefore 17 miles nearer their respec-

was erected, similar in size and shape to the one used by the novitiates during their stay in the bush. The entrance to this yard was on the side farthest from the camp, and faced the direction of Mungaroo. When the men and boys started to return to the main camp one of the men went ahead, and announced that they would shortly arrive. All the children,—and all the gins, with the exception of those next mentioned,—lay down outside of the convex end of the yard, and were covered with bushes by the old men who had remained at the main camp. The mothers, or female guardians, then entered the enclosure, and formed into three groups according to their tribes, each group having a flag<sup>1</sup> of their own, and taking up their position on that side of the enclosure nearest their own district. As soon as they were settled in their places, they were blindfolded by tying handkerchiefs over their eyes and round their heads. When all was ready the messenger above referred to went back and met the men and boys coming from Mungaroo, and they all marched into the bough yard. Each guardian led his catechumen to his mother, or female relative discharging the parental duty, who felt the boy's hands and face till she was satisfied that he was the same person who was handed over to the men at the larger circle on the Bora ground. During this manipulation neither the women nor the boys were allowed to speak. The mothers then had their eyes uncovered, and the boys went through a short dance before them. During this dance the guardians withdrew, and a great smoke<sup>2</sup> was made by burning green bushes at the entrance to the yard. At the conclusion of the dance the catechumens plunged through the dense smoke, and proceeded with their guardians to a separate camp which had been provided for them about 150 yards southerly from the new camp. They were not allowed to look back at the enclosure which they had just left; and as soon as they were out of sight, the women and children who had been lying down were allowed to rise and join the other women, after which they all returned to the main camp from which they had come. The neophytes and their guardians remained in their own quarters until the tribes finally dispersed, and during this time the former were not allowed to speak to the women or children.<sup>3</sup> This seclusion was enforced, lest the young men, while the excitement

tive districts. To have put the camp there would have caused great inconvenience to the other two tribes after the ceremonies were finished, their *taurai* being in the contrary direction. Eventually the arguments of the two latter tribes prevailed, and the new camp was formed in the place above stated.

It is customary in these ceremonies to remove the camp to a new site during the time the men and boys are away.—“*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*,” xiii, p. 454.

<sup>1</sup> The use of the flag is probably copied from the “white fellows.”

<sup>2</sup> “*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*,” vii, 252.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, xiii, p. 455.



of the Bora was fresh upon them might divulge any of the mysteries in which they had been instructed. From what could be gathered from the blacks these novices will be under the surveillance of their guardians for about a couple of months after their return to their own *tawrai*,<sup>1</sup> before they will be allowed to associate with the women of the tribe.

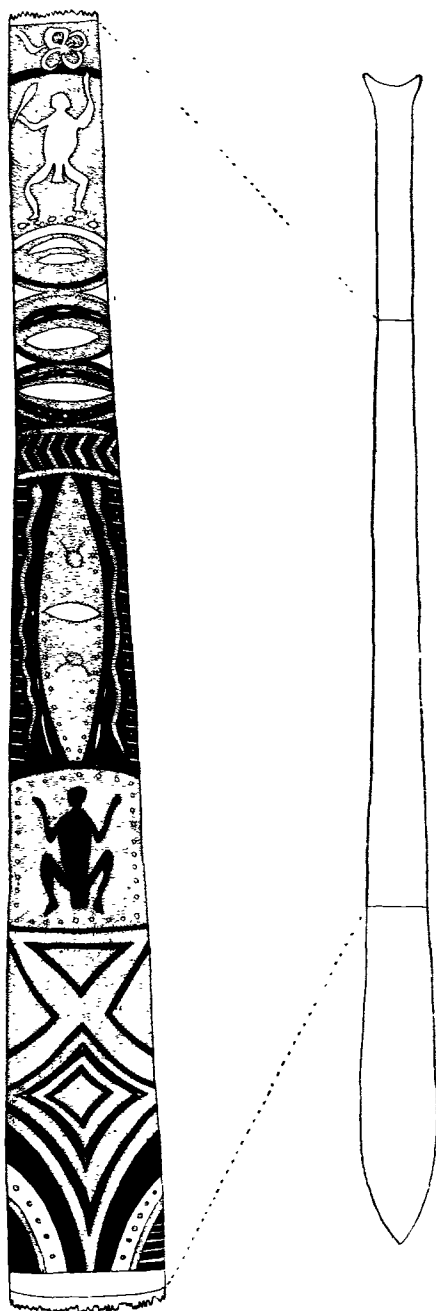
This concluded the whole of the rites in connection with the Bora, and the tribes shortly afterwards dispersed and returned to their own districts. The time actually occupied in the ceremonies proper was about five weeks. The rites conducted on the Bora ground itself commenced about the 12th February and continued till about the 10th of March. The men and novices went away into the bush as stated, and returned to the main camp about the 20th of March. From the time of the arrival of the first mob of blacks at the general encampment till the commencement of the ceremonies upwards of two months intervened, owing to the non-arrival of some of the tribes who had long distances to travel. About four months altogether elapsed from the time of the arrival of the first contingent at the general camp until the final dispersion of the tribes after all the ceremonies of the Bora were concluded.

The number of youths who had never been to a Bora before and attended this one for the purpose of initiation was about twenty, three of whom were half-castes. They were not permitted to see any of the symbolical figures described in previous pages, or to have their significance explained to them. In order to obtain this knowledge they must attend another Bora, when they will be shown all that may be on or around the Bora ground, where they may assemble. Until then, also, they are forbidden to eat certain of the choicest kinds of food; amongst the animals which they are forbidden to eat may be enumerated the cod fish, the porcupine, the yellow iguana, the black iguana, &c.<sup>2</sup> The ages of these twenty recruits, ran from about twelve to twenty years, but three or four of them, whom circumstances had prevented from attending previous Boras, were between twenty-five and thirty years of age. Besides these there were about twenty-three young men who had been at one Bora previously, and attended this one to be further instructed or admitted as full men of the tribe. As stated before, these young men were allowed to see everything upon the Bora ground, and had all the devices explained to them. Five or six of these were half-castes. It will therefore be seen

<sup>1</sup> *Tawrai* (pronounced, tow-ry), is the native name for their own district, or tribal territory.

<sup>2</sup> These animals are probably all *totems*.





that in all about forty-three young men attended the Bora I have been describing.

Many of the blacks who attended this Bora could speak fairly good English, and were able to understand the purport of questions and give suitable replies. Some of them were very intelligent men who could give a clear and progressive account of all that took place. This was a very great advantage to me in collecting my information, because most previous writers have either found that they could not fully understand the blacks, or that the latter could not understand them. Mr. Henderson in his able work before quoted, complains of this disadvantage.

I have endeavoured to give the reader a complete account of all that took place at this Bora from its first inception till the final breaking up of the camp. The manner of summoning the tribes has been explained,—the Bora ground with its imagery and surroundings has been carefully described,—the whole of the ceremonies performed have been particularly detailed. I have imposed this task upon myself in the hope of adding to the scanty literature of a subject which is one of those possessing very great interest to the anthropologist, as well as to the historical and classical student.

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*A HIGHLY ORNATE "SWORD" from the COBURG PENINSULA, NORTH AUSTRALIA. By R. ETHERIDGE, Jun. (Curator, Australian Museum, Sydney).*

[PLATE XXII.]

THE unique example of Aboriginal art now presented to the Institute is from Raffles Bay, Coburg Peninsula. For the loan of the specimen, I am again indebted to Mr. Harry Stockdale, from whose rich collection of North Australian implements and weapons it is taken.

The sword is elongately paddle shaped, slightly convex on one face (the plain), and almost flat on the other (the ornate). It corresponds in shape to one figured by the late Mr. R. B. Smyth, "from the northern parts of Australia," except that it gradually increases in width to the distal end, not diminishing thereto as in Smyth's figure. The total length is 4 feet 6 inches. The immediate proximal end is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide, and is crescentically excavated or cut out; thence the margins gradually curve inwards towards one another for 16 inches, the weapon hereabouts having an average width of  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches, and this portion of the sword may, for clearness, be termed the

handle. From the point mentioned, the sides gradually diverge from one another until immediately before the distal end is reached, they approach again, the weapon terminating in an obtuse point. The greatest width of this portion of the blade, as it may be termed, is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

From the excavated proximal end for 5 inches, the sword is bound with native twine, and coloured on the flat side in alternate red and yellow bands, commencing and ending with a red band, thus giving five red and four yellow zones, gradually diminishing in width upwards. On the convex face these bands are alternately light and dark Indian red. For the next 7 inches on the flat face the handle is uncoloured, but shows traces of a covering of gum-cement. At this point commences the main ornamentation, the ground colour of the whole being light Indian red, similar to the bands on the convex side at the proximal end.

The first object is a pictorial representation of what I conceive to be the four leaflets terminating the petiole in the *Nardoo* plant (*Marsilea quadrifolia*, Linn.) although Raffles Bay is not a Nardoo country; separated by a black bar is the figure of a man in white in the position of one of the magic dances performed in some of the *Bora* ceremonies, hands upraised above the head, legs bowed, and a *boomerang* in the right hand. A similar figure is shown by Smyth<sup>1</sup> on a club, called by the Murray River natives *Koom-bah-mattee*. This figure on our sword occupies about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and is clothed with the usual apron assumed by men when dancing, and variously termed in southern tribes *Murri-guile*, or *Barran-jeep*.<sup>2</sup> The succeeding  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches is occupied by three transverse ovals, bounded by black lines, and the groundwork filled in with yellow colour, and pricked out with white and yellow dots and strokes. Following this, still in an upward direction is a band  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches wide, bearing seven transverse black chevrons, and part of an eighth, each bearing three yellow dots. The succeeding 6 inches comprises a vertically elongated oval on a black ground. A series of very small circles line each edge of this oval, and it likewise bears three other figures of a nondescript character. On each side the oval at its upper part, are a series of alternate dashes and spots in white pigment; whilst succeeding these on each side are two tortuous objects, rather larger at their lower ends, apparently intended to represent snakes—these are retained of the original Indian red groundwork of the blade. The ornamentation hereabouts is completed on each side by a series of alternate transverse white bars and spots.

<sup>1</sup> "Aborigines of Victoria," 1878, I, p. 308, f. 86.

<sup>2</sup> "Aborigines of Victoria," 1878, I, p. 300, f. 57.

We now arrive at the centre of the weapon occupied by a panel, to use a bookbinder's term, 3 inches long, with a red and white ground colour, and a bordering series of small white and yellow circles, similar to those on the previously described oval. On this panel is another male figure, again clothed with the *barran-jeep*, and in a posture that possibly represents one also assumed in a magic dance.<sup>1</sup> It differs from the former figure in the much more drawn up position of the legs, and what is of importance, the mouth and eyes are represented, not by any means a usual circumstance in our Aboriginal drawings. The remaining portion of the painted surface includes a space of  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches taken up by a complete figure of triangles and rhombs, enclosed by thick and thin dark lines, apparently unfinished distally where yellow infilling between the lines occurs. The ornament is completed in the weapon's present state by a  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch transverse zone of red and yellow lines, but traces of painting occur up to the apex of the weapon, although the design is now worn off, and too faint for reproduction.

I know of no figure in Aboriginal literature in any way approaching this remarkable weapon, and for ornamentation by colour, as against incised work, I think it must stand in a unique position, not even excepting the highly ornate swords lately figured by the writer from the Alligator Tribe at Port Essington.<sup>2</sup> I entertain the opinion that this sword was of a ceremonial, rather than an offensive nature. In gaudiness of tint it unquestionably vies with the highly ornate weapons and implements of the natives around Port Essington. With regard to the devices used, the triangles and rhombs in the uppermost panel of the sword, are a repetition of similar figures on the bark belts worn by the Alligator Tribe<sup>3</sup> in that district. The form and emarginate proximal end is unquestionably similar to the sword of that tribe already referred to in contra-distinction to those from other parts of North-East Australia.

I am led to the opinion that this is a ceremonial rather than a weapon of offence, by the position of the two male figures depicted on it. The arms thrown upwards, and the flexion of the legs do not constitute the position usually assumed by our Aborigines in corrobory, but is more akin to that adopted by some tribes at least in the magic dances that take place during the *Bora* ceremony. These dances have been very vividly described by Mr. Alfred Howitt in more than one interesting paper contributed to the Journal of the Institute.

In my description of the implements and weapons of the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 271, 273.

<sup>2</sup> "Macleay Memorial Vol." (Linn. Soc. N. S. Wales), 1893, t. 30 *bis*, f. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, t. 34, f. 2.

Alligator Tribe given in the "Macleay Memorial Volume,"<sup>1</sup> I gave a general epitome of the swords known throughout North-East Australia. The present example would fall within Section 6, "narrow, compressed, with sharp edges," more or less paddle shaped, and with an emarginate proximal end,<sup>2</sup> this is known in the tribe in question as *Meyarrol*. Contrary to what is usually the case in our Aboriginal weapons, some of the colours are not fast, but easily removed. This would hardly have been so had the sword been intended for warlike usage.

I have elsewhere remarked on the affinity the highly ornate weapons of the North Australians bear to those of the neighbouring island of New Guinea.

My thanks are again due to Mr. Charles Hedley, F.R.S., of N.S.W., for the trouble he has taken in conveying an accurate representation of this unique weapon.

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SEXUAL TABOO: *A Study in the Relations of the Sexes.*

By A. E. CRAWLEY, B.A., F.R.G.S. (Part III.)

THE principles of Taboo here laid down are especially clear in the customs and beliefs associated with commensality. The widely spread rule of sexual taboo that men and women may not eat together, is, in its earliest forms, the exclusion of the weaker and inferior sex. The custom gradually develops a superstitious fear that the contact, whether by contagion or infection, or otherwise, of food with the person, or influence of the female transmits to the male her weakness, timidity, or inferiority—the properties of woman—and the rule becomes a complete taboo. A simple illustration of commensal taboo is to be seen in the objection to "eating with publicans and sinners."

It is to be observed that the prohibition has several variations ; for instance, women may not enter the cooking-house of the men, and men may not eat those kinds of food used by women, in some cases, by a natural extension, not even female animals. To begin with some special circumstances.

In Ceram, men during mourning may not eat the females of deer

<sup>1</sup> Published by Linn. Soc. N. S. Wales, 1893, p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> In the remarks referred to I made a slight mistake that it will be well to correct. The Alligator Swords there described are referred to the first section (a). It should have been to the second section (b).

and certain other animals.<sup>1</sup> In the Motu district of New Guinea, when a man is *helega*, for example, after touching a dead body, he lives apart from his wife, and may not eat food that she has cooked.<sup>2</sup> A Yucatan "Captain" during his three years of office, might know no woman, nor might his food be served by women.<sup>3</sup> The cook of the King of Angoy was expected to keep himself pure, and might not even live with a wife.<sup>4</sup> Algonkin priests, who are ordained to a life of chastity, may not even eat food prepared by a married woman.<sup>5</sup> Buddhist monks in Burma may not eat food cooked by female hands; if a female offers rice, they may accept but not eat.<sup>6</sup> Individuals in a state of danger or solemn service, in other words "under taboo," have especial reason to avoid female contagion.

The fact that the prohibition occurs at puberty serves to bring into relief the idea that danger from the other sex is apprehended at this period. Amongst the Kurnai of Gippsland, a novice may not eat female animals; he becomes free of the forbidden food by degrees, in this way: an old man suddenly comes behind him and without warning smears the fat of the cooked animal over his face.<sup>7</sup> Amongst the Narrinyeri, boys during the progress of initiation, which is not complete until the beard has been pulled out three times and each time has been allowed to grow to the length of two inches, are forbidden to eat any food which belongs to women.<sup>8</sup> Everything that they possess or obtain becomes *narumbe*, sacred from the touch of women, a term also which is applied to themselves.<sup>9</sup> They are forbidden to eat with women lest they grow ugly, or become grey.<sup>10</sup> This belief is instructive, as showing how the superstitious fear of the other sex may exist side by side with a desire to please, or even give rise to means thereto.

The prohibition also applies to young men generally, and adults. The Dyaks of North West Borneo forbid their young men and warriors to eat venison, which is the food of women and old men, because it would make them as timid as deer.<sup>11</sup> In the tribes of Western Victoria boys are not allowed to eat any female quadruped. If they are caught eating a female opossum, for instance, they are severely punished; the reason given is

<sup>1</sup> Riedel, *op. cit.*, 142.

<sup>2</sup> W. G. Lawes, "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," viii, 370.

<sup>3</sup> Bancroft, *op. cit.*, ii, 741.

<sup>4</sup> Bastian, "Loango-Küste," i, 216.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, ii, 212.

<sup>6</sup> Shway Yoe, "The Burman," i, 136.

<sup>7</sup> "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xiv, 316.

<sup>8</sup> "Native Tribes of South Australia," 17.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.*, 18.

<sup>10</sup> "Native Tribes of South Australia," 69.

<sup>11</sup> St. John, *op. cit.*, i, 186, 206. In Darfur, the liver gives the eater animal's qualities: women are not allowed to eat liver, because they have no soul, R. W. Felkin, "Trans. Roy. Soc. of Edinburgh," xiii, 218.



that such food makes them peevish and discontented;<sup>1</sup> in other words, it gives them the failings which a black fellow ascribes to the female sex.

Amongst the Kurnai of Gippsland men may only eat the males of the animals which they use for food.<sup>2</sup> The Port Lincoln tribe observes certain laws about animal food, the general principle of which is this: that the male of any animal should be eaten by grown-up men, the female by women, and the young animal by children only.<sup>3</sup>

In special circumstances, here as elsewhere, the particular property then acquired is believed to be transmissible by the agency of food. In Western Victoria, a menstruous woman may not take any one's food or drink, and no one will touch food that has been touched by her, because it will make them weak.<sup>4</sup> In Queensland, menstruous women are "unclean," and no one will touch a dish which they have used.<sup>5</sup> Amongst the Maoris, if a man touched a menstruous woman, he would be "tapu;" if he had connection or ate food cooked by her, "tapu an inch thick."<sup>6</sup> In the Aroe Islands, menstruous women may not plant, cook, or prepare any food.<sup>7</sup> In Ceram laut<sup>8</sup> and Gorong,<sup>9</sup> amongst the Samoyeds<sup>10</sup> and Kalundas,<sup>11</sup> wives at the catamenia may not prepare their husbands' food. At menstruation, a Chippeway wife may not eat with her husband; she must cook her food at a separate fire, since any one using her fire will fall ill. The same rule is enforced at childbirth.<sup>12</sup> A Kaniagmut woman is "unclean" for some days both after delivery and menstruation; no one in either case may touch her, and she is fed with food at the end of a stick.<sup>13</sup> Amongst the Omahas and Ponkas, women during the monthly periods may not eat with their husbands. These tribes have a belief that if one eats with a menstruous woman, the lips dry up, the blood turns black, and consumption is the final result. It is but fair to add that it is mainly children who believe this, the old people have no fear of the kind.<sup>14</sup> A Brahmin might not allow himself to be touched by a menstruous woman, or eat food offered by a woman, a eunuch, a menstruating woman, or child.<sup>15</sup> Amongst the Vedahs of Travancore, the wife at menstruation is secluded for five days, in a hut a quarter of a mile away, which is also used by her at childbirth. The

<sup>1</sup> Dawson, *op. cit.*, 52.

<sup>2</sup> Native Tribes, 220.

<sup>3</sup> Lumholtz, *op. cit.*, 119.

<sup>4</sup> Riedel, *op. cit.*, 178.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, *lc.*

<sup>6</sup> Ploss, "Das Weib," ii, 354.

<sup>7</sup> Dall, *op. cit.*, 403; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, i, 111.

<sup>8</sup> "Laws of Manu," iv, 208, 211.

<sup>9</sup> Fison and Howitt, *op. cit.*, 197.

<sup>10</sup> Dawson, *op. cit.*, ci, cii.

<sup>11</sup> "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xix, 101.

<sup>12</sup> *Id.*, 209.

<sup>13</sup> Ploss, "Das Weib," i, 273.

<sup>14</sup> *Id.*, i, 273.

<sup>15</sup> Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 275.

next five days are passed in a second hut, halfway between the first and her house. On the ninth day, her husband holds a feast, sprinkles his floor with wine, and invites his friends to a spread of rice and palm-wine. Until this evening he has not dared to eat anything but roots, for fear of being killed by the "devil." On the tenth day, he must leave his house, to which he may not return until the women, his and her sister, have bathed his wife, escorted her home and eaten rice together. For four days after his return, moreover, he may not eat rice in his own house, nor have connection with his wife.<sup>1</sup>

In Fiji, a wife when pregnant, may not wait upon her husband.<sup>2</sup> In the Caroline Islands, men may not eat with their wives when pregnant, though small boys are allowed to do so.<sup>3</sup> The Indians of Guiana believe that if a pregnant woman eat of game caught by hounds they will never be able to hunt again.<sup>4</sup> Amongst the tribes on the Amazons, if a pregnant woman eat any particular meat, it is believed that any animal partaking of the same will suffer; a domestic animal will die, a hound will be rendered incapable of hunting; and a man who eats such food will never again be able to shoot that particular animal.<sup>5</sup> Amongst the Chippeways a lying-in woman may not eat with her husband, and must cook her food at a separate fire;<sup>6</sup> a Kirgis woman when lying-in is "unclean" and may not give her husband his food.<sup>7</sup> In the islands Luang and Sermatta, the husband gives a feast after a birth, at which only women may be present. It is believed that any man tasting the food will be unlucky in all his undertakings.<sup>8</sup> Amongst the tribes of the Oxus valley, the mother is "unclean" for seven days, and no one will eat from her hand, nor may she suckle her infant during that period.<sup>9</sup>

The examples of the prohibition in ordinary life are arranged geographically.

The Warua of Central Africa, when offered a drink, put up a cloth before the face while they swallow. They will not allow any one to see them eat or drink, especially those of the opposite sex. Hence every person has his own fire, and every man and woman must cook for themselves.<sup>10</sup> On the Loango coast, both bridegroom and bride must make a full confession of their sins at the marriage ceremony of Lemba; should either fail to do so, or keep anything back, they will fall ill when eating together

<sup>1</sup> Jagor, "Zeitschrift für Ethnologie" (Berlin. Gesellsch.), xi (164).

<sup>2</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*, i, 137.

<sup>4</sup> Im Thurn, *op. cit.*, 233.

<sup>6</sup> Ploss, *op. cit.*, ii, 353.

<sup>8</sup> Riedel, *op. cit.*, 326.

<sup>10</sup> Cameron, "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," vi, 173.

<sup>3</sup> Ploss, *op. cit.*, i, 514.

<sup>5</sup> Wallace, "Amazons," 501.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.*, ii, 351.

<sup>9</sup> Biddulph, *op. cit.*, 81.

as man and wife.<sup>1</sup> Only such marriages as are performed in the presence of this fetich Lemba, are legitimate; a negro dares not let any of his wives except the one thus married, cook his food, or look after his wardrobe.<sup>2</sup> This fetich also serves to keep the wives in order and to punish them for infidelity.<sup>3</sup> In Eastern Central Africa, when a wife has been guilty of unchastity, her husband will die if he taste any food that she has salted. As a consequence of this superstition, a wife is very liable to be accused of killing her husband. Accordingly, when a wife prepares her husband's food, she will often get a little girl to put the salt in.<sup>4</sup>

Amongst the Braknas of West Africa, husbands and wives do not eat together.<sup>5</sup> Fulah women may not eat with their husbands.<sup>6</sup> In Ashanti<sup>7</sup> and Senegambia,<sup>8</sup> amongst the Niam-niam<sup>9</sup> and the Barea,<sup>10</sup> the wife never eats with the husband. Amongst the Beni-Amer, a wife never eats in the presence of her husband.<sup>11</sup> Amongst the Krumen, the chief wife only may eat with the husband.<sup>12</sup> In Eastern Central Africa, each village has a separate mess for males and females.<sup>13</sup> The prohibition is very general throughout Africa.<sup>14</sup> In Egypt, the wives and female slaves are not allowed to eat with the master.<sup>15</sup> Amongst the Aeneze Arabs husband and wife do not eat together.<sup>16</sup> Amongst the Wahabees<sup>17</sup> and Syrian<sup>18</sup> Arabs, the women may not eat with the male members of the family. Amongst the Kurds, husband and wife never eat together.<sup>19</sup> A Samoyed woman may not eat with men, much less with her husband, whose leavings form her meals.<sup>20</sup> A Hindu wife never eats with her husband;<sup>21</sup> "if his own wife were to touch the food he was about to eat, it would be rendered unfit for his use."<sup>22</sup> So in Ancient India; to quote Manu, "let him not eat in the company of his wife,"<sup>23</sup> A Brahmin might not eat food given by a woman, or by those "who are in all things ruled by women," nor might he eat the leavings of women.<sup>24</sup> In Travancore, the women must eat after the men.<sup>25</sup> Amongst the Khonds,

<sup>1</sup> Bastian, "Loango-Küste," i, 172.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, i, 170.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, l.c.

<sup>4</sup> D. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, i, 173.

<sup>5</sup> Girard-Teulon, *op. cit.*, 107.

<sup>6</sup> Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, ii, 471.

<sup>7</sup> J. L. Wilson, *op. cit.*, 182.

<sup>8</sup> W. Reade, *op. cit.*, 453.

<sup>9</sup> D. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, i, 227.

<sup>10</sup> Munzinger, *op. cit.*, 526.

<sup>11</sup> Munzinger, *op. cit.*, 325.

<sup>12</sup> Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, ii, 110.

<sup>13</sup> D. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, i, 151.

<sup>14</sup> Waitz-Gerland, ii, 117.

<sup>15</sup> Lane, *op. cit.*, i, 236, 243.

<sup>16</sup> Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, i, 64.

<sup>17</sup> Featherman, *op. cit.*, v, 451.

<sup>18</sup> *Id.*, 393.

<sup>19</sup> P. delle Valle, Pinkerton, ix, 15.

<sup>20</sup> Ploss, "Das Weib," ii, 453; Bastian, "Der Mensch," iii, 295.

<sup>21</sup> Colebrooke, "Asiatick Researches," vii, 277, "Missionary Records," India,

xviii.

<sup>22</sup> *Id.*, 166.

<sup>23</sup> "Laws of Manu," iv, 43.

<sup>24</sup> *Id.*, xi, 153, iv, 217.

<sup>25</sup> Mateer "Travancore," 204, *id.*, "Land of Charity," 65.

the wife and children wait upon the master while he eats, then they may take their meal.<sup>1</sup> Women may not eat hog's flesh, and may only taste liquor at festivals.<sup>2</sup> Amongst the hill tribes near Rajmahal in Bengal, the women are not allowed to eat with the men.<sup>3</sup> Amongst the Todas, men and women may not eat together.<sup>4</sup> At a Santal wedding, the bride and bridegroom eat together after fasting all day; this is the first time she has ever eaten with a man.<sup>5</sup> Amongst the Oraons, boys and girls until marriage may eat any kind of food, but after marriage may eat only the food of their original people respectively.<sup>6</sup> In Cochin a wife never eats with her husband.<sup>7</sup> A Siamese wife prepares her husband's meals, but dines after him.<sup>8</sup> In the Maldivé Islands, husband and wife may not eat together.<sup>9</sup> In China, by marriage a woman only changes masters; the wife eats neither with her husband, nor with her male children; she waits upon them at table; she may not touch what her son leaves.<sup>10</sup>

Amongst the Indians of Guiana, husbands and wives eat separately.<sup>11</sup> Macusi women eat after the men. Amongst the Bororó, women and children eat after the men, and finish their leavings.<sup>12</sup> Amongst the Araucanians, only the chief wife may eat with her husband.<sup>13</sup> In ancient Mexico, each person had a separate bowl for eating; the men ate first and by themselves, the women and children afterwards.<sup>14</sup> In Yucatan, men and women ate apart.<sup>15</sup> "So far as I have yet travelled," says Catlin, "in the Indian country, I have never yet seen an Indian woman eating with her husband. Men form the first group at the banquet, and women and children and dogs all come together at the next."<sup>16</sup> Amongst the Iroquois tribes, the men ate first and by themselves, then the women and children took their meal alone.<sup>17</sup> Of these people it has been said, that the women "must approach their lords with reverence; they must regard them as more exalted beings, and are not permitted to eat in their presence."<sup>18</sup> The Seneca Indians relate of the changes in their customs resulting from the innovations of the

<sup>1</sup> S. C. Macpherson, "Memorials of Service in India," 72.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. lc.*

<sup>3</sup> T. Shaw, "Asiatick Researches," iv, 59.

<sup>4</sup> Marshall, *op. cit.*, 82.

<sup>5</sup> Dalton, *op. cit.*, 216.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, 252.

<sup>7</sup> Bastian, "Allerlei," ii, 160.

<sup>8</sup> Turpin "Pinkerton," ix, 585.

<sup>9</sup> "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xvi, 168.

<sup>10</sup> Huc, "L'Empire Chinois," i, 268.

<sup>11</sup> Im Thurn, *op. cit.*, 256, Brett, *op. cit.*, 28.

<sup>12</sup> Von den Steinen, *op. cit.*, 215.

<sup>13</sup> Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iii, 516.

<sup>14</sup> Sahagun, iv, 36; L. H. Morgan, "Houses and House Life of the American Aborigines," Contributions to North American Ethnology, iv, 101.

<sup>15</sup> *Id.*, 103.

<sup>16</sup> Catlin, "North American Indians," i, 202.

<sup>17</sup> Morgan, *op. cit.*, 99.

<sup>18</sup> Robertson, "History of America," 178.

whites, "that when the proposition that man and wife should eat together, which was so contrary to immemorial usage, was first determined in the affirmative, it was formally agreed that man and wife should sit down together at the same dish and eat with the same ladle, the man eating first and then the woman, and so alternately until the meal was finished."<sup>1</sup> Amongst the Natchez, the husband used a respectful attitude towards his wife, and addressed her as if he were her slave; he did not eat with her.<sup>2</sup> An Eskimo wife dare not eat with her husband.<sup>3</sup> Amongst the Indians of California, husbands and wives eat separately; they may not even cook at the same fire.<sup>4</sup>

Amongst the extinct Tasmanians, husband and wife ate separately.<sup>5</sup> The rule is general throughout Australia: the gin never eats till the man has finished, and then she eats his leavings.<sup>6</sup> In Victoria, males and females have separate fires at which they cook their own food. Many of the best kinds of food are forbidden to women.<sup>7</sup> In Queensland also the husband reserves the best of the food for himself.<sup>8</sup>

Amongst the Arfaks of New Guinea the men and women eat apart.<sup>9</sup> Amongst the Kayans and Punans of Borneo, the men feed alone, attended on by the women.<sup>10</sup> Amongst the Battas of Sumatra husband and wife may not eat from the same dish.<sup>11</sup> In the Mentawej Islands, the man eats alone in the house; the women are forbidden to use many kinds of food.<sup>12</sup> In the island of Wetter women may not eat with the men<sup>13</sup>; in Romang, husband and wife take their meals at the same time, but separately.<sup>14</sup> In Melanesia generally, women may not eat with men.<sup>15</sup> In the Solomon Islands, husband and wife do not eat together; she prepares his meal, and when he has finished, she eats what he has left.<sup>16</sup> In the Banks' Islands, all the adult males belong to the men's club, Suqe, where they take their meals, while the women and children eat at home.<sup>17</sup> In Tanna, women may not eat with men,<sup>18</sup> they may not drink kava,<sup>19</sup> nor share in the kava-drinking feasts of the men. In the New Hebrides generally, women always eat apart from the

<sup>1</sup> Morgan, *op. cit.*, 100.

<sup>2</sup> Charlevoix, *op. cit.*, iii, 423.

<sup>3</sup> Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iii, 308.

<sup>4</sup> Bancroft, *op. cit.*, i, 390.

<sup>5</sup> Featherman, *op. cit.*, ii, 105.

<sup>6</sup> Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, vi, 777; Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 168.

<sup>7</sup> Brough Smyth, *op. cit.*, 134.

<sup>8</sup> Lumholtz, *op. cit.*, 161.

<sup>9</sup> D'Albertis, *op. cit.*, i, 218.

<sup>10</sup> C. Hose, "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxiii, 160.

<sup>11</sup> Ellis, "Polynesian Researches," i, 117.

<sup>12</sup> Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, 196.

<sup>13</sup> Riedel, *op. cit.*, 458.

<sup>14</sup> *Id.*, 464.

<sup>15</sup> Meinicke, *op. cit.*, i, 67; Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, vi, 676.

<sup>16</sup> Guppy, *op. cit.*, i, 41.

<sup>17</sup> Codrington, "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," x, 237.

<sup>18</sup> Turner, "Nineteen Years in Polynesia," 86.

<sup>19</sup> *Id. le.*, Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, vi, 578.

men.<sup>1</sup> In Uripiv, "the most noticeable features of domestic life will be found in the curious segregation of sexes and the superstitions dread of eating anything female. . . . A few days after birth a killing of pigs takes place and the child is 'rated a man.' Henceforward he must cook his own meals at his own fire, and eat with men alone, otherwise death would mysteriously fall upon him. The fact of his being suckled, however, which often goes on for two years, is quite overlooked."<sup>2</sup> In Malekula, men and women cook their meals separately and even at separate fires, and all female animals, sows and even hens and eggs are forbidden articles of diet.<sup>3</sup> In New Caledonia, women may not eat with the men.<sup>4</sup> In Fiji husband and wife may not eat together,<sup>5</sup> nor brother and sister,<sup>6</sup> nor the two sexes generally.<sup>7</sup> Young men may not eat of food left by women.<sup>8</sup> Boys as being "unclean" until they have been tattooed, may not carry food to the chiefs, for their touch would render it "unclean."<sup>9</sup> In Ponape the men take their meals in the club-house.<sup>10</sup> In Kusaie women may not eat with men owing to the *tabu*.<sup>11</sup> In Rarotonga the women ate apart from the men.<sup>12</sup> In the Hervey Islands, husband and wife never eat together, and the first-born child, boy or girl, may not eat with any member of the family.<sup>13</sup> In Paumotu the women may not eat with the men and are not allowed to eat several kinds of food, such as large fish and turtles. These laws are enforced by the *tabu*.<sup>14</sup> So in Tubuai *tabu* forbids the women to eat with men or to use as food, turtles and pigs.<sup>15</sup> In the Marquesas Islands to each dwelling there is attached a special eating-house for the men, which the women are forbidden to enter.<sup>16</sup> In Nukahiva, according to another account, the rich have separate buildings for dining-rooms on particular occasions of feasting which women are not permitted to enter; so strict is the rule, that they dare not even pass near them. "The selfish gluttony of the men was believed by the narrator to be the origin of the restriction, in order to deprive the women of pork."<sup>17</sup> Women are forbidden *kava* and certain foods.<sup>18</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> Meinicke, *op. cit.*, i, 197, and may not drink kava.

<sup>2</sup> B. T. Somerville, "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxiii, 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, xxiii, 381.

<sup>4</sup> Meinicke, *op. cit.*, i, 231.

<sup>5</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*, i, 167.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, i, 136.

<sup>7</sup> D'Urville, *op. cit.*, ii, 102.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.*, i, 167.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.*, i, 166.

<sup>10</sup> Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, v, 2, 72.

<sup>11</sup> Meinicke, *op. cit.*, ii, 377.

<sup>12</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.*, ii, 143.

<sup>13</sup> Gill, "Southern Isles," 94.

<sup>14</sup> Meinicke, *op. cit.*, ii, 219.

<sup>15</sup> *Id.*, ii, 199.

<sup>16</sup> *Id.*, ii, 249.

<sup>17</sup> U. Lisiansky, *op. cit.*, 87.

<sup>18</sup> Meinicke, *op. cit.*, ii, 252, 247. Other examples of this prohibition of the best drinks, are:—Yakut women are not allowed the fermented mares' milk, Erman, *op. cit.*, ii, 397. Amongst the Mayas, women and old men were not

Rurutu, men and women do not eat together, owing to superstitious fear; they believe that in such case the wife would be destroyed by a spirit.<sup>1</sup> In Bow Island the men threw the remains of their meals to their wives.<sup>2</sup> In Rotumah the men of the family eat first; when they have finished the women and children begin their meal at a separate table.<sup>3</sup> In New Zealand where every man eats by himself away from his friends, women and slaves may not eat with men.<sup>4</sup> Men may not eat with their wives nor wives with their male children, lest their tapu or sanctity should kill them."<sup>5</sup>

In the Sandwich Islands, the king's wives are not allowed to enter his eating-house.<sup>6</sup> In Hawaii the women are forbidden to eat in company with men and even to enter the eating-room during meals.<sup>7</sup> Three houses necessarily belong to each family, the dwelling-house, a house for the repasts of the men, and another for the meals of the women.<sup>8</sup> The residence is common: the women's house is not closed against our sex, but a decorous man will not enter it. The eating-house of the men is tabooed to women. "We ourselves saw the corpse of a woman floating round our ship, who had been killed because she had entered the eating-house of her husband in a state of intoxication."<sup>9</sup> The *raison d'être* of the two eating-houses belonging to each family is because the two sexes may not eat together.<sup>10</sup> Women dare not be present at the meals of the men, on pain of death.<sup>11</sup> Each sex must dress their own victuals over a separate fire. The two sexes are not allowed to use the flesh of the same animal. Hog's flesh, turtle, several kinds of fruit, cocoa, bananas, etc., are prohibited to the women.<sup>12</sup> From another account of the Sandwich Islands, we gather the following: women might not eat with men; their houses and their labours were distinct; their aliment was prepared separately. A female child from its birth until death was allowed no food that had touched the father's dish. The choicest food was reserved for the men, the poorest was left over for the women. When young and beautiful, woman was a victim of sensuality, when old and useless, of brutality. From childhood onwards no natural affections were inculcated; no social circle existed.<sup>13</sup>

allowed to drink pulque, Bancroft, *op. cit.*, iii, 260. So Roman women in early times were forbidden wine, Val. Maximus, ii, 1, 5; Gellius, x, 23; Servius on Virgil, *Æneid*, i, 737.

<sup>2</sup> Beechey, *op. cit.*, i, 242.

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, *op. cit.*, iii, 97, 98.

<sup>4</sup> Thomson, "Story of New Zealand," i, 60; Taylor, *op. cit.*, 168.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, *l.c.*

<sup>6</sup> Kotzebue, *op. cit.*, i, 305.

<sup>7</sup> Lisiansky, *op. cit.*, 127.

<sup>8</sup> Kotzebue, *op. cit.*, iii, 249; Lisiansky, 126.

<sup>9</sup> Kotzebue, *l.c.*, Cheever, 24.

<sup>10</sup> Meinicke, *op. cit.*, ii, 300.

<sup>11</sup> Kotzebue, *op. cit.*, i, 310.

<sup>12</sup> *Id.*, iii, 249.

<sup>13</sup> J. J. Jarvis, "History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands," 94, 95. Varigny, *op. cit.*, 42.

Ellis' account of the state of things in the Society and Sandwich Islands is as follows. "The institutes of Oro and Tane inexorably require not only that the wife should not eat those kinds of food of which the husband partook, but that she should not eat in the same place or prepare her food at the same fire. This restriction applied not only to the wife with regard to her husband, but to all individuals of the female sex, from their birth to their death.<sup>1</sup> The children of each sex always ate apart.<sup>2</sup> As soon as a boy was able to eat, a basket was provided for his use, and his food was kept distinct from that of the mother.<sup>3</sup> The men were allowed to eat the flesh of the pig, of fowls, every variety of fish, cocoa-nuts and bananas, and whatever was presented as an offering to the gods: these the females, on pain of death, were forbidden to touch, as it was supposed they would pollute them. The fires at which the men's food was cooked were also sacred, and were forbidden to be used by the females. The basket in which the provision was kept, and the house in which the men ate, were also sacred, and prohibited to the females under the same cruel penalty. Hence the inferior food for the wives and daughters was cooked at separate fires, deposited in distinct baskets, and eaten in lonely solitude by the females in little huts erected for the purpose."<sup>4</sup> The whole custom was known as the "ai tabu" or "sacred eating."<sup>5</sup> *Tabu* had sunk the female sex into degradation and extreme wretchedness;<sup>6</sup> further, natural affection was destroyed, "the wife beheld unmoved the sufferings of her husband, and the amusement of the mother was undisturbed by the painful crying of her languishing child."<sup>7</sup> Cook observed of the Sandwich Islanders, that "in their domestic life, the women live almost entirely by themselves."<sup>8</sup> This condition of family life was most noticeable in Tahiti."<sup>9</sup> The Tahitians had an aversion to holding any intercourse with each other at their meals, and they were so rigid in the observance of this custom that even brothers and sisters had their separate baskets of provisions and generally sat some yards apart, when they ate, with their backs

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, *op. cit.*, i, 129, 116, iv, 386.

<sup>2</sup> Cook and King, "Voyage," ii, 156.

<sup>3</sup> Ellis, "Tour," 368. In Hawaii there was a perpetual *tabu* about women's meals. A woman could not eat of food which had been placed in the plate of her father or which had been cooked at his fire. When newly weaned, the infant took his father's name, and ate with him; the mother was forbidden to eat in the same places as her son, or to touch his food. D'Orville, *op. cit.*, i, 475; Ellis, "Polynesian Researches," i, 263; Meinicke, *op. cit.*, ii, 300.

<sup>4</sup> Ellis, *op. cit.*, i, 129; Cook and King, iii, 130, 142; Meinicke, ii, 182.

<sup>5</sup> Ellis, "Tour," 97.

<sup>6</sup> Ellis, "Polynesian Researches," iv, 126.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.*, iv, 317; Vancouver, ii, 230; D'Urville, i, 474.

<sup>8</sup> Cook and King, iii, 130.

<sup>9</sup> Vancouver, i, 105, 139.



to each other without exchanging a word."<sup>1</sup> In Tahiti women were not allowed to eat with men.<sup>2</sup> To resume the previous account: "their domestic habits were unsocial and cheerless. This is probably to be attributed to the invidious distinction established by their superstitions, and enforced by tabu between the sexes. The father and mother, with their children, never, as one social happy band, surrounded the domestic hearth, or assembling under the grateful shade of the verdant grove, partook together, as a family, of the bounties of Providence. The nameless but delightful emotions experienced on such occasions were unknown to them, as well as all that we are accustomed to distinguish by the endearing appellation of domestic happiness. In sickness or pain, or whatever other circumstances the mother, the wife, the sister, or the daughter, might be brought into, tabu was never relaxed. The men, especially those who occasionally attended on the services of idol worship in the temple, were considered *ra*, or sacred; while the female sex was considered *noa*, or common: the most offensive and frequent imprecations which the men were accustomed to use towards each other, referred also to this degraded condition of the females. 'Mayest thou become a bottle, to hold salt water for thy mother,' or 'mayest thou be baked as food for thy mother' were imprecations they were accustomed to denounce upon each other."<sup>3</sup> Making due allowance for missionary prejudice, the action of sexual taboo in these islands had considerable results, and its meaning is shown in a marked fashion.

Cases of this taboo have even been found in modern Europe. At a Servian wedding, the bride for the first and only time in her life eats with a man, and is served instead of serving.<sup>4</sup> In Brandenburg it is believed that lovers and married people who eat from one plate or drink from one glass will come to dislike each other, and in the district of Fahrland, near Potsdam, there is a prohibition, which is observed, against such persons biting the same piece of bread.<sup>5</sup>

To omit variations of detail and cases of hostility between the sexes, or of exceptional self-assertion by the wife, the main inference from the above facts is that the custom is based upon the relative inferiority of woman—the stronger sex using a prescriptive right to satisfy their hunger first and with the best of the food—and enforced later by the resulting idea that eating with females infects the food with the taint of feminine weakness and the like. The line may perhaps be drawn where

<sup>1</sup> Cook and King, iii, 130.

<sup>3</sup> Ellis, *op. cit.*, i, 129.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, 217.

<sup>2</sup> Vancouver, i, 106, 139.

<sup>4</sup> Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, "Hochzeitsbuch," 81.

woman is no longer permitted to wait at table. The rule has special features which lead to the same conclusion; as the inferior, woman has to be content with inferior food or the leavings of the men; and she must wait upon her lord and master, and take her own meal afterwards, which she shares with her infants and the domestic animals. Lastly, it is important to remark the very peculiar effect this taboo is shown to have had within the family, particularly in the ceremonial separation of brother and sister.

We have seen the effect of the principles of taboo upon certain functions; they also centre upon another function, that of sexual intercourse, and in fact regulate it. One or two examples will show that the principle of taboo as above explained hold good here. It must be premised that there is a universal identification of manly strength with the generative power. As instances of transmission of properties, we may cite the idea which holds among the natives of Mowat, that the penis of great warriors slain in battle possesses "virtue," and is therefore worn by the victor to increase his strength and ferocity.<sup>1</sup> In South Eastern Africa, during a protracted war, the soldiers are frequently "doctored," in order to stimulate their courage. The heart, liver and testicles of the slain enemies are made into a broth which is taken internally, and is also used as a war-paint.<sup>2</sup> The folk-medicine of Europe contains many instances of the use of human semen taken internally to restore virility, or communicate strength to the sick.<sup>3</sup> The savage Australians have "a last and most disgusting remedy deemed infallible in the most extreme cases. *Mulierem ob iuventutem firmitatemque corporis lectam sex vel plures viri in locum haud procul a castris remotum deducunt; ibique omnes deinceps in illa libidinem expleunt; tum mulier ad pedes surgere iubetur quo facilius id quod maribus excepit effluere possit; quod in vase collectum aegrotanti ebibendum praebeant.* The aborigines have unbounded faith in this truly horrible dose, and enumerate many instances where it has effected marvellous cures."<sup>4</sup> Menstrual blood is used in medicine in the same way.<sup>5</sup> Such are cases of intentional transmission. An instance of transmission by contagion or infection comes from the New Hebrides, and if considered in the light of previous facts and inferences, needs no analysis or explanation. In Tanna and Malekula, "the closest secrecy is adopted with regard to the penis, not at all from a sense of decency, but to avoid *narak*,

<sup>1</sup> "Journ. Anthropol. Inst." xix, 462.

<sup>2</sup> "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xix, 416.

<sup>3</sup> Bourke, *op. cit.*, 343, 355.

<sup>4</sup> Beveridge, "Aborigines of Victoria and Riverina," 55.

<sup>5</sup> Bourke, *op. cit.*, 354, 355. Compare cases where ordinary blood is used e.g., Shooter, *op. cit.*, 117.

—the sight even of that of another man being considered most dangerous. The natives of this savage island accordingly wrap the penis round with many yards of calico and other like materials, until a bundle is formed eighteen inches or two feet long.<sup>1</sup>

To proceed to a further point. It has been stated that secretions, excretions and the like are regarded in savage thought as intrinsic parts of the individual. Where the idea actually coincides with a physiological fact it may be taken as being universal. Such is the case with blood. It will be allowed that it is no argument from analogy to say that if the blood is the life, the seed is the strength. In each case there is the physiological fact patent to all mankind, of enervation following upon excessive loss. It is also a fact, that sexual intercourse is always followed by a temporary feeling of depression, resulting from the increased pressure of blood.<sup>2</sup> This piece of evidence at once assumes a remarkable importance, and we may with reason base upon it the belief, which experience shows to be practically universal, that the sexual act invariably entails a loss of strength, or, in other words, that this closest union with the weaker sex results in weakness.

The explanation of the rule which forbids to warriors and hunters any sort of intercourse with women before and during expeditions, may now be completed.<sup>3</sup> The main feature of such rules is the injunction of continence, and the idea which prompts this would seem to be that the retention of that in which strength resides ensures vigour and strength. In this connexion a Congo belief is instructive. When the Chitomé goes out to make his judicial circuit, criers "proclaim a fast of continence, the penalty for breaking which is death. The belief is that by such continence they preserve the life of their common father."<sup>4</sup>

It might be argued, *a fortiori*, that the belief in the transmission of feminine properties, especially that of weakness, by contagion, should, if anywhere, be found in connexion with this closest form of contact. If this were so, and the two ideas thus coincided, it would often be difficult to differentiate them, though unnecessary, as the result remains the same. To show, at least, how lack of virility is connected with the normal estimate of woman, and to illustrate the previous argument, the remarkable custom of degrading impotent men and others to the position of females, may be mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> Lieut. B. T. Somerville, "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxiii, 368.

<sup>2</sup> I have here to thank Dr. J. Garson for this and other information.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 228.

<sup>4</sup> W. Reade, *op. cit.*, 362.

Thus, amongst the Yukis and other tribes of California, "are to be seen men dressed as women, who are called *i-wa-musp*, man-woman. They appear to be destitute of desire and virility: they perform all the duties of women, and shirk all functions pertaining to men. Two reasons are given for the origin of this class—masturbation, or a wish to escape the responsibilities of manhood. There is a ceremony to initiate such men to their chosen life: the candidate is placed in a circle of fire, and a bow and 'woman-stick' are offered to him, with a formal injunction to choose one or the other, and to abide by his choice for ever."<sup>1</sup> The Tsecats of Madagascar are impotents who dress as women.<sup>2</sup> The Higras of South India are natural eunuchs, or castrated in boyhood; they dress in women's clothes.<sup>3</sup> Impotent Kookies dress as women.<sup>4</sup> Herodotus and Hippocrates describe a class of impotent men amongst the ancient Scythians, who were made to do women's work and to associate with women alone.<sup>5</sup>

The especial avoidance of this function during menstruation and after delivery is to be explained *à fortiori* on the principle of transmission, blood being the essence of the individual and therefore a certain vehicle of contagion. As before, this prohibition may have reacted upon ordinary circumstances.

Such beliefs as to the enervating results of this function naturally have a particular reference to puberty, and probably have originated in part the ceremonies which are performed on this occasion, and have caused in higher stages of culture the deferring of marriage until mature strength has been attained.

With this question is closely connected that essentially human system, which in its first stage has very few exceptions even at the lowest levels of civilization. This is the separation of the young, primarily within the house or family, often also extended to limits more or less wide. The prohibition of incest is the first stage, followed variously by marriage-bars or systematic exogamy.

The previous conclusions, and the facts themselves, of which a rough account follows, show that here also are at work the regular forces of sexual taboo both generally and in particular reference to one function. A complete investigation must not

<sup>1</sup> Powers, *op. cit.*, 132, 133.

<sup>2</sup> Bastian, "Der Mensch," iii, 311.

<sup>3</sup> Shortt, "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," ii, 406.

<sup>4</sup> Lewin, *op. cit.*, 280.

<sup>5</sup> Herod., i, 105; iv. 67; Hippocrates, i, 561.

In connection with the idea that weakness results from this form of intercourse, compare Homer, "Odyssey," x, 301, 339-341. The assimilation to women is illustrated by a Cingalese myth, which describes hermaphroditism as resulting from sexual passion, "Asiatick Researches," vii, 439. It is worth mentioning that the Efatese word for sexual uncleanness (also of women in child-birth) perhaps means "softness, laxity," Macdonald, "Oceania," 181.

omit to take into account the influence of religion, which is brought to bear as soon as the prohibition has made its breach a sin, or that of proprietary feeling, which is one crude means by which the family has been regulated and maintained. The origin of bars to marriage is, in fact, complex.

In some Australian tribes, brother and sister are not allowed even to converse.<sup>1</sup> Amongst all the Indian tribes of California, brothers and sisters scrupulously avoid living together.<sup>2</sup> In Melanesia, there is a remarkable avoidance between a boy and his sisters and mother, beginning when he is first clothed, and in the case of the sister, when she is first tattooed.<sup>3</sup> He is also forbidden to go underneath the women's bed-place,<sup>4</sup> just as a Melanesian chief thinks it a degradation to go where women may be above his head. In Fiji, again, brothers and sisters may not converse, the boys' sleeping-room is separated from that of the girls, and boys may not eat with a female.<sup>5</sup> In New Caledonia, brothers and sisters after having reached years of maturity are no longer permitted to entertain any social intercourse with each other; they are prohibited from keeping each other's company, even in the presence of a third person, and if they casually meet, they must instantly go out of the way, or if that is impossible, the sister must throw herself on the ground with her face downwards. Yet, if a misfortune should befall one of them, they assist each other to the best of their ability through the medium of a common friend.<sup>6</sup> In Corean families, the children of both sexes are separated after reaching the age of eight or ten. Boys are taught that it is a disgrace to set foot in the female part of the house, girls that to be seen by males is a sin. The sons stay in the father's, the girls in the mother's apartments.<sup>7</sup> In Japan, young princes are prohibited from all intercourse with the opposite sex.<sup>8</sup> According to the moral code of the same country, "parents must teach their daughters to keep separate from the other sex. The old custom is:—man and woman shalt not sit on the same mat, nor put their clothing in the same place, shall have different bath-rooms, shall not give or take anything directly from hand to hand. On walking out, even in the case of families, the men must keep separate from their female relatives."<sup>9</sup> In the Hervey Islands, the first-born son is forbidden to kiss his sister; she may not cross his path when

<sup>1</sup> Featherman, *op. cit.*, ii, 142.

<sup>2</sup> Powers, *op. cit.*, 412.

<sup>3</sup> Codrington, *op. cit.*, 232.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, 233.

<sup>5</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*, i, 167; Coote, *op. cit.*, 138.

<sup>6</sup> V. De Rochas, "La Nouvelle Calédonie," 239.

<sup>7</sup> Griffiths, *op. cit.*, 244.

<sup>8</sup> Siebold, "Manners and Customs of the Japanese," 208.

<sup>9</sup> I. Bird, "Unbeaten Tracks in Japan," i, 323.

the wind which has passed over her is likely to touch his most sacred person."<sup>1</sup> Amongst the Nairs of Malabar, a man honours his eldest sister; he may never stay in the same room with his other sisters, and his behaviour to them is most reserved.<sup>2</sup> In the Nanbúri caste of Travancore, "women are guarded with more than Moslem jealousy; even brothers and sisters are separated at an early age."<sup>3</sup> In Tonga a chief pays the greatest respect to his eldest sister, and may never enter her house.<sup>4</sup> In Ceylon, a father is forbidden to see his daughter at all, after she has arrived at puberty, so also in the case of mother and son.<sup>5</sup> Amongst the Todas, near relations of different sexes consider it a pollution, if even their garments should touch, and a case is mentioned of a girl expressing horror when handled by her father.<sup>6</sup> In the above examples, thus loosely put together, the chief point to be observed is that a taboo exists, and that it possesses the same distinguishing features as other prohibitions of intercourse between the sexes. In none has the prohibition as yet developed an instinct, and so far they are on the same plane.

The separation of the young outside the family as a social rule follows as an extension of the principle. Among the Iroquois, young men could have no intercourse with girls, nor even conversation.<sup>7</sup> And amongst most North American tribes, the chastity of girls is carefully guarded.<sup>8</sup> "The separation of the immature youth of the two sexes is a feature strongly insisted upon in the social practice of all the North-Western American tribes."<sup>9</sup>

"Amongst the Northern Indian, girls are from the early age of eight or nine years prohibited by custom from joining in the most innocent amusements with children of the opposite sex. When sitting in their tents, or even when travelling, they are watched and guarded with such an unremitting attention, as cannot be exceeded by the most rigid discipline of an English boarding-school."<sup>10</sup> Amongst the Omahas, a girl may not speak to a man, except very near relations.<sup>11</sup> In Madagascar, the tribes of the forest and East Coast have a higher morality than the Hovas, girls being scrupulously kept from any intercourse with the male sex until marriage.<sup>12</sup> Amongst the Greenlanders,

<sup>1</sup> W. W. Gill, "Life in the Southern Isles," 46, 47, 94.

<sup>2</sup> Girard-Teulon, *op. cit.*, 153.

<sup>3</sup> Mateer, "Travancore," 144.

<sup>4</sup> Girard-Teulon, *op. cit.*, 108.

<sup>5</sup> Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, iii, 103.

<sup>6</sup> W. H. Dall, "Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology," 81.

<sup>7</sup> Hearne, "Journey," 311.

<sup>8</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Third Report of the Bureau of Ethnology," 270.

<sup>9</sup> J. Sibree, "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," ix, 43.

<sup>4</sup> Mariner, *op. cit.*, ii, 156.

<sup>6</sup> Harkness, "Neilgherry Hills," 72.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.*, iii, 111.

single persons of both sexes have rarely any connection; for instance, a maid would take it as an affront were a young fellow to offer her a pinch of snuff in company.<sup>1</sup> Eusofzye women consider it indecent to associate with the men.<sup>2</sup> In Loango, a youth dare not speak to a girl except in her mother's presence.<sup>3</sup> Amongst the hill Dyaks, the young men are carefully separated from the girls.<sup>4</sup> In New South Wales unmarried youths and girls may not speak to each other.<sup>5</sup> In some Victorian tribes, the unmarried adults of both sexes are kept carefully apart from those of another tribe, namely, those whom it is lawful to marry. Amongst the same people the seducer of an unmarried girl is beaten to death, and the girl is punished and sometimes killed.<sup>6</sup> In South Nias, both the seducer and the girl are put to death.<sup>7</sup> In the Tenimber Islands (Timurlaut) it is taboo for a boy to touch a girl's breast or hand, and for her to touch his hair.<sup>8</sup> Amongst the Let-htas of Burma, boys and girls "when they may have occasion to pass each other, avert their gaze, so that they may not see each other's faces."<sup>9</sup> In Cambodia, the girls are carefully secluded, and the reserve which they show is remarkable. The stringency of custom prevents the intercourse of the young. Accordingly, the rôle of village Don Juan is scarcely possible.<sup>10</sup> In Laos, the parents have nothing to say against juvenile amours. Yet there is a tariff of charges for every advance of the lover, the touch of the hand and arm, for instance, must be paid for in money.<sup>11</sup>

In conclusion it may be necessary to remark that the present paper is not intended to be more than a preliminary sketch, necessarily lacking in exactness of method, of a series of facts, which have hitherto been strangely neglected in investigations into the history of marriage.

### *The TEETH of TEN SIOUX INDIANS.*

*Addendum to Dr. WILBERFORCE SMITH'S paper published at p. 109 (1894).*

THE teeth of ancient civilisation as seen in skulls which had come under my notice, had not confirmed the belief that they resemble those of modern civilised life. For in Egyptian mummies and in skulls at the small museum in Pompeii, the

<sup>1</sup> Cranz, *op. cit.*, i, 145.

<sup>2</sup> Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, i, 241, 243, 313.

<sup>3</sup> Proyart, "Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels," xvi, 568.

<sup>4</sup> H. Law, "Sarawak," 300.

<sup>5</sup> B. Smyth, *op. cit.*, ii, 318.

<sup>6</sup> Dawson, *op. cit.*, ci.

<sup>7</sup> Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, 167.

<sup>8</sup> Riedel, *op. cit.*, 300.

<sup>9</sup> Fyche, "Burma," i, 343.

<sup>10</sup> Aymonier, "Cochinchine française," vi, 191, 198.

<sup>11</sup> Aymonier, *op. cit.*, ix, 109, 184.

teeth were like those of savages; that is, they were much worn and little decayed. How Roman methods of eating differed from modern customs in their relation to mastication is further indicated by the following quotations.

Professor William Ramsay tells us:—"Carving was performed with graceful gestures by a person called *Carptor Scissor*, who had been regularly educated by a professor of the art. . . . Spoons (*Cochlearia ligulæ*) are occasionally mentioned, but knives and forks for the use of the guests were altogether unknown. Each one must therefore have helped himself and torn his food into morsels with his fingers (Ovid, *A. A.* III. 756), as is the practice in the East at this day. Hence before the meal commenced, and probably at its termination also, slaves went round with vessels of water for washing the hands, and towels (*mantelia*) for drying them (Virgil, *G.* IV. 376, *Æn.* 701)."<sup>1</sup>

The reference to Ovid given by Professor Ramsay, furnishes the following lines:—

"Carpe cibos digitis; est quiddam gestus edendi:  
Ora nec immunda tota perunge manu."

A reference to Martial gives the lines:—

"Ponetur digitis tenendus ustis  
Nigra coliculus virens patella,  
Argentem modo qui reliquit hortum :  
(*Epigrammata*, V. 78.)

On the other hand forks were not unknown. I mentioned having seen some derived from Pompeii, whatever their purpose. And for the following more ample information, I am greatly indebted to Dr. Russell Forbes of Rome. In reply to a letter of inquiry, he writes (Dec., 1894):—"Forks were a luxury I should say, but used for serving generally. . . . I know many frescoes of banquets, but not of any showing the use of forks. . . . I find there are several kinds of forks in the Capitol museum, all in bronze; two-pronged just like a modern pickle fork; four-pronged like a dessert fork with the projections at end of stem, just before coming to the prongs, as in modern forks; two-pronged like a pickle fork, ending in a sort of miniature spoon split; two-pronged with prongs the same length as stem; three-pronged ending in miniature spoon. These are all 6 inches long."

Thus the general conclusion is that ancient Romans were accustomed to eat in a manner which to us appears semi-barbarous, but which probably contributed to preservation of dental soundness.

<sup>1</sup> "A Manual of Roman Antiquities," by Wm. Ramsay, M.A., Professor of Humanity in University of Glasgow. Griffin, 13th Edit. "Arrangement of the Coena," p. 442.



## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

JANUARY 29TH, 1895.

Prof. A. MACALISTER, F.R.S., *President, in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and signed.

The CHAIRMAN declared the ballot open, and appointed Scrutineers.

The Treasurer, Mr. A. L. LEWIS, read the following Report:—

## TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1894.

The income of the Institute for the year 1894 from subscriptions, publications, and interest, was £627 18s. 11d., being £9 12s. 1d. more than was received from the same sources in 1893. Only three life subscriptions were received, as against five in 1893, but the difference was more than made up by the sale of publications, which amounted to £116 8s. 4d., the largest amount received for publications in any year since 1880. This does not include the sales of *Anthropological Notes and Queries*, for which we are accountable to the British Association.

The expenditure for the year under ordinary heads was £571 0s. 9d., being £80 3s. 6d. less than in 1893, and £56 18s. 2d. less than the income from ordinary sources, so that, for the first time since 1887, I am able to say that the Institute has not exceeded its income. The saving has been effected in the rent, which is £15 less, in salaries, which are £118 less, and in stamps and parcels, which are £10 less than they were last year. Of the amount thus saved £60 more have been spent upon the *Journal* than in 1894, and about £3 more on some small items of expenditure. The Fellows of the Institute have therefore already had a considerable advantage from the reduction of expenses in the shape of an enlarged and improved *Journal*, and may expect to receive a still larger return for their subscriptions, now that we have a surplus, which may be devoted to the *Journal* or other publications, or to the Library, unless indeed it should be preferred to invest it with the view of still further increasing the income of the Institute.

The fact that our capital was reduced last year by £127 10s. 2d., to assist in paying the £135 8s. which the Index cost, and the further fact that the collection of skulls has been sold for £110, which sum, as well as the surplus income, is available either for investment or for re-productive expenditure, render it desirable that we should consider carefully the manner in which the money in hand shall be disposed of.

The liabilities at the end of 1894 (other than our moral liability to life members) were:—

|                                     | £     | s. | d. |
|-------------------------------------|-------|----|----|
| Rent for one quarter .. .. .        | 33    | 15 | 0  |
| <i>Journal</i> (paid since) .. .. . | 100   | 13 | 0  |
| "Anthropological Notes and Queries" | 25    | 10 | 10 |
| Sundries, say .. .. .               | 15    | 1  | 2  |
|                                     | <hr/> |    |    |
| Total .. .. .                       | £175  | 0  | 0  |
|                                     | <hr/> |    |    |

The assets at the same date were £600 Metropolitan Board of Works Stock (worth about £720), cash in hand and at the Bankers £197 4s., Balance due for skulls (received since) £10, some unpaid subscriptions, and the library, furniture, and stock of publications.

A. L. LEWIS,  
*Treasurer.*

# ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

## Receipts and Payments for the Year 1894.

### RECEIPTS.

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| BALANCES, 1st January, 1894:   |           |
| Cash at Bank .....   | 28 4 7    |
| " " in hand .....  | 7 6       |
| " " Petty .....  | 3 1 6     |
|  | <hr/>     |
| Less "Notes and Queries" account .....   | 31 18 7   |
|  | <hr/>     |
|  | 9 0 9     |
|  | <hr/>     |
|  | 22 12 10  |
|  | <hr/>     |
| SUBSCRIPTIONS:   |           |
| For the year 1894 .....  | 370 13 0  |
| Three Life Compositions .....  | 68 0 0    |
| Arrears .....  | 39 15 10  |
| In advance .....   | 16 16 0   |
|  | <hr/>     |
|  | 490 4 10  |
|  | <hr/>     |
| SALE OF PUBLICATIONS:  |           |
| Messrs. Kegan, Paul, & Co. ....  | 94 9 10   |
| Office Sales .....   | 20 6 6    |
| " Index and binding .....  | 1 12 0    |
|  | <hr/>     |
|  | 116 8 4   |
|  | <hr/>     |
| DIVIDENDS for one year on Metropolitan Board of Works 3½ per cent. Stock (less Income Tax) ..... | 21 5 9    |
| SKULLS SOLD .....  | 100 0 0   |
| SALE OF £111 10s. 8d. Metropolitan Board of Works Stock .....                                    | 127 10 2  |
| "ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES AND QUERIES":   |           |
| Balance as per last account .....  | 9 0 9     |
| Sales during 1894 .....  | 16 10 1   |
|  | <hr/>     |
|  | 25 10 10  |
|  | <hr/>     |
|  | £908 12 9 |
|  | <hr/>     |

### PAYMENTS.

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| RENT (including coal and gas), for one year to Michaelmas, 1894 .....                       | 185 0 0  |
| PRINTING INDEX .....  | 185 8 0  |
| PRINTING JOURNAL, Nos. 84, 85, 86, and 87 including illustrations and Authors' copies ..... | 249 4 1  |
| SALARIES AND COLLECTOR'S COMMISSION .....   | 86 0 4   |
| STAMPS AND PARCELS .....  | 86 1 5   |
| ADVERTISING .....   | 8 0 8    |
| PRINTING AND STATIONERY .....   | 22 16 9  |
| HOUSE EXPENSES:   |          |
| Cleaning rooms, &c. ....  | 16 16 6  |
| Attendance and Refreshments at Meetings ..  | 17 10 0  |
|   | <hr/>    |
|   | 84 6 6   |
|   | <hr/>    |
| INSURANCE, LANTERN, AND SUNDRIES .....  | 4 12 5   |
| BALANCES, 31st December, 1894:  |          |
| Cash at Bank .....  | 192 10 2 |
| " in hand .....   | 0 7 0    |
| " " Petty .....   | 4 6 10   |
|   | <hr/>    |
|   | 197 4 0  |

£908 12 9

Examined and found correct,

EDWARD W. BRADBROOK,

(Signed) ROBT. F. HOPE.

The Secretary, Mr. CUTHBERT E. PEEK, read the following Report:—

**REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE  
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND FOR THE YEAR 1894.**

During the past year eight Ordinary Meetings have been held in addition to the Annual Meeting.

In the course of the year the following numbers of the *Journal* have been issued: Nos. 86, 87, 88, and 89. These contain 451 pages of letterpress, and are illustrated by 23 plates.

Early in the year Mr. Bloxam ceased to be Assistant Secretary, and in his place Mr. G. A. Doubleday has been appointed to carry on the duties of Librarian and Assistant Secretary. Mr. Doubleday since his appointment has prepared a MS. catalogue of books in the Library, and the large collection of pamphlets is in course of examination.

Twenty-one new Fellows have been elected during the year, viz., three honorary, and eighteen ordinary Fellows; twenty-seven have retired, been struck off by the Council, or died, also four Honorary Fellows. The number of Corresponding Fellows is the same as on the last anniversary, viz., twenty-five.

In the following table the present state of the Institute, with respect to the number of Fellows, is compared with its condition at the corresponding period of last year:—

|  | Honorary. | Corresponding. | Compounders. | Ordinary. | Total. |
|--|-----------|----------------|--------------|-----------|--------|
| January 1st, 1894                      | 44        | 25             | 87           | 216       | 372    |
| Since elected ..                       | 3         | ..             | 1            | 17        | 21     |
| Since compound-<br>ed from ordinary    | ..        | ..             | 2            | -2        | ..     |
| Deceased, retired,<br>or struck off .. | 4         | ..             | 2            | 25        | 31     |
| January 1st, 1895                      | 43        | 25             | 88           | 206       | 362    |

The following are the names of the Fellows whose deaths have been reported during the year:—

|                                  |                        |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| Professor A. Bogdanoff           | } Honorary<br>Fellows. |
| Commander V. L. Cameron          |                        |
| Right Hon. Sir A. H. Layard      |                        |
| and, J. W. Barnes.               |                        |
| E. W. Bell.                      |                        |
| Edward Charlesworth.             |                        |
| Maj.-Gen. Sir Alex. Cunningham.  |                        |
| Dr. E. B. Evans.                 |                        |
| B. H. Hodgson.                   |                        |
| J. S. Mayson.                    |                        |
| S. W. North.                     |                        |
| W. Pengelly.                     |                        |
| G. J. Romanes.                   |                        |
| Rev. R. S. Scott.                |                        |
| General Sir C. Beauchamp Walker. |                        |

The Reports were adopted and the PRESIDENT delivered the following Address :—

### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

It is with mingled feelings of pleasure and regret that I resign this evening the Presidency of the Institute. I am happy to vacate the chair in order that it may be occupied by one so eminently qualified to fill it as is Mr. Brabrook, and the regret which mingles with this pleasure is due to my consciousness that during my term of office I have been able to do so little for the furtherance of the sciences in which we are all interested.

You have done well in calling to the post of honour one who has, through so many years, proved himself to be a tried and trusted friend to the Institute ; and one who has taken an active part not only in its management, but also in the organisation of many schemes for anthropological enquiry in other directions. I rejoice to know that the Institute never was in a more flourishing condition than it is now, and there is every prospect

*President's Address.*

that under our new chief it is likely to do even better work than it has done in the past.

In the year that is now ended we have made certain alterations in the domestic arrangements of the Institute which have been of marked financial advantage; we must not forget that these changes have added considerably to the work of our indefatigable Secretary and Treasurer, whose unremitting labours on behalf of the Institute are beyond all praise.

The past year has seen the usual kinds of change in the personality of our membership. We have lost by death from our ranks fifteen, among whom we have to deplore the losses of Professor Bogdanoff, whose anthropological researches among the races of Russia have been important contributions to our Science, of Commander Cameron the distinguished African traveller, and of Sir H. A. Layard to whose explorations Orientalists are so deeply indebted.

Twelve have left our membership by resignation, and on the other hand we have gained twenty-one new members. May I be permitted to point out that the amount of this increase is by no means in proportion to the importance of the Institute or of the subjects which it is our aim to study. When we consider the wide-reaching importance of the myriad of practical problems with which we as anthropologists are concerned, and the useful work which the Institute has done in the past, it is scarcely conceivable that our membership of 362 should be taken as representing the number of persons to whom these matters are interesting. I would press upon our members the desirability of more active efforts in recruiting our ranks, in order that more ample means may be at the disposal of our Society for the increase and further illustration of our publications.

The papers which have been brought before us during the past year have been varied and instructive and of a kind calculated to prove attractive to a wide circle of readers. They have dealt with many topics not merely of special value to the practical anthropologist, but also of general interest, more so indeed than

is often the case with anthropological memoirs. Indeed it is one of the chief drawbacks in the cultivation of our subjects that they afford endless possibilities of work in minor matters of detail, the recounting of which is apt to prove wearisome even to the most enthusiastic of listeners. I fear among the sinners in this respect, we physical anthropologists have been the worst, and that we have too often been guilty of slaying popular interest in our themes by unending measurements. These may be—nay certainly are—evils, but in the present position of physical anthropology, there is urgent need for the accumulation and adequate discussion of facts in all departments of our work. I had occasion last year to enumerate a few of the crucial problems regarding man which yet await solution, and I fear that we are not yet any nearer to the satisfactory elucidation of any of these. It is only by patient effort and collective investigation that we can hope to make decided and marked progress.

One feature of the history of anthropology in this country during the past year has been the adoption of the Bertillon system of anthropometry for the personal identification of criminals, by our national authorities who are concerned with the detection and repression of crime. This method, which has been found in other countries to be singularly successful, will, I have little doubt, prove to be of equal advantage in Great Britain, and under the supervision of one so expert in anthropometry as Dr. Garson is known to be, we have reason to anticipate that it will be accurately and satisfactorily carried out. Already I understand that the superiority of the inexorable record obtained by systematic measurement over any mere recollective mode of personal recognition has been vindicated, and I believe that the results of its more extended application will be found to justify the action of the police authorities in adopting this system.

The establishment of several anthropometric laboratories in different centres has increased our facilities for the collection of information respecting the local variation of human structure

and faculties. The material obtained in these institutions is annually increasing in amount, and much yet remains to be done in the digestion and discussion of these statistics. We have now, in our Cambridge laboratory, the record of measurements of several thousands of individuals, which are of special value as they are remarkably homogeneous. This point has been specially commented on by Dr. Venn, who has published in "Nature" and in the "Monist" his analysis of these observations (see "Monist" for October, 1893, p. 5).

Hitherto purely anthropological details have not been collected at some of these laboratories. It is our intention in Cambridge to make a vigorous effort in this direction.

Some cognate subjects have been under consideration by a Committee of the Royal Society, and I hope that this body may turn its attention to variations in human structure. The wonderful polymorphism which man exhibits in so many details of his organisation marks out the human race as the best of all subjects in which to study the general question of variation and its causation. Hitherto the prevalent currents of opinion among anthropologists have been Lamarckian in their tendency. It is a commonplace of observation that the growth of the individual is influenced by his environment, and that each person shows characters which have been directly acquired in the course of growth. I had occasion some time ago to direct your attention to observations of singular interest which had been made by Professor Havelock Charles of Calcutta upon the articular surfaces of the bones of the lower extremity correlated with the squatting habits of the working classes in India, and I am able by the courtesy of Professor Charles to exhibit specimens of the ankle bones with their articular facets modified by the habitual assumption of the "bito" posture. These researches have become widely known owing to the importance which Mr. Herbert Spencer has attached to them in his controversy with Professor Weismann. Professor Charles had found that not only were the facets of the adult astragalus modified by the excessive bending of the ankle,



but that similar modifications existed in the facets of the astragalus of the infant, and even in those of the newly-born babe. The conclusiveness of the reasoning based on these specimens is however shaken by more extended researches, for in the examples which I have placed before you of the astragalus of British infants at birth the same characteristics are present, and the flexion facets are as well marked as in the Indian child. It is also the case that the flexion facets in the adult workman in this country is not so rare as has been supposed. It is probable therefore that these specimens illustrate the alternative hypothesis which Professor Charles put forward, namely, that the infantile astragalus possesses originally these flexion facets, but that they have become lost in the course of growth in the majority of western adults, in whom the restriction of the facets is an acquired character. As far as these are concerned the question of hereditary transmission is left precisely as it was before.

In one sense the difference between a modified Lamarckianism and Weismannism is rather one concerning the mechanism of variation rather than of its actual history. Nutrition depending on environing conditions affects the whole organism, and the germ cells have to grow as well as their somatic companions. In our utter ignorance, as great to-day as it was in the days of Koheleth, of the inner forces which work within the microscopic and apparently homogeneous primitive germ, and lead to the elaboration by successive differentiations of the full-grown adult, it is idle to speculate as to what may and what may not affect that growth; but just as the homoeopathic heresy with its infinitesimals has played an important part in discrediting the crude polypharmacy and "tiger drenches" with which the poor human body was physicked in past ages, so Weismann has done a great work in exposing the fallacies of the equally crude and superficial notion of some of the earlier evolutionists.

The problem of variation with which the anthropologist is confronted is a very definite one. He recognises definitely distinctive race characters in the several families of the human

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race, and for their existence he has to account. The characters are in some instances undoubtedly correlated with envioning conditions, but all the evidence which is available shows that those variations which can be traced in individuals to the action of sporadically acting external forces do not immediately affect the offspring of such modified units of the race. It is to the continuous operation of such influences as affect the local growth and nutrition of the organisms of many successive generations that we are to look for the perpetuation of incepted variation. We can expect these forces to be efficient causes only when they are such and so applied as to influence the entire organism throughout all its elements somatic and germinal. If this be so it follows that we have to look far back in the history of humanity for the beginnings of those more distinctive characters whereby one race is differentiated from another, and to distrust the deductions from what we may call the experimental method of inducing variation.

Envioning forces may thus accentuate and perpetuate variations when they arise, but we have yet to find the veræ causæ their origination. The record of variation presents us with certain phenomena which indicate that the operation of external forces does not indifferently affect the organism in all directions. The laborious researches of Bateson show that the several parts of the living being do not vary equally in all directions but that for some reason variation is discontinuous, and takes place only in definite directions. Being ignorant of the ultimate mechanism of individual evolution we can do no more than recognise these phenomena, but they are suggestive of the operation of some unknown internal molecular forces co-operating with the external constraining conditions. This, however, is wandering into the region of hypothesis where we have as yet but little to guide us.

This ignorance of the aetiology of race-characters hampers us considerably to all discussions as to their taxonomic value, and therefore in the formation of a satisfactory classification of races. For example, we know that the skulls of some races have usually

a low cephalic index while those of others have a much higher index, but we have still to learn not only the causation of this marked difference but also the conditions which are correlated to it. We know that this is not a simple character, all forms of dolichocephalism are not of the same order, and the brachycephalism of the Andamanese is different in kind from that of the Breton or the Auvergnat. That some of the long-headed races are frontally dolichocephalic while others are occipitally elongated, was noticed as long ago as the days of Retzius, but we have not yet grasped the essential nature of the distinction in a form which can be tabulated. Skull shape is certainly not the result of one factor but of many, although we are still unable to analyse with certainty the relative influences of these, and must still laboriously accumulate material in the hope of being able some time or other to discriminate the effects of the several concurring conditions.

The data which the dry crania yield do not give us all the information necessary to guide us in this research, we must take into account the soft parts within and around the bones if we are ever to obtain satisfactory results. The skull is moulded upon the contained brain and sometimes, as in the condition of scaphocephalism, may react on its contents, but we cannot with our present knowledge adopt the thesis of the late Dr. Thurnam that dolichocephalism as a race character is to any large extent dependent on premature closure of the median cranial sutures. We await the results of more extended observations in cranio-cerebral topography before we can reach any final conclusions. As far, however, as this method has been pursued it has taught us that the relative development of different parts of the cerebral mass affects skull shape more than any other condition.

There is one part of the skull which shows a lower degree of variability than any other; this is the basicranial axis, whose length differs little in skulls of the most divergent shapes. As the region in which this line is measured corresponds to the position of the brain which contains the great reflex centres, the

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pons and the bulb, parts which are the least variable in size of all the elements of the brain, this is not surprising, and this fact gives additional importance to the method recommended by Sir W. Flower, of using the length of this line as a unit with which the other cranial measurements may with advantage be compared.

The portion of the cranial vault which shows the lowest degree of variation is the area corresponding to the great centres of skilled voluntary motion. It is by no means easy to make any single measurement whereby we may estimate the size of this region, but it may be approximately ascertained by determining the length of an arc taken in the plane of the central fissure. If a line be drawn from the anterior edge of the transverse root of the zygomatic arch to the highest point of the supra-central region which is generally 5 cm. behind the bregma, it will be found to correspond to the line of the posterior central convolution along the hinder edge of the fissure of Rolando. The arc measured on this line across the top of the head, will give a fair approximation to the size of this region of the cerebrum. A corresponding arc from the same starting point below measured vertically across the top of the skull in a plane at right angles to the optic axis will, in like manner, give an approximate measure of the hinder part of the frontal lobe. In most of the European brachycephali which I have had the opportunity of examining there is a proportionally large development of the area of the frontal lobes in this position, and the increase in size of this region must necessarily draw slightly forward the upper end of the central lobe,<sup>1</sup> altering by some degrees the angle of the upper extremity of the Rolandic fissure. Coincidentally with this change the portion of the cerebral mass behind the central fissure is also drawn forwards, thus altering the contour of the hemisphere, so that its median line drops suddenly and more vertically to the hinder pole of the hemisphere, giving to the region between the obelion and the inion the straight flat character which is distinc-

<sup>1</sup> I use the name central lobe for the motor areas in the manner which I have adopted in my "Handbook of Human Anatomy."

five of most of the brachycephalic races. I have not as yet been able to make as many observations on brain and bone as these lines as I had hoped to do, and I cannot as yet pronounce definitely as to the exact correlation between increased growth and complexity in the hinder region of the frontal convolutions and specific degrees of brachycephalism. I have seen enough, however, to lead me to believe that this is an important factor in determining cranial form, and I am convinced that it is in such directions as this, that observations and measurements must be made if craniometry is ever to be of specific value.

Such an increase of the hinder part of the frontal lobes is usually accompanied by an enlargement of the areas which are connected with skilled movements of the hand and face, and in consequence the portion of the parietal bone along the squamous suture is thrown outwards and the width above the ears is increased. A side light is thus thrown upon the correlation between enlargement of the frontal lobes and these areas of the central lobes in brachycephalism by the corresponding liability to persistence in the medio-frontal suture. This line of junction of the halves of the frontal bone becomes obliterated by synostosis in the average infant within the first year, long before the brain has attained its full growth. Persistence of the suture is rare in those races in which the frontal lobes are small and narrow. Thus it occurs in 0.5 per cent. of Australians and in 1.5 per cent. of Negro crania. In European dolichocephali the frequency rises to 6 per cent., in European mesaticephali to 9 per cent. and in European brachycephali to 10 per cent. We may infer, therefore, that whatever causes have produced the brachycephalism have also been factors in causing metopism, sometimes however this suture closes early in brachycephalic skulls, and we then find a compensatory dilatation behind the coronal suture of the same order as that which we notice in another part of the head and in another direction in scaphocephalic crania.

We may therefore frame the hypotheses that where the

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action of environing conditions has led to the enlargements of these portions of the brain, the race so affected will tend to become brachycephalic and *vice versa*. As a rule brachycephalic crania are the largest in capacity but there are notable exceptions such as the Andamanese and some of the Bush races. It is obvious from radial measurements, however, that the shortheadedness of the Mincopi and that of the Finn or North German are not of the same order. At the same time the difference between the longheads and the broadheads is not a mere difference of size, there are dolichocephali which are as capacious as any brachycephali.

Extended experience in craniometry has led to certain negative results which are worth recording. One of these is the small value of the ordinary maximal method of determining cranial length. The "greatest length" of the Frankfort agreement is open to all the objections which Sir William Flower has so cogently urged. If, as I believe, the important factor to be determined by measuring the brain case is the size of the hemisphere in whole or in part, the impossibility of discounting the displacement of the glabella, due to the presence of the frontal sinus renders this measurement fallacious; and although the pnyon is a little above the anterior pole of the cerebrum yet it is nearer to the required spot than any other accessible point. The difficulty of finding the ophryon as a constant spot has been rather over-estimated, and the ophryo-occipital line running as it does along the greater axis of the cerebral mass gives a far more important index measurement than does the glabello-occipital. In my catalogue of the crania in the Cambridge Museum I have determined to give the two length-breadth indexes; the glabello-occipital out of deference to the Frankfort agreement, and the ophryo-occipital as the index which is of value for philosophical enquiry. The metopio-occipital measurement corresponds to no definite theoretic cerebral measurement, and is of little value. For the same reason the biastrial measurement is worthless, and, so is the breadth measurement of the foramen magnum. I hope to extend still

further this list of valueless measurements and thus to the process of craniometry.

Enlargement of the anterior portion of the brain mass gives rise to important gravitation changes affecting the base of the skull. With brachycephaly there is frequently associated some degree of platybasia whereas with dolichocephaly one finds the opposite condition of convex base with prominent exerted condyles. To this condition we may give the name *cyrtobasia*.

To turn for a few moments to the consideration of another important factor in the determination of skull shape, namely the development of the teeth, I have elsewhere had occasion to refer to the concomitant enlargement of the facial bones and frontal sinuses, which are associated with macrodontism, but this is only one of the relations subsisting between growth of the teeth and cranial development. An interesting series of observations has been published lately by Dr. Dietlein of Basel which show, (1) that in the children of the better fed and more comfortable classes the teeth of the second dentition are cut appreciably earlier than in those of the poorer and more defectively nourished classes; (2) that there are fewer reduction in the number of incisors in country-bred than in those that are city-reared. Associated with observation it is to be observed that there is in the populations of Switzerland a larger proportion of the headed and long-faced type than is met with in the the country parts adjacent to Basel and Freiburg, who are predominantly broad-headed and shorter faced. If careful observations could be made in other places and along the same lines most valuable results might be attained. Dietlein's observations were made on 7,500 individuals, and his record is a model of clearness and precision. It is probable that a more comprehensive series of statistics, drawn from a wider field would demonstrate that the development in space and time of the two dentitions is the most important of the factors concerned in moulding the contour of the facial skeleton.

### *President's Address.*

the setting forth of anthropological statistics of this important that the method of seriation should be adopted, absolute numbers must be given that the reader may judge of the sufficiency of the observations as the basis of averages and percentages are apt to be misleading. For example, I find that out of 153 Egyptian skulls taken at random out of our large collection at Cambridge the average cephalic index is 755, so that they naturally fall above the lowest limit of the mesaticephalic class, but when they are set out in series we find that of the entire number there is only one which presents an index of 755. The range is from 655 to 866:—nineteen are under 720; twenty-one are between 720 and 740; thirty-five between 740 and 760; forty-two between 760 and 780; twenty-five between 780 and 800; and seventeen above 800. If we group these crania by their indexes certain other correlated characters show themselves so that even had we no other ground to go upon we have plain evidence of the existence of a mixture of races in ancient Egypt. In the three great series which we have in our Cambridge Museum there are two distinct types and many intermediate forces. One of these was probably of Western Asiatic origin, the other was probably North African. Leaving the subject of craniometry and turning to another of somatic development, the discovery by Professor Hmann of the remains of a race of prehistoric pigmies in Siam is one of the events of the past year. In the lately published edition of Tyson's classical work my friend Professor Windle of Birmingham has given a valuable digest of literature of the subject brought down to the present date. Tribes of diminutive stature have now been found in almost all the great divisions of the globe, and when we remember what a very small percentage of the skeletons of the inhabitants of the globe remain for our study it is probable that such races were more widely distributed than formerly believed. The tendency in the struggle for life has been towards unification and this has been accentuated of late



by the improvement of the means of race-conflicts, when physical strength was condition of supremacy in intertribal warfare, the pigmy probably borne down when they came into contact with larger neighbours, becoming either exterminated or assimilated. Superior skill however may save the smaller race from extinction; the poisoned arrows of the Battua and Wabunda doubtless contributed to their preservation, and in the struggle at present in progress the effects of the superior skill and equipment of the smaller race has given them their present advantage in the struggle.

To the student of folk-lore these discoveries of the existence of pigmy races are interesting, and those writers who have dealt with the wide-spread legends of fairies, little people, daoine sithe, leprechauns and other mythical races of this kind have sought for the origins of these folk-tales in the forgotten traditional memories of race-conflicts with pigmy tribes. Lately Mr. MacRitchie has treated this subject in an interesting and exhaustive manner and has made out a case for the pigmy origin of these legendary tales. Caution is required in the analysis of these stories, for they usually come to us in a comparatively modern dress, but at least a possible hypothesis of their origin. It is not that we have a far larger amount of proof of the existence of dwarf races than of these of excessive size. Of these Nephilim we have not as yet found any isolated examples; and of gigantic races there are no traces. In the folk-lore tales, the giants are generally isolated individuals, and are men marked out above their fellows by their greater stature. Mr. Risley has told us that among the Himalayan tribes and those of the Hindu Kush, the chiefs are heavier, larger men than the average tribesmen, selected as Saul among the Israelites for their physical superiority. While referring to folk-lore it may be worth indicating that we have a certain amount of material for anthropological investigation which has not as yet been systematically

*President's Address*

which have been transmitted by times that are embodied in some of manuscripts. The Irish manuscripts written the 14th centuries contain scraps of which must be, from the archaisms of go in which they are related, of much greater of their transcription. In these there are of personal description which it would be an interesting to collect and compare and from which something might be learned, and as the Royal Irish Academy has published in the principal codices of these MSS. they are available for the use of the Celtic scholar anywhere.

Examples of these may be of interest: for instance in the Book of Leinster written about 1150 A.D., there is in a tale entitled "Cath Mhucrama" a curious story of one *Fiacha muil-* (broad-head) son of Eoghan, son of Olioll Olom, born his mother sat upon a stone in the ford of Nemhenn the river Suir. Of him it is said *ro lethai didiu cenn inna forsin chloich conid de ro bóí Fiacha Muillethan fair.* his head was flattened on a stone, hence, he was *Fiacha Muillethan*. There is, however, another possible of *Fiacha's* brachycephalism as his mother Moncha, of Dil, was one of the broad-headed pre-Milesian of Ireland.

*Leabhar breac*, another MS. dating from about 1400 is a short story called *Echtra mac n Echach* giving an account of the birth of a famous Irish King, Niall of whose mother is stated to have been (the curly black-haired daughter of Saxall the star King of the Saxons). This is not the only place in are referred to as being a swarthy race but this is In the days of the transcription of these had become *Sasunn*, the land of the Saxons, but to which the legends refer the people with whom came in contact were the Silurian Britons who *si cultus* had been noted by Tacitus.

Of the other races with whom the Milesian  
it, there are also scraps of personal descrip-  
in the British Museum (Additional 34. 119) there  
the pursuit of the Gilla deacair, who was one o.  
*fir ghránda agus in dail diablaide dodelba*  
*modarda misciamach*, "a savage strong and  
illshaped," stronger than the Feinne, and it is  
he came from a country three days' journey from  
again in the adventures of Tadhg mac Cein related  
of Lismore, the beautiful Chlidna, daughter of Genaim,  
Triuin of the tuatha de Danaan race, is described as *cein*  
"fair haired" as became her Teutonic ancestry.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the heads  
the Milesian race are usually described as being  
the legend of Aedh Slaine the hair which grew  
the bald head of his favourite queen Mairenn of  
is described in the Leabhar na h'Uidhre as *folt fescach*  
"flaxen, wavy, golden hued"; in the legendary C  
of the Western Highlands Cuchullin is described as  
*shúileach treun* "the blue-eyed hero," and in C  
in the Leabhar Gabhala, Muircheartach son of Niall  
"mhongbhuidhe" or yellow-haired.<sup>1</sup>

In some of these stories dwarfish peoples play a  
part, thus in the tale in the Egerton MS. 1782  
Fergus mac Leide King of Ulidia was brought about  
Leprechauns one of whom, Iubhdan, is described as *fo*  
*cirdubh fair ocus ba giliter ocus uan tuinne a chne*  
*coreran caille a dha gruaid fuilt chasa fhionnbuidhe ba*  
*thuaithe buhra uile acht eisium amain ocus is*  
*fir dubh ris* "hair black and curly and skin whiter  
sea foam, and cheeks redder than the rowan berry.

<sup>1</sup> In the same poem occurs the passage *rob iomdha derdar gruaidh*  
*oc. bantracht Oiligh fhoilifhinn* = many were the tears on the  
fair haired women of Ailigh. The wife of Muircheartach was *D*  
*a-dail*, i.e. black-haired. Donnchadh the contemporary King of M  
also black-haired. In the Leabhar na g-Geart five fair-haired women  
of the tribute to the King of Cineal Aedha in Donegal, and three were  
heads to the King of Ua Tuirtre.

### *President's Address.*

the Luchra people had curly hair indeed  
he was called the black man."

These must not be neglected, as from them we may  
gather gleams of light on the obscure problems of  
the lives of the peoples of our Islands. Many of  
the social conditions which prevailed in  
before the advent of Christianity far more  
any other portion of our early British literature and  
as in this respect are of the highest anthropological impor-  
tance. We, as students of humanity in all its aspects, are not  
concerned with the physical aspects and characters of man-  
but even more so with the ethical and psychological history

In the case of our own population, the thoughts,  
ideas, manners and customs of our forefathers have been  
essential in moulding our race into its present conditions and  
is yet much work to be done in submitting these to  
and in gathering, in a scientific spirit and according to  
scientific methods, the scattered fragments of these archaic con-  
cepts which are embedded in language, traditions and

By carrying out such researches successfully the investigators  
will be trained, and it is therefore with better hopes for the  
future that we note the awakening of interest in this subject in  
Universities. We have had in Cambridge both theoretical  
and practical teaching in anthropology carried on for several  
years, and it is now firmly established as an integral part of the  
study and examination in the Natural Science Tripos.  
To hear that anthropology is likely to be placed on an  
equally important footing in the examination system at C...  
gives us hope that when there is established in this great  
city a teaching university worthy of the greatest city  
in the world, there may be in it a well equipped school for anthro-  
pological study.

Some of us had hopes that when the Imperial and Colonial  
Institute was founded there would be found in it a place  
for a properly organised anthropological department, but in this

### *Election of Officers.*

have been disappointed. It is little short of  
in the largest empire of the world,  
are nearly as many separate peoples,  
and tongues as in all the other  
is no Imperial Department whose function  
and classify the facts of the physical  
clinical histories of our fellow-subjects. The  
English-speaking power in the Western World  
bright example of what might be done in this direction  
these days of progress it may not yet be too  
the mother may learn from her daughter. There is  
sign of progress, in the great work, which, by  
Indian Government, Mr. Risley has done in Bengal.

Even on the lines of the most matter-of-fact utilitarian  
there would be much to be gained by the systematic ac-  
quisition of such knowledge, and if the Anthropological Institute  
could rouse in the minds of our governors, the sovereign  
such an interest in these subjects as would lead to the  
creation of a Government Department for an Ethnological  
of the British Empire, it would be a goal worthy of  
ambition.

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It was moved, seconded, and unanimously resolved—

“That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the  
for his address, and that it be printed in  
of the Institute.”

The SCRUTINEERS gave in their Report, and the  
gentlemen were declared to be duly elected as  
Council for the year 1895.

*President.*—E. W. Brabrook, Esq., F.S.A.

*Vice-Presidents.*—J. G. Garson, Esq., M.D.; R.  
Martin, Esq., M.P.; Sir Hugh Low, G.C.M.G.

*Hon. Secretary.*—Cuthbert E. Peek, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

*Hon. Treasurer.*—A. L. Lewis, Esq., F.C.A.

*Council.*—G. M. Atkinson, Esq.; H. Balfour, Esq.

*Vote of Thanks*

1; J. F. Collingwood, Esq., F.G.S.;  
A. J. Evans, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.; Prof. A.  
T. V. Holmes, Esq., F.G.S.; R. B. Holt,  
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1, F.G.S.; H. Seebohm, Esq., F.Z.S.; C.  
F.Z.S.; Prof. Arthur Thomson, M.A.; C.  
G.S.; M. J. Walhouse, Esq.

ote of thanks to the retiring President, the retiring Vice-  
nt, the retiring Councillors, the Secretary, the Treasurer,  
nditors and the Scrutineers, was moved, seconded, and  
by acclamation.

## ANTHROPOLOGICAL MISCELLANEA AND

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"SCHNECKEN UND MUSCHELN IM LEBEN DER VÖLKER INDONESIENS UND OCEANIENS: EIN BEITRAG ZUR ETHNOCONCHOLOGIE."  
E. SCHMELTZ. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1894.

In this small book of 43 pp. Mr. Schmeltz has results of an immense amount of labour which has been in over many years. Before publication Mr. Schmeltz communicated it to the Meeting of the British Association at Oxford in 1893. The pamphlet consists of an introductory section, a systematic review of the shells employed and the manner of their application among the Indonesian and Oceanic peoples, and of a table of the geographical distribution of the applications of shells in Indonesia and Oceania.

In his general remarks Mr. Schmeltz points out that several shells have a symbolic significance, as Von Martens has already pointed out, especially *Argonauta hians*, *Tritonium lampas* and *Littorina pagodus*. *Ovula ovum* in many cases is associated with skull-cult or with talismans and amulets, etc.; a girdle from Borneo from which depend *Ovula* shells and tigers' teeth is used by Aernout to protect the wearer from wounds in fighting and from bad luck. In one case we find in West Borneo a land snail (*Nanina Brookei*) as an appendage to an amulet-basket in which was kept a piece of a child's umbilical cord, through which, according to the ideas of the Dyaks, the soul took its way into the body. They believe that the soul is not inseparably associated with the body, but can remove itself any moment from it, so that if it is kept in the basket during the child's sleep, perceiving a portion of the navel-cord is there, should danger threaten will take refuge in the shell. When the child is bathed in the sea the basket is carried with it, in bad weather it is shaken in the house to chase away by the rattling of the shell the evil spirit which might harm the child.

In the systematic portion Mr. Schmeltz refers to 160 species of Mollusca, mentioning the use to which each is applied, the district in which it is employed, and the reference to it or the Museum where it has been seen. In the case of the pearl-shell, *Meleagris*, there are about 150 references.

In the distributional table 46 columns of localities are given, the applications of the shells, of which about 80 are enumerated, are grouped under twelve headings.

account it will be evident that this labor is of considerable value to ethnographers. As it is not complete, omissions will doubtless be found, but Mr. Schmelz has best to render it as complete as possible, and with gratitude. It will be extremely helpful to collectors and students if large ethnographical museums were to make a collection of which are utilised by man in order that those so usefully identified. Mr. Schmelz's work now renders this an accomplished task. —A. C. H.

**Physical History of the Races of Mankind.** Fourth division: Indo-Turanians, Turco-Tatar-Turanians, Ugro-Turanians. By Featherman. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. 1901. 8vo. pp. x, 640. This bulky volume contains a mass of ethnological information, extracted from numerous travels and research of very various merit. The references to the different authorities will enable the reader to judge for himself the reliability of respective sections and, on the whole, he will encounter much that is important and useful. The method employed is fairly systematic and lends itself to ready reference. This is somewhat remarkable as what purports to be a *résumé* often comes perilously near to being a literary notation in disguise.

Under Dravido-Turanians we find included Assamese, Kocchis, So-Kacharis, Khassias, Kolarians, Garos, Oraons, Paharias, Neilgherries, Malayalas, Kanarese, South Dravidians, Tamuls, Telingas and Tamulians (of Ceylon)—the spelling and other names is that employed by Featherman. Under Turco-Tatar-Turanians, there occur notices of Nogay-Crim-Tatars, Minusinsk-Tatars, Bashkirs, Yakuts, Kirghis, Toorkies, Toorkomans, Tatar Toorkies,

Under Ugro-Turanians are comprised the Finns, Lapps, Livonians, Tchoovash, Votiaks, Tcheremissians, Voguls, Ostyaks, Samoyedes, and Magyars (Hungarians).

An index of four pages is appended to 635 pages of text and is obviously insufficient, although the numerous references to original authorities at the end of each section form a valuable feature and will materially assist the reader.

Unfortunately, however, from some cause not immediately obvious there occurs in these references a number of minor errors which necessarily vitiate and impair a work of this character, and which tend to raise suspicions, which it is only fair to add a few words to the text will probably allay. For example, Mr. Spottiswood's "Taranasse journey through Eastern Russia" is referred to as Taranhassée (p. 236), "Tarahasse" (p. 564), and the author's name spelt "Taranasse" (pp. 236, 534). Similarly, Dr. Landsell's name is spelt "Landsell" (p. 579.) With the German language certain liberties



taken (e.g. "überdie," p. 552), and wing. The bridegroom always avoided 217) are not uncommon. The good nomenclature might be greatly improved this opportunity of urging upon and propriety of adopting some definite system the Royal Geographical Society, for the publishers of geographical and anthropological works to follow this system, the present idiosyncrasies scarcely achieve publication. — A. M.

"Louisiana Folk Tales." In French dialect in translation. Collected by Alcée Fortier. Vol. ii of the "the American Folk-lore Society." (D. Nutt.)

The author states: "In Louisiana we have the animal tales, of which some are of African origin; fairy tales or märchen, probably from the East; and songs, real *vaudevilles*, where the song is more than the plot." The dialect is carefully reproduced.

"The Origins of Invention." A study of primitive peoples. By Otis T. Mason. (W. Scott.)

413. The author states:—"In this volume I describe some of our modern industries to their origin, and to the genius of man, working upon and influenced by the forces of nature, learned its first lessons in inventing. The term 'invention' is

in its logical sense of finding out originally how to perform a specific action by some new implement, or improvement of method. Fundamentally it is a change in the mode of doing these." The titles of the chapters are—

Invention and use of fire; Stone working; Primitive uses of plants; The textile industry; The animal kingdom: Capture and domestication of animals; Transportation; The art of war.

"The Education of the Greek People," and its relation to civilisation. By T. Davidson. (Arnold.) 1895.

Prof. Davidson has in this volume sketched in the growth of the Greek civilisation through the stages of the household, the village, the polis, the Athenian city state to its dissolution in the universal empire of Rome. He has shown the value of the ideals of Greek civilisation, and of the previous civilisation out of which it grew, and of the Hellenistic civilisation to which it lent one after another its substantial elements.

Select Passages from Ancient Writers Illustrative of Greek Sculpture." Edited by H. S. Jones. (Lan.) 1895. 8vo. pp. 231. The work deals with the best

; the Daidalai; the sculptors of Chios; sculpture; the age of Phoidias and fourth century; The schools of Per of Messene.

**Papers on some Controverted Questions**

J. Prestwich, F.R.S. (Macmillan.) 1895.

volume contains the following articles

—The position of geology; C and conditions of the glacial of man; On the primitive of the chalk plateau of Kent of age and make; On the agency of water and on the primary cause of volcanic action and mobility of the earth's crust from the t; On underground temperatures with observed causes which influence the conductivity of thermal effects of saturation and imbibition; of heat in mountain ranges as affecting ground temperatures. The whole of the articles revision since former publication. The work is in considerable number of plates and diagrams.

**in Folk-Song and popular Poetry."** By A.

(Elliot Stock.) 1895. 8vo. pp. 329. The author quotes a considerable number of American sea songs; folk songs of English and Scottish popular ballads; Lady Nairne Sir James Fergusson and Celtic poetry; William weaver poet; Folk songs of Lower Brittany, the folk song; some ancient Portuguese ballads; Hungarian folk songs of Roumania.

about Pompei; "its mason's marks, town portraits. By H. P. Fitzgerald Marriott. ("

pp. 89. A considerable amount of important information into a small space, and the work is admirable

les in Oriental Social Life," and gleams from the sacred page. By H. C. Trumbull, D.D. ("

pp. 437. The author gives a lucid description of the uses of Eastern life. The past in the present; things in the East; Hospitality; Funerals and mourning; voice of the forerunner; Primitive idea of "the way"; vital idea of "Father"; Prayers and praying; Food and drink; Calls for healing; Gold and silver in the desert; primitive idea; An outlook from Jacob's well; The sovereign; Lessons of the wilderness.

**Six Months in a Syrian Monastery;** "being the account of the headquarters of the Syrian Church in Mesopotamia; account of the Yazidis or Devil worshippers of N

of Jitwah, their sacred book. By O. H. Parry.  
pp. 400. The book gives a valuable account  
of the Christians in North-East Mesopotamia.

**"The Portuguese in India,"** being a history of  
of their Eastern Empire. By F. C. Da  
(1894.) pp. 1151. The title describes the  
is well illustrated, and entirely covers it.  
The maps and plans are of special interest.

**"An Enquiry into the Ethnography of Afghanistan,"**  
H. W. Bellow, C.S.I. (Oriental Institute, Woking)

**"Woman's Share in Primitive Culture."** By O. T. M.  
(Appleton.) 1894. pp. 295. The volume discusses the position of  
primitive woman in various parts of the world, and should be  
carefully studied by every student of anthropology. The volume  
is very fully illustrated and has a good index.

**"The Anthropological History of Europe,"** being the  
Rhind lectures for 1891. By J. Beddoe, F.R.S. (A. Gardner)  
1893. pp. 120. The titles of the lectures are:—The Aryan  
question, and that of variation of type; Primeval man—succession  
of races; Russia and the Balkan peninsula; Scandinavia, Central  
Europe, France; Spain, Italy and the British Isles; Scotland  
and general conclusions. A coloured craniometrical map of  
Europe is given.

**"The Political Institutions of the Ancient Greeks."** By  
E. Hammond. (Clay, 1895.) pp. 122. The titles of the  
chapters are:—The Aryan races; A classification of European  
political bodies; Greek political institutions; Heroic monarchies;  
The Greek cities; Aristotle's classification of Politics;  
Achaean league.

**"The Province of South Australia."** By H. D. Wilson  
(E. Bristow, Adelaide.) 1894. The volume contains an  
article on the aborigines.

**"Lenape and their Legends,"** with the complete text  
and symbols of the Walam Olum, a new translation, and  
into its authenticity. By D. G. Brinton. (Philadelphia.)  
The chapters deal with the Algonkin stock, the Iroquois  
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or Delawares; The literature and language of the Lenape;  
sketches of the Lenape; Myths and traditions of the  
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**"of Mayan Hieroglyphics."** By D. G. Brinton  
(Philadelphia.) pp. 152. The author discusses  
various theories of interpretation, giving a large number  
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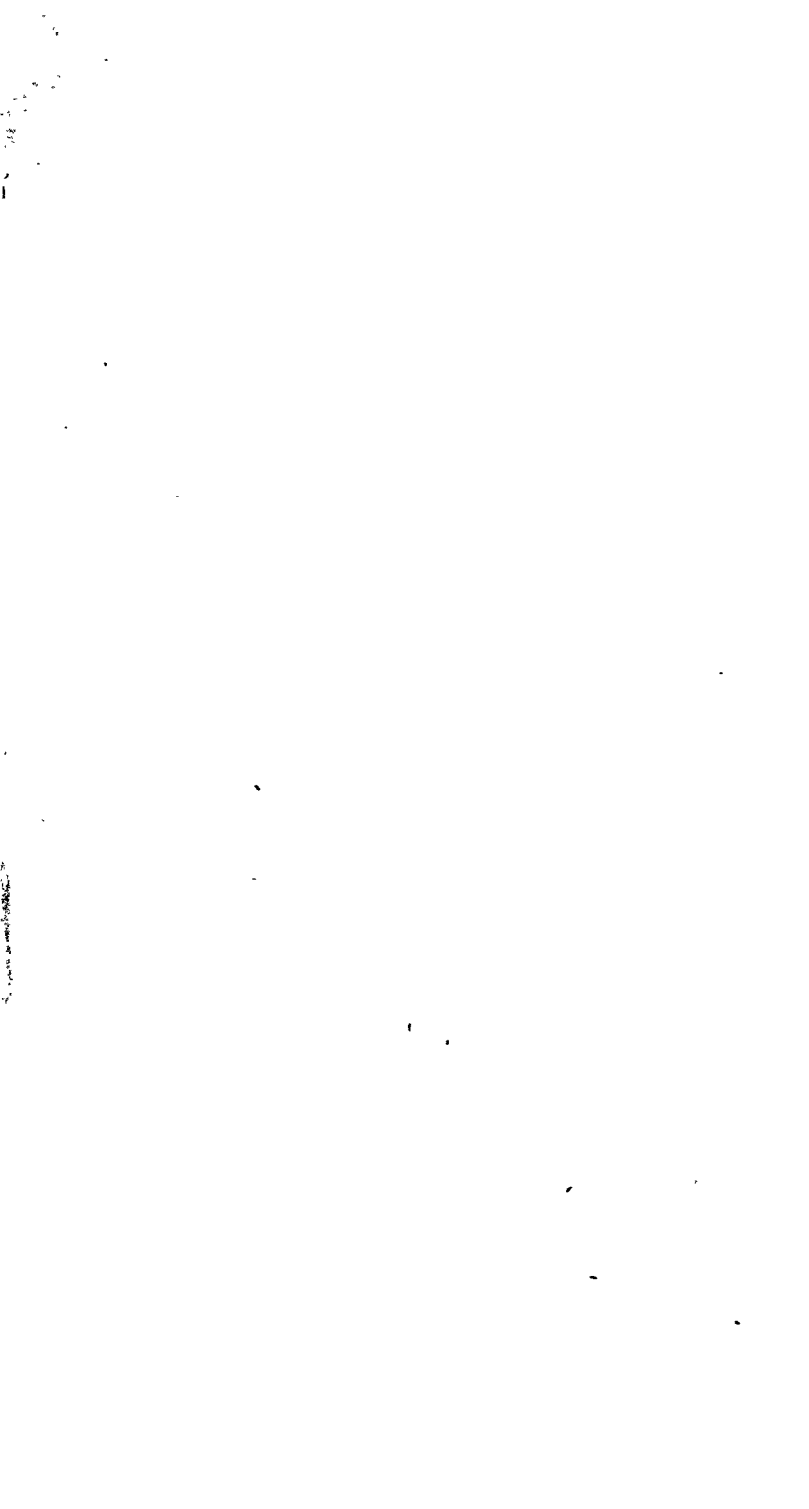
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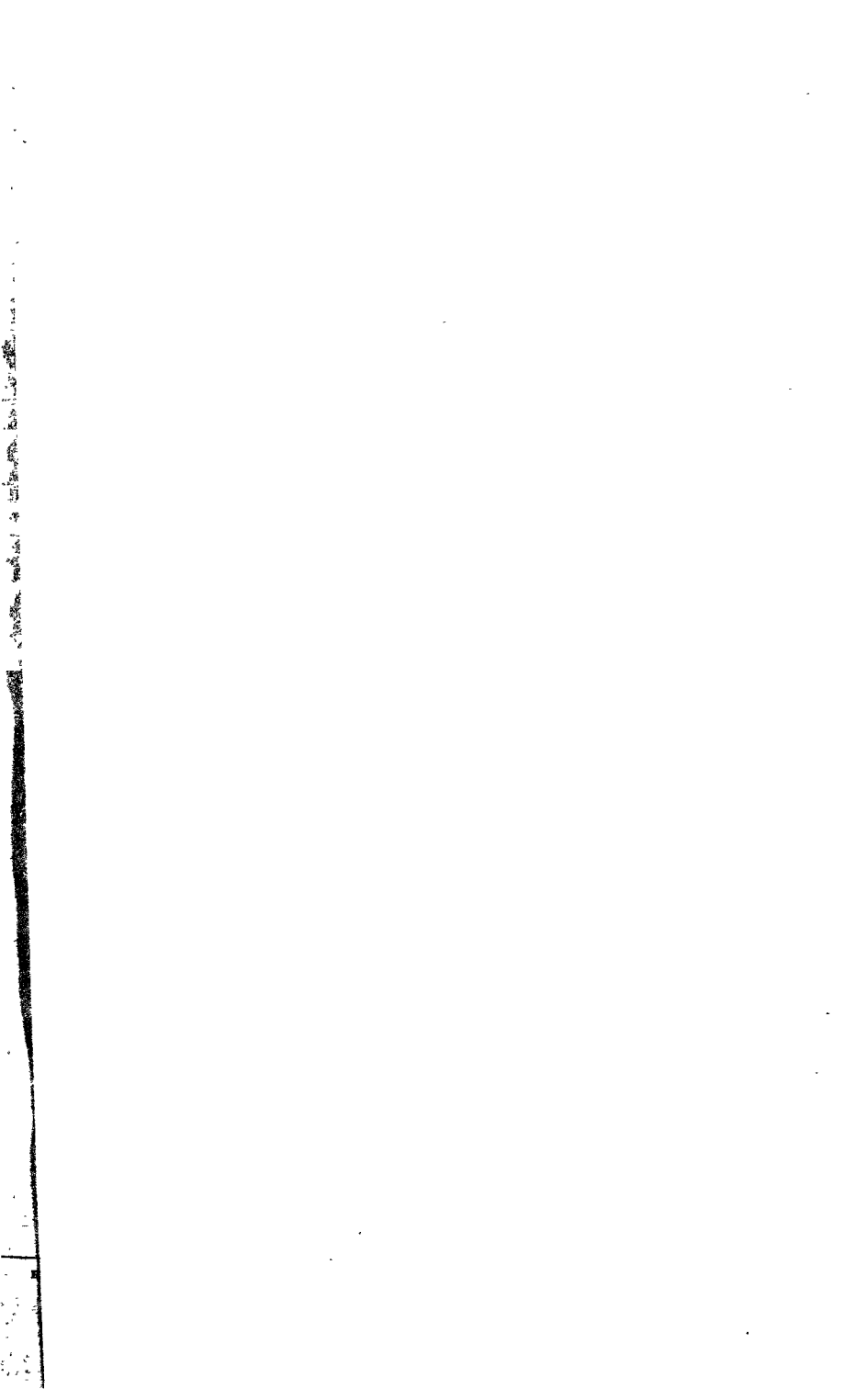
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